



Angl. 289 / 2

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~~den indischen festlichen~~
~~Wesen~~
~~des Buches~~

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

Faithfully Extracted from
Authentick Records,
Approved Manuscripts,
And the most
Celebrated Histories of this Kingdom,
In all Languages, whether Ecclesiastical or Civil.

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The EFFIGIES of all the *Kings* and *Queens*
of *England*, from the *Norman* Race, to the
Present Time; Curiously Engraved on Cop-
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LONDON.

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ELIZABETH

23.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

Vol. II.

THE
LIFE *and* REIGN
OF
Q. ELIZABETH.

QUeen *Mary's* Death was conceal'd for some Vol. II.
Hours, tho' for what reasons, and what the *secret* Consultations were upon it, does *An. 1558,*
not appear: But about Nine a Clock the
Lord Chancellor went to the *House of Lords,*
and imparted to them the News of the *Queen's* Decease;
which, as it struck the *Bishops* with no small Fear, so
those *Counsellors* who had been severe in their Advices
about her Sister, did apprehend she might remember it
against them: Yet they all agreed to *Proclaim her Queen,*
and by the Zeal they express'd for her coming to the
Crown, intended to *Balance* the Errors they had formerly
been led to, rather in compliance to the late Queen's Re-
sentments, than out of any ill will they bore her self.
They sent for the *House of Commons*; and the *Lord Chan-*
cellor signified to them the *Queen's Death*; which, he
said, would have been much more sorrowful to *England,*
if they had not had such a *Successor,* that was the next
and

A. D.
1558.



Queen Eli-
zabeth Pro-
claimed.

and indisputed *Heir* to the Crown, the Lady *Elizabeth*, of whose *Right* and *Title* none could make any question; therefore they intended to proclaim her *Queen*, and desired their Concurrence: Which was ecchoed with repeated Acclamations. *God save Queen Elizabeth. Long and Happily may she Reign.*

The *Parliament* being declared to be *Dissolved* by the late Queen's Death, the *Lords* proclaimed *Elizabeth* Queen, first at *Westminster*, and then went into *London*, where it was done again by the Lord *Mayor*, and received every where with such excessive Joy, that there was no sign of Sorrow expressed for the Death of Queen *Mary*, but what was shewed by the *Priests*, who in so Publick and Universal a Joy, were forced to betake themselves to secret *Groans*, since they durst not vent them in *Publick*. Never did any Prince before her, come to the Throne with so many Good Wishes and *Acclamations*, which the Horror of the *Cruelties*, and the Reflection of the Disasters of the former Reign, drew from the People, who now hoped to see better times.

Her Entry
into Lon-
don.

The Queen was then at *Hatfield*, where having received the News of her Sisters Death, and of her being *Proclaimed Queen*, she came from thence to *London*. On the 19th all the *Bishops* met her at *High-Gate*, whom she receiv'd with great Civility, except *Bonner*, whom she looked upon as defiled with so much Blood, that she could not think it fit to bestow any mark of her Favour on him. She was received into the City, with Throngs much greater than such Occasions used to draw together, and followed with the loudest Shouts of Joy that 'twas possible for so great a Multitude to raise. She lay that Night at the Duke of *Norfolk's* House in the *Charter-House*, and next Day went to the *Tower*. There at her Entry she kneeled down, and offered up Thanks to God for that great Change in her Condition; that whereas she had been formerly a Prisoner in that place, every hour in fear of her Life, she was now raised to so high a Dignity. She soon cleared all People's Apprehensions, as to the *Hardships* she had formerly met with, and shewed she had absolutely forgot from whom she had received them: Even *Bennefield* himself not excepted, who had been the chief Instrument of her Sufferings; but she always call'd him her *Jaylor*, which tho' she said in way of *Railery*, yet it was so sharp, that he avoided coming any more to Court.

She presently dispatch'd Messengers to all the *Princes of Christendom*, to give Notice of her Sister's Death, and her Succession. In particular she writ to *King Philip*, to acknowledge his Kindness in interposing so effectually with her Sister, for her Preservation. She also sent to *Edward Karn* that had been her Sister's Resident at *Rome*, to give that See the News of her Succession, but the Haughty Pope received it in his ordinary way, declaring that *England* was held in Fee of the Apostolick See; that she could not succeed, being *Illegitimate*, nor could he contradict the Declarations made in that Affair by his Predecessors, *Clement the Seventh*, and *Paul the Third*: He said it was a great Boldness in her to assume the Crown without his Consent; for which in reason she deserv'd no Favour at his Hands: but if she would renounce her Pretensions, and refer her self wholly to him, he would shew a Fatherly Affection to her, and do every thing for her that could consist with the Dignity of the Apostolick See. When the Queen heard this, she was much concern'd at it, and recall'd *Karn's* Powers, and commanded him home. The Pope, on the other hand, requir'd him to stay in *Rome*, and take care of an Hospital over which he had placed him: Which it's thought *Karn* procured, because he was unwilling to return to *England*, apprehending a Change of Religion would follow; for he was zealously addicted to the See of *Rome*.

A. D.
1558.She sends
abroad Am-
bassadors.

As soon as *King Philip* heard the News, he ordered the *Duke of Feria*, whom he had sent over in his Name to comfort the late Queen in her Sickness, to Congratulate the new Queen, and, in secret, to propose Marriage to her, and to assure her he would procure a Dispensation from *Rome*, and at the same time sent thither to obtain it. But the Queen, tho' very sensible of her Obligations to him, had no mind to that Marriage, nor indeed to any other, for tho' upon some Occasions when her Affairs required it, she treated on that Subject, yet she was firmly resolv'd never to engage her self in Matrimony. Besides, she saw her People were generally averse to any *Foreigner*, and particularly to a *Spaniard*: And she made it the steady Maxim of her whole Reign, to rule in their Affections, as well as over their Persons: nor did she regard the Pope's Dispensation, as sufficient to warrant what was otherwise forbidden in the word of God, and the Relation between *King Philip* and her, being the Reverse of that which was between her Father and *Queen Catharine*, it seeming to be equally unlawful

King Philip
Courts the
Q. in Mar-
riage.

A. D.
1558.



for one Man to marry *two Sisters*, as it was for one Woman to be married to *two Brothers*, she could not consent to this Marriage, without approving King *Henry's* with Queen *Catharine*: And if that were a good *Marriage*, then she must be *Illegitimate*, as being born of a Marriage which only the Unlawfulness of that could justify. So *Inclination*, *Interest* and *Conscience*, all concurr'd to make her reject King *Philip's* Motion: Yet she did it in terms so full of Esteem and Kindness for him, that he still insisted on the Proposition; in which she was not willing to undeceive him so intirely, as to put him out of all hopes, while the *Treaty of Cambray* was depending, that so she might tie him more closely to her Interest.

The French
set up an-
other Title.

The *French* hearing of Queen *Mary's* Death, and being alarm'd at *Philip's* Design upon the *New Queen*, sent to engage the *Pope* to deny the *Dispensation*, and to make him declare the *Queen of Scotland* to be the *Right Heir* to the Crown of *England*, and the pretended *Queen* to be *Illegitimate*. The Cardinal of *Lorrain* also prevailed with the *French King* to order his Daughter-in-Law to assume that *Title*, and to put the Arms of *England* on all her Furniture.

But now to return to *England*, Queen *Elizabeth* continued to employ some of the same Counsellors that had served *Queen Mary*: Namely, *Heath Lord Chancellor*; The Marquess of *Winchester* Lord Treasurer; The Earls of *Arundel*, *Shrewsbury*, *Darby* and *Pembroke*; The Lords *Clinton* and *Howard*, Sir *Thomas Cheney*, Sir *William Petree*, Sir *John Mason*, Sir *Richard Sackville*, and Dr. *Wotton* Dean of *Canterbury* and *York*. Most of these had comply'd with all the *Changes* that had been made backward and forward, since the latter end of King *Henry's* Reign, and were so dextrous at it, that they were still employ'd in every new *Revolution*. To these who were all Papists, the *Queen* added the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earl of *Bedford*, Sir *Thomas Parr*, Sir *Edward Rogers*, Sir *Ambrose Cave*, Sir *Francis Knolles*, and Sir *William Cecil*, which last she made *Secretary of State*; and soon after she sent for Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, who were all of the *Reformed Religion*. She renewed all the *Commissions* to those formerly entrusted, and ordered that such as were imprisoned for *Religion* should be set at *Liberty*: Whereupon a Man that used to talk pleasantly to her, petition'd her in behalf of some Prisoners that were not yet set at Large: She ask'd who they

they were? He said they were *Matthew, Mark, Luke and John*, that were still shut up, and the People longed to see them abroad: She answer'd him as pleasantly, That *she would first talk with themselves about it, and see whether they desired so much Liberty as he requested for them.*

A. D.
1558.



Now the two great things under Consultation, were *The first Religion, and Peace*; for the former, some were appointed to consider, how it was to be Reformed. *Beal*, a *Queen's* Clerk of the *Council* gave advice to *Cecil*, that the *Parliaments* under *Queen Mary* should be declared void,

the first being under a *Force*, and the Title of *Supreme Head* being left out of the *Writ* that summoned the other, before it was taken away by Law, and therefore the Laws of *King Edward* were still in force; but this was thought too violent a way of proceeding, since annulling of *Parliaments* upon little Errors in *Writs*, was a Precedent of that Consequence that it would unhinge the whole *Constitution*, and therefore more moderate Courses were thought upon. The *Queen*, from her Infancy, had been bred up in Abhorrence of *Popery*, and in a sincere Love of the Reformation: but yet as her first Impressions in her Father's Reign were in favour of such old *Rites* as he had still retained, so, in her own Nature, she loved *State* and some *Magnificence* in *Religion*, as well as in every thing else. She thought that in her *Brother's* Reign they had stript it too much of *External Ornaments*, and had made their *Doctrine* too narrow in some Points; therefore she intended to have some Things explained in more general Terms, that might invite all to close with them, and none be kept off by too nice an Interpretation of controverted Points. The next thing she had to do,

was, to balance the Dangers that threatned her from abroad, and at home. The *Pope* would certainly *Excommunicate* and *Depose* her, and stir up all Christian Princes against her. The *French King* would lay hold of any Opportunity to embroil the Nation, and by the Assistance of the *Scotch* and *Irish*, might perhaps raise Troubles in her Dominions. Those that were in Power in *Queen Mary's* days, and remain'd firm to the *Old Superstition*, would be discontented at the *Reformation* of Religion; the *Bishops* and *Clergy* would generally oppose it, and raise *Seditions* among the People on that Pretence. To remedy all these, it was proposed, to make Peace with *France*, and to cherish those in that Kingdom that desired the *Reformation*, and for those that had

Dangers
from a-
broad and
at home.

A. D.
1558.

The Service
Book re-
viewed,
and by
whom.

bore Rule in Queen *Mary's* days, their Authority and Credit were to be lessened upon pretence of Danger in trusting them ; but those who were known to be well affected to Religion and the Queen's Person, were to be sought out and encouraged. Great care was to be taken of the *Universities* and other Publick Schools, as *Eaton* and *Winchester*, that the next Generation might be seasoned with an early Knowledge and Love of Religion. Some learned Men, as *Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindal, Pilkington*, and *Sir Thomas Smith* were to be ordered to meet, and to consider of the Service Book. In the mean while the People were to be restrained from *Innovating* without Authority : And the Queen, to give some hopes of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds. The Persons that were thought fit to be trusted with the Secret of these Consultations, were the Marquess of *Northampton*, the Earls of *Bedford, Pembroke*, and the Lord *John Grey*. The place that was thought convenient for the Divines to meet in, was *Sir Thomas Smith's* House in *Canon Row*, where an Allowance was to be given for their Entertainment.

As soon as the News of the Queen's coming to the Crown was known beyond Sea, those that fled for Shelter return'd into *England*, and those that absconded during the late Persecution appeared now, with no small Assurance : And hearing of the Queen's Intentions, could not contain themselves, but in many places began to make Alterations ; to set up King *Edward's* Service, to pull down Images, and to affront the Popish Priests. Upon this, the Queen, to make some Discovery of her own Inclinations, gave Order that the Gospels and Epistles, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany should be all used in *English*, and forbid the Priests to elevate the Host at Mass. Having done this, on the 27th of *December*, she issued out a Proclamation against all Innovations, requiring her Subjects to use no other Form of Worship, than those which were used in her Chapel, till it should be otherwise appointed by the Parliament, which she summoned to meet on the 23d of *January*. The Writs were issued out by *Sir Nicholas Bacon*, to whom she had deliver'd the Broad Seal. On the 5th of *December* she perform'd her Sister's Funeral Rites with great Magnificence at *Westminster*. The Bishop of *Winchester* being appointed to preach, so extolled her and her

Queen Ma-
ry's Funeral.

her Government, and so severely charged the Innovators, not without Reflections on the Queen, that he was confined to his House, till the Meeting of the Parliament.

A. D.
1558.

In the beginning of the Year 1559, the Queen anew created *William Parr* Marquess of *Northampton*, who lost it by being attainted of Treason in *Queen Mary's* time. *Edward Seymour*, who by the Malice of his Enemies had lost his *Inheritance* and his Father's *Honours*, she made *Baron Beauchamp* and *Earl of Hertford*; *Thomas Howard*, second Son of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, she made *Viscount Howard of Bindon*; and to *Henry Cary of Hunsden*, her Cousin German by *Mary Bolein*, and *Oliver St. John* of *Bletso*, she gave the Title of Barons, all which were adverse to the *Popish Religion*. *Sir Nicholas Bacon* was by Patent made *Lord Keeper* of the Great Seal, which before had no Dignity belonging to that Office, nor heard Causes, nor sat in Parliament, and *Bacon* was the first *Lord Keeper* that had all the Dignity and Authority of the *Lord Chancellor* conferred on him. He was one of the most Learned, most Pious, and Wisest Men of the Nation; Father to the Great *Sir Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans*, and *Lord Chancellor of England*, who will be always esteemed one of the Greatest Glories of the English Nation.

A. D.
1559.

The first
Lord
Keeper.

The Queen was now to be Crowned, and having gone on the Twelfth of *January* to the *Tower*, she return'd from thence in State on the Thirteenth: As she went into her Chariot, she lifted up her Eyes to Heaven and Blessed God that had preserved her to see that Joyful Day, and that had saved her as he did his Prophet *Daniel*, out of the Mouths of *Lyons*. She acknowledged her Deliverance was only from him, to whom she offered up the Praise of it. She passed through *London* in great Triumph: And having observ'd that her Sister, by the Sullenness of her Behaviour to the People lost much of their Affections; therefore she always used as she passed thro' the Crowds, but more especially this Day, to look out of her Coach with a chearful Countenance upon them, and to return the Respects they paid her, with great Sweetness in her Looks, commonly saying, *God bless you my People*, which much affected them. But nothing pleased the City more, than her Behaviour as she went under one of the *Triumphal Arches*. There was a Rich Bible let down to her as from Heaven, by a Child representing Truth. She with great Reverence kissed both her Hands, and receiv-

A. D.

1559.

The Queen's
Coronation.

receiving the *Bible*, kiss'd it, and laid it next her *Heart*, and professed she was better pleased with that *Present*, than all the other *Magnificent* ones that had been made that Day by the City, which drew Tears of Joy from the Spectators Eyes. The day following she was *Crowned* at *Westminster*, by *Oglethorp* Bishop of *Carlisle*, all the other Bishops refusing to assist at that *Solemnity*, because they thought she was not of the *Popish Religion*.

On the 25th of *January*, the Parliament was open'd with a long Speech by the Lord *Bacon*, in which he shewed them the distracted Estate of the Nation, both in Matters of *Religion*, and other *Miseries*, that the *Wars* and late *Calamities* had brought upon them. All which he recommended to their Care. For *Religion*, the *Queen* desired they would consider of it, without *Heat* or *Partial Affection*, or using any Reproachful Term of *Papist* or *Heretick*, and that they would avoid the Extremes of *Idolatry* and *Superstition* on the one Hand, and *Contempt* and *Irreligion* on the other; and so settle things as might bring the People to an *Uniformity* and cordial *Agreement* in them. And for the State of the Nation, and what Supplies were wanting, the *Queen* left it wholly to them, adding in her Name, that she would desire no Aid but what they did freely and cheerfully offer.

Philip de-
serts the
Queen's
Interest.

But leaving the Consultations at *Westminster*, let us go to the Treaty of Peace at *Cambray*. The great Obstacle was the Surrendring *Calais* to the *English*, which the *French* positively refused. For a considerable time *Philip* demanded it with so much Earnestness, that he would make Peace on no other Terms, since he was obliged in in *Honour* to see the *English* restor'd to the Condition they were in, before they engaged in his Quarrel; but when he saw there was no hopes of a Marriage with the *Queen*, and understood she was making Alterations in *Religion*, he grew less careful of her Interests, and secretly concluded a Peace with the *French*. But that he might have some Colour for deserting her, he told her *Ambassadors*, that the *French* had offer'd him full Satisfaction in all his own Concerns, and the Peace was only obstructed upon the Consideration of *Calais*; and therefore unless the *English* would enter into a League with him, for keeping up the War six years longer, he must submit to the Necessity of his Affairs. The *Queen* perceiving that she must expect no more Assistance from the *Spaniard*, who was so wedded to the *Old Superstition*, that he could enter into no strict League with any whom

whom he accounted *Hereticks*, and that she was not able to carry on the War alone, she was willing to hearken to the Messages that were sent her from *France* by the *Constable*, and others, inducing her to agree to a Peace: and after several Debates in the *Council* on this Subject, it was resolved on, to make a *General Peace*, that being at quiet with their Neighbours, they might, with the less Danger, apply themselves to correct what was amiss in *England*, both in *Religion* and the Civil Government. So a Peace was concluded, that there should be free Commerce between *England*, *France* and *Scotland*; that the *French* should keep *Calais* for eight Years, and at the end of that Term should deliver it up to the *English*, or pay 50000 Crowns; for which they should give good Security by Merchants that lived in other Parts, and *Hostages* till the Security was given. Many found themselves disturb'd at this Agreement. The Reformed imputed the Loss of *Calais* to the *Papists*, and moved that all the late Queen's Council might be question'd for their Mis-government in that particular: They, on the other hand, cast the Blame of it upon the Lord *Wentworth* that was Governour of *Calais*, and now one of the *Reformed*; but he put himself on a Tryal by his *Peers*, which he underwent the 22d of *April*, and clear'd himself so effectually, that all his *Peers* acquitted him.

The Queen's Government being thus quieted abroad, she was at more leisure to transact Affairs at home. The first Bill that was put into the House of *Lords*, to try their Affections and Dispositions to a Change in matters of Religion, was for the Restitution of the *Tenths*, *First-fruits*, and other Duties belonging to the Crown, and that being granted, the Lower House Address the Queen, "To marry, that she might leave Children, which might be the Glory and Strength of the Kingdom. To which the Queen made Answer, "That she gave them Thanks for the Expressions of their Good Will towards her, but did not think it expedient, now she had taken the Government of the Kingdom upon her, to encumber her self with the Cares of Marriage, and therefore to satisfy them further in this particular, she said, She had already join'd her self to a Husband, namely, the Kingdom of *England*, and behold said she, here is the Pledge of my Marriage; and thereupon drew the Ring from her Finger and shewed it, wherewith she had at her Coronation, in a

The Commons Address, and the Queen's Answer.

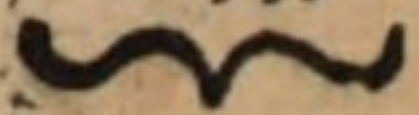
set

A. D.

1559.

A. D.

1559.



“ *set Form of Words, solemnly given her self in Marriage*
 “ *to the Kingdom. And here having made a little pause,*
 “ *she said, And do not upbraid me with the miserable*
 “ *want of Children, for every one of you, and as ma-*
 “ *ny as are true Englishmen, are my Children and Kinf-*
 “ *men, of whom if God deprive me not (which God*
 “ *forbid) I cannot be reproached with Barrenness.*
 “ *However I commend you, that you have not appointed*
 “ *me a Husband; for that had been unworthy the Ma-*
 “ *jesty of an absolute Princess, and unbeseeming your*
 “ *Wisdom, that are born Subjects. Nevertheless, if*
 “ *it please God that I change my Condition, I will do*
 “ *nothing that shall be prejudicial to the Common*
 “ *Weal, but will take such a Husband, as near as I*
 “ *can, that shall take as great Care of the Kingdom as*
 “ *I will do my self; but if I continue in my present*
 “ *State, I doubt not but God will so direct mine and*
 “ *your Counsels, that you shall not want a Successor,*
 “ *which may be more beneficial to the Publick, than*
 “ *one born of my Body; for often times the Off-spring*
 “ *of the best Princes degenerate from the Virtue of*
 “ *their Ancestors. And, in respect of my self, it will*
 “ *be an entire Satisfaction, if when I have breathed my*
 “ *last, it be engraven on my Marble Tomb,*

Here lieth Elizabeth, that Reigned and Dyed a Virgin.

*The Refor-
mation
advanced.*

The Parliament being Dissolved, the *Holy Scriptures*,
 and the *Liturgy* were forthwith read in Churches, in
 the *English Tongue*; *Images* were removed without
 Noise or Tumult; the Oath of *Supremacy* was offered
 to the *Popish Bishops*, and as many as refused to take
 it, were depriv'd of their Ecclesiastical Promotions; and
 the most Religious and Learned *Protestants* that could
 be found, were put into their Places. Thus was Reli-
 gion changed in *England* without any Commotion, it
 being done by degrees, and not over rashly; for the
Romish Religion continu'd a full Month in this Reign,
 in the same State it was in at the Death of Queen *Ma-*
ry. By this Alteration and shaking off the *Popish Yoke*,
England became the Freest Kingdom in *Europe*, and more
 wealthy than in former Ages, a great Mass of Money
 being kept at home, which was wont to be transported
 to *Rome* for *First-Fruits, Pardons, Appeals, Dispensations,*
Palls, and such kind of Trumpery; which incredibly
 exhausted the Treasure of the Kingdom. And that the
 Queen

Queen might preserve the Nation in this new acquir'd Happiness, she would suffer no *Innovations*, and held a constant and uniform Course in her whole Life and Actions, agreeable to her Motto, *Semper eadem*, always the same.

A. D.

1559.

About this time, the Emperor and other *Romish* Princes interceded with the Queen that the *Popish* Bishops might be calmly treated, and have Churches allowed them to celebrate Mass in; to whom she made answer, That tho' the *Popish* Bishops behaved themselves insolently towards her and the Laws, and rejected the Doctrine they had taught themselves under the Reigns of *Henry VIII*, and *Edward VI*; yet for the sakes of such great Princes, she would deal favourably with them; but without Injury to her Honour and Conscience, she could not allow them Churches to themselves, for that were to cherish Factions and distract the People; for which there was no Reason, since *England* embraced no new and strange Doctrine, but the same which *Christ* commanded, the *Primitive Catholick Church* received, and all the *Antient Fathers* with one voice had approved.

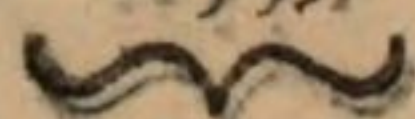
The Emperor's Request.

The *Spaniard* having now cast off all Hopes of a Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, he perswaded his Uncle *Ferdinand* the Emperor to recommend his Son *Charles* to Queen *Elizabeth* for a Husband, for fear there might be an Alliance made between the two Crowns of *England* and *France* to his Prejudice. *France* on the other side, in favour of his Son the *Dauphin*, and *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, instead of withdrawing his Forces out of *Scotland*, according to his Promise, reinforces them with greater Numbers, solicites the *Pope* to pronounce the Queen *Illegitimate* and a *Heretick*, and declare *Mary Queen* of *Scots* to be the lawful Queen of *England*. So that Queen *Elizabeth* could not but suspect the Proceedings of the *French King*, who breath'd nothing but Blood and Slaughter against *Protestants*; but Heaven cut him off by a sudden Death in Tilting, to the great Advantage and Quiet of *England*, which he was preparing to insult both from *France* and *Scotland*. How-
ever *Francis* his Successor, and the Queen of *Scots* his Wife, by the Advice of the *Guises*, who now, in a manner, bore all the Sway in *France*, call'd themselves King and Queen of *England* and *Ireland*, quartered the Queen's Arms with their own; and tho' afterward, upon better Advice, they left them out, yet this laid the Foun-

A. D.

1559.

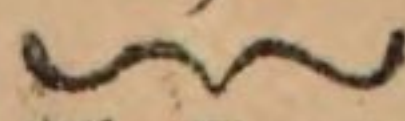
Foundation of those Differences between the two *Queens*, that could not be extinguish'd but by Death.



Now the Professors of the *Protestant Religion* in *Scotland*, who had given themselves the Name of the *Congregation*, being perswaded by *Knox*, and other importunate Ministers, to refuse Obedience to the *Regent* the *Queen's Mother*, had changed their Religion, and tumultuously ranfack'd and burned many Religious Places, they began to complain to *Queen Elizabeth*, by *William Maitland*, Lord Secretary, That ever since the *Queen of Scots* was marry'd to the Dauphin, the Government of the Kingdom was changed; Foreign Soldiers tyranniz'd over the natural born Subjects; the highest Offices and strongest Holds and Castles in the Kingdom, were put into the Hands of Frenchmen, and gave them opportunity to seize the Kingdom if any Misfortune should attend the *Queen*. These things were a while but slowly deliberated in *England*, because it was of ill Example to protect Rebellious Subjects against their Prince; but when the *Queen* and Council saw that *France* was preparing to War with *England*, under pretence of subduing a few Seditious *Scots*, and considered that it was dishonourable to abandon those of the same Religion to the Cruelty of their *Popish* Enemies, and that *France* had always been either a private, or open Enemy to the Prosperity of *England*, it was at last resolved that it was Just, Honest, and absolutely Necessary, to drive the *French* immediately out of *Scotland*. Hereupon *William Winter*, Master of the Naval Stores, was sent with a Fleet into *Bodotria*, now call'd *Edinburgh Frith*, who did great Service against the *French* Ships that lay upon the Coasts. Soon after the Duke of *Norfolk* was made Lieutenant General of the North Parts towards *Scotland*: *William* Lord Grey was made Warden of the Middle and East Marches, and *Thomas* Earl of *Sussex* was sent again Deputy into *Ireland*, to keep the *Irish*, being a Rude and Superstitious People, from Rebelling upon pretence of Religion. While these Affairs were settling, *Francis Talbot* a great Counsellor departed this Life, being the first Earl of *Shrewsbury* of that Family, leaving his only Son *George*, by *Mary*, Daughter of *Thomas* Lord *Dacres* of *Gillesland*, his Successor.

A. D.

1560.



The French
design upon
England.

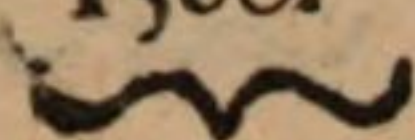
No sooner was the Duke of *Norfolk* arriv'd at *Berwick*, but he was presently attended by *James* the Bastard, Prior of *St. Andrews*, the Baron of *Rethuen*, and others, who in the Name of the Duke of *Castle-Herauld*, and

and the confederates, make a League, Offensive and Defensive with him, in the Name of the *Queen of England*; which was no sooner concluded, but by divers Messages from Foreign Princes, and intercepted Letters, it was certainly known that the *French* would invade *England*. And *Sabaſtian Martignes*, of the House of *Luxemburg*, who was ſent into *France* with a Thouſand choice Foot, was ſo hot upon that Deſign, that the Wiſe Council of the *Queen Regent* could hardly reſtrain him from the Enterprize; but that *French Heat* was ſoon cool'd, when he heard the Marqueſs of *Elboeuf*, who was ſailing towards *Scotland* with great Forces, having ſtrove with the Violence of a Tempeſt, upon the Coaſt of *Holland*, was with the Loſs of ſome of his Ships, driven back to *Diepe*, from whence he had put to Sea.

A. D.
1560.

Several Embaſſies and Terms of Accommodation being propounded between the two Crowns of *England* and *France*, and taking no effect, the *Engliſh* Army conſiſting of 1200 Horſe and 6000 Foot, approached near *Leith*, which the *French* had fortified for a Refuge and Receptacle for their Auxiliary Forces, and *Martignes* drawing out his Companies of Foot, charged the *Engliſh* that firſt appear'd, to keep them from a Hill where he ſuppos'd they would entrench; but after skirmiſhing four Hours, he was driven back into the Town, and ſtraitly beſieged. Much Courage and Bravery was ſhew'd on both ſides, with various Succeſſes, 'till the *French* King being inform'd that his Forces were ſo coop'd up in *Leith*, and all Paſſages ſtop'd by Sea and Land, that there was no relieving them, and that Seditions multiply'd at home, he gave Commiſſion to the Biſhop of *Valence* to compound the matter with *Queen Elizabeth's* Commiſſioners, who ſent *William Cecil* and *Nicholas Wotton*, Dean of *Canterbury*, preſently into *Scotland*: For the King and Queen of *France* and *Scotland*, undervalued their Royal Dignity, in accepting Terms from their own Subjects, where *Murray* propounded ſuch insolent Demands as *Cecil* ſaid were unfit to be made by Subjects, or to be granted by Princes. During this Treaty, dy'd *Mary of Lorrain*, Mother to the Queen *Scots*, and Regent of the Kingdom, a Prudent and Virtuous Princeſs, who had been baſely treated with reproachful Language, by their unmanly hot-headed Preachers. This Peace was ſoon concluded and publiſh'd to the general Satisfaction of all Men,

A.D.
1560.



Men, for they were all weary of the War; the *English* of spoiling the Country, the *French* for want of Victuals, and the *Scotch* for want of Pay; and was accounted a happy Peace for *Britain*, wherein *Scotland* kept her antient *Liberty*, *England* preserved its *Dignity* and *Security* from the Attempts of *Scotland*, and the Queen had the Thanks of her own Subjects and all the *Scotch* Protestants.

The Queen's
several
Suitors.

The Queen out of Affection to her Country, was so employ'd for the Publick Good, that she seem'd wholly regardless of the Love of Potent Princes that solicited her in Marriage, for at this time she had several Suitors, viz. *Charles* Arch-Duke of *Austria* before-mention'd, by the Mediation of the Count of *Elphenstein*. *James* Duke of *Arran*, recommended by the Protestants of *Scotland*, in order to a Union of both Nations: *Errick* King of *Swedeland*, by the Mediation of his Brother *John* Duke of *Finland*, who promised himself Success in his Amours, because he and the Queen were both of the same Religion; but they all, tho' kindly received, had the same Answer, That she could not yet persuade her self to change her single Life, to enter into a State of Marriage. At home there were also some that pleased themselves with the hopes of marrying her, namely, *Sir William Pickering*, a Man that had some Noble Blood in his Veins, but of a small Estate, tho' he had acquir'd Honour by his Studies, and Embassies in *France* and *Germany*: *Henry* Earl of *Arundel*, a Person of very antient Nobility, but declining in years; and *Robert Dudley* the Duke of *Northumberland*'s youngest Son, who was restored in Blood by Queen *Mary*; a Man in the Prime of his Age, and of comely Features, and a well proportion'd Body; but none of them could persuade her to change her Condition, tho' upon the latter she bestow'd very great Honour.

The King
of Spain
is angry.

About this time the Lord Viscount *Montacute*, the Queen's Ambassador in *Spain*, endeavour'd to persuade that King to renew the League of *Burgundy*, but tho' he opposed the Practices of the *French* against the Queen in the Court of *Rome*, yet he would not renew the League, but instead of it, deliver'd the Ensigns of the Order of *St. George* into the Viscount's Hands, which was a plain Indication that he renounc'd all Friendship with *England*, and that the Queen must expect Trouble from him. The Count of *Feria* also blew the Coals, and dealt with *Pope Pius IV.* to excommunicate her;

her; but he upon what Pretence is not known sent *Vincentio Parpalio* Abbot of *St. Saviours* with a flattering Letter to her, with large Promises of what he would do, if the Queen would join her self to the *Romish* Church, which she utterly refus'd. Now the time was come for the Confirmation of the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, which when Queen *Elizabeth* had confirmed by Solemn Oath, and sent it over to the King and Queen of *France*, that they also according to Agreement might ratifie it: *Throgmorton* the Lieger Ambassador in *France* by no means could persuade them to it, but while this Affair was transacting, *Francis* the Second, *The French King* of *France*, died before he was Eighteen Years of Age, leaving the Queen of *Scots* a Widow, to the Grief of the Papists and Joy of the Protestants. This Accident being an additional Security to the Queen of *England*, gave her Leisure to set forth a Proclamation to banish the *Anabaptists*, and another to restrain *Sacrilegious* Persons from demolishing antient Tombs, and defacing the Epitaphs and Coat Armours of Noble Families, and other Monuments of venerable Antiquity, which remained in Churches since *Henry VIII.* and *Edward VI.* which the Rabble were accusom'd to pull down, under pretence of abolishing Superstition.

The *Abbey* of *Westminster* she also, at this time, converted into a *Collegiate Church* for the Service of God, endowed it with a Maintenance for a *Dean* and twelve *Prebendaries*, a *School-master* and *Usher*, Forty *Scholars* (call'd the Queen's Scholars, whereof six or more are yearly preferred to the Universities) Ministers, Singing-men, and twelve Alms Men. The erecting this School was a pious and noble Design, and has answer'd the Founder's End in producing many Learned Men for the Service of the Church and State. After this she began by little and little to restore the *Current Coin* of *England* to its just Purity and Value, which had been debas'd by *Henry VIII.* and to her Glory only was it ascrib'd, that there was now purer Money in *England* than had been in two hundred Years before, or was elsewhere in any other part of *Europe*; for King *Edward VI.* could not, and Queen *Mary* durst not attempt to regulate the Coin.

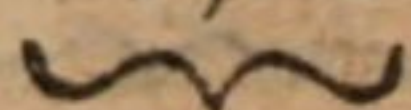
The Widow Queen of *Scots* still refusing to confirm the Treaty of *Edinburgh*, gave the Queen of *England* Suspicion that she intended no Good to her Dominions, and therefore deny'd her a free Passage from *France* into

A. D.

1560.

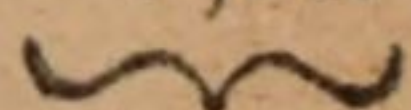
*The French King dyeth**Westminster-Abby made a Collegiate Church**The Queen of Scots Expostulations.**Scot-*

A. D.
1560.



Scotland, and assigned this as the Reason of it: At which the Queen of *Scots* being disturbed, she sent for *Throgmorton*, and desir'd him to acquaint her with the Reason of the Queen of England's Displeasure to her, whom, says she, *I have never injured by Word or Deed.*

A. D.
1561.



To which *Throgmorton* answer'd, laying aside the Character of an Ambassador, I will tell you: "As soon as the Queen my Mistress was Crowned, you
" Usurpt the Arms and Title of the Kingdom of
" *England*, which you did not in Queen *Mary's* Reign,
" and whether a greater Injury can be done a Prince,
" I leave your Wisdom to determine? *The Queen of*
" *Scots* urged, that her Husband's Father and her
" Husband himself commanded it should be so, but
" since their Deaths she had neither quartered the
" Arms nor used the Title; but all this would not satisfy Queen *Elizabeth*, but she would use them again, unless by confirming the Treaty, and obliging her Conscience by a solemn Oath, she gave her cause to believe it.

Her Letter
to Queen
Elizabeth,
and her
Answer.

In the mean time the Queen of *Scots* making use of an Opportunity, set sail from *Calais*, and, passing by the English Fleet in a Fog, arriv'd safe in *Scotland*, where she treated her Subjects with all Gentleness, and made no Alteration in Religion, tho' it was introduc'd tumultuously. To Queen *Elizabeth* she sent Letters by *Liddington*, wherein she expressed an earnest Desire for the Continuance of Peace between them, for which she said there was no surer Expedient, than that Queen *Elizabeth* should, by Authority of Parliament, declare her Heir apparent to the Crown, in case she died without Issue. This Demand seemed strange to Queen *Elizabeth*, who expected the Confirmation of the Treaty. However, she made her Answer, "That she hop'd she would
" not wrest the Scepter from her and her Children, if
" she should have any, tho' she had already usurp'd the
" Arms, for which she ought to make Satisfaction. As to
" declaring her Successor, she look'd upon it as unreasonable and dangerous, since it would prompt unstable and mercenary People to adore the Rising Sun,
" and forsake the Setting, and that designed Successors were not always able to confine their own, and
" the wicked Hopes of others, within the Bounds of
" Justice and Reason; so that if she should confirm
" her in the Succession, she should quite cut off her
" own Security, prepare her Winding Sheet with her
" own

“ own Hands, and dig her own Grave while she liv’d
 “ and beheld it.

A. D.

1561.

France all this while pretended Friendship with *England*, yet took our Merchant Ships, made them Prizes, and covertly at *Rome* solicited an Excommunication to be thundred out against *Queen Elizabeth*; but Pope *Sixtus V.* thought it more advisable to treat her mildly, and therefore sent the *Abbot Martinego* into *England* with Letters to her, full of Respect and Kindness; but the Council of *England* would not give him Admittance, there being a Law to the contrary, and so the *Nuncio* return’d. Now this Prudent and Provident Queen, having, in a good measure, settled the Affairs of the Church, she made Provision for the Defence of the State, and begun to furnish her Armory with Provisions for War. She cast many great Guns of *Brass* and *Iron*, and as if Providence had favour’d her Design, a rich Vein of pure and native *Brass* was discover’d near *Keswick* in *Cumberland*, and the Stone call’d *Lapis Calaminaris*, necessary for *Brass* Works, was now first found in *England*, and that in great abundance; and that she might not be oblig’d to pray and pay her Neighbours, or be stinted by them, she was the first that procur’d *Gun-powder* to be made in *England*. Her Majesty increased the Number of her Soldiers, and made an Addition to their Pay. She provided a good Fleet of Ships, and increased the Seamen’s Wages, and all the Nobility, Gentry and Yeomanry, imitating her Example, furnished themselves with Arms and Ammunition, and all things concurr’d to make the Kingdom happy.

No Admittance to the Pope’s Nuncio.

In the midst of these Cares happened a sad Accident; the beautiful Spire of the Cathedral Church of *St. Paul* in *London*, which was 520 Foot from the Ground, and 260 from the square Steeple on which it stood, being framed of Timber and covered with Lead, was fired by the Plummer, who on his Death-Bed confessed that it hapned thro’ his Carelessness in having a Pan of Coals in the Steeple, and it having been Thunder and Lightning the same Day, he boldly charged it upon the Heavens; which Report went current till his Death, and the Papists, in this Reign, in their Writings, charged this as a Judgment upon the Reformers of the Church in having been polluted by a false Worship: The Fire was so violent, that in five hours time it quite consumed it, and all the Roof of the

The Spire of *S. Paul’s* Steeple burnt.

A. D. Church, but the Arches remained whole. This great
1561. Loss was soon repaired by the Queen's Bounty, and
the Church-men's and others Charity, who re-edified
the Roof and Tower, but the Spire was wanting.

A. D. Now were great Commotions in *France*, between
1562. the Princes of the *Blood* and the *Guises*, and both
made a Cloak of Religion for the strengthening of their
Party; and Queen *Elizabeth*, being in fear lest *Eng-
land* should be involved in that War, sent Sir *Henry
Sidney* to persuade the Chiefs of both Factions to a
Peace; but the matter was now grown to that extre-
mity, that neither Party would hearken to an Accom-
modation, and therefore lying under a Necessity to
declare for one side, she made a League with the Pro-
testants of *France*, to assist them against the Tyranny
of the *Guises*, who began to practise barbarous Cruel-
ties against those of the Reform'd Religion, to deprive
her of her Right and Title to *Calais*, and had seized up-
on the Harbours and Ports in *Normandy*, that they
might invade *England* at their Pleasure. Wherefore
in *September* 1562, she sent into *France* one part of the
English Army under the Command of Sir *Adrian Poin-
ings*, who were joyfully receiv'd by the Inhabitants of
Diepe; and the Earl of *Warwick* coming somewhat la-
ter to *New-Haven*, they made some Excursions into
the Country, and the *English* Fleet brought in many
rich Prizes, which they took out of the Harbours there-
abouts. Now *Shan O Neal* came out of *Ireland*, and
throwing himself at the Queen's Feet, humbly begged
Pardon for rebelling against her Authority, and hav-
ing obtain'd it, was sent home again with Honour,
and for a while performed stout and faithful Service
against the *Hebridian* Rovers.

A League
with the
French
Prote-
stants.

A. D.
1563.

A grateful
Parlia-
ment.

In *January* following, a Parliament assembled at
Westminster, who in consideration that the Queen had
reform'd Religion, restor'd Peace, freed *England* and
Scotland from Foreign Enemies, refined the Money,
renewed the Royal Navy, and made an Enterprize
upon *France* for the Recovery of *Calais*, they granted
her one *Subsidy* and two *Fifteenths* and *Tenths*, as an Ex-
pression of their Gratitude for the Care she took of
England. The Queen, in the mean time, acquainted
the King of *Spain* by *Chaloner*, her Ambassador, that she
only held *New-Haven* till *Calais* was delivered to her,
and he answered, if *Calais* were all she desir'd, he wish-
ed it with all his heart; but if the War was under-
taken

taken for Religion, he could not be unconcern'd, and from thence-forward carry'd himself like an Enemy. The *French Hostages*, who were sent into *England* to secure the Payment of 500000 Crowns, and the Restoration of *Calais*, seeing all things tending to War, attempted to make their Escapes; but were taken and committed to Custody. And now the wavering *French* Protestants, seeing the *English* in possession of *New-Haven*, unanimously protest, unless they would abandon it, they would joyn with the Papists to force them out of it, which compelled the Earl of *Warwick*, for his own Security, to put all the *French*, as well Protestants as Papists, out of *New-Haven*, which so enraged them, that they lay close Siege to it, and the Pestilence sweeping away the Garrison Soldiers, and two hundred being cast away by Sea, that were sent to relieve them, the *English* were forc'd to capitulate, and at length to surrender the Town to the *French*, after they had held it eleven Months. The Recovery of this little Town caused New-Haven great Joy among the *French*, who made their Brags that the *English* were driven out of *France*, by the Help of the same Protestants that call'd them in, and now had forfeited their Claim to *Calais*. The Soldiers that were brought back into *England* sick of the Plague, dispersed the Contagion through the whole Realm, insomuch, that in *London* only there died of that Disease 21530.

A. D.
1563.

The Queen of *Scots*, during the Civil War in *France*, being unkindly treated by the *French*, she apply'd to the Queen of *England*, who recommended *Robert Dudley* to her for an Husband, promising if she would marry him, she should by Authority of the Parliament be declared her Sister or Daughter and Heir of *England*, in case she died without Issue; but the Subtilty of the *French* prevented it.

France having recovered Peace at home, and the Queen being neglected by the ungrateful *French* Protestants, resolved no longer to take care of other Men's Estates, to the hazard of her own, and therefore betook her self to thoughts of Peace, and accomplished it in a short time. The *French* receiv'd it joyfully, both Princes confirm'd it by their respective Oaths, and the Lord *Hunsdon* invested the *French* King with the Order of the Garter.

A. D.
1564.

In *Spain* and the *Low-Countries*, the *English* Merchants were now unkindly treated, by prohibiting *English* Cloth from being transported into *Spain* and *Flanders*;

A. D.
1564.

The Queen's
Progress.

the Pretence they made use of was, because the Plague had been lately in *England*, but indeed was a Design of the Cardinal *Granville*, to rob the *English* of that beneficial Trade, and to set up that Manufacture in the *Netherlands*; which the *English* Factory resenting, they removed their Mart or Staple of Cloth to *Emden*, upon the River *Ems*, in *Friesland*; and on the other side the Governours of the *Low-Countries*, by an Edict forbid their People from Trading with the *English* at *Emden*, or elsewhere, or to bring any Merchandise bought of them into the *Netherlands* under the Penalty of Confiscation: But *Gusman* who better understood the Interest of both Countries, compounded the matter, and restored the Trade between the two Nations. These matters being adjusted, the Queen took a Progress into the Country, and visiting the University of *Cambridge*, was entertain'd by the Students with *Comedies*, *Tragedies* and *Scholastical Disputations* to her great Satisfaction, and after she had viewed every *College*, in a Latin Oration, acknowledged their Respect and Duty to her; exhorted them to persevere in the Propagation of good Literature, and promised them her Royal Protection and Encouragement.

A Marriage
pro-
pounded.

A. D.
1565.

At her Return, she created *Robert Dudley*, whom she designed a Husband for the Queen of *Scots*, Baron of *Denby*, and Earl of *Leicester*, and he employ'd all possible Endeavours to ingratiate himself into the good Opinion of that Queen; but she to prevent that Match, sent for *Matthew* Earl of *Lenox* out of *England* into *Scotland*, from whence he had been banish'd many years. For his Son being a young Man, of the Royal Blood of *Scotland*, and grateful to the *English*, she thought he might be acceptable to both Nations. The Queen of *England* having notice of this Design, endeavour'd to prevent it, by assuring the Queen of *Scots* that such a Marriage would be generally disapprov'd by the *English*, and therefore again recommended *Leicester* to her for a Husband, whom, for that end she had raised to the Honour of an Earl. Commissioners being appointed to treat of this matter, and coming to no conclusion, the Lord *Darnly* with the Queen's leave goes into *Scotland*, to congratulate his Father, upon his Restoration to his Honour and Estate. He was a Gentleman of a comely Aspect, and a sweet Disposition, and the Queen of *Scots* no sooner saw him, but she fell in love with him, and desires the Queen of *Eng-*
land's

land's consent to marry him. *Queen Elizabeth* advising with her Council upon this Affair, sent *Sir Nicholae Throgmorton* to remind her, that a *hasty Marriage* was always attended with Repentance, and again recommended the Earl of *Leicester* to her; but the *Queen of Scots* answered, That the matter was gone too far to be recall'd, and that *Queen Elizabeth* had no reason to be displeased, since the Lord *Darnly* was an Englishman, of the Blood Royal of both Kingdoms, and one of the noblest and best accomplish'd Men in all Britain. The *Queen of England* to throw an Obstruction in the way, commandeth *Lenox* and the Lord *Darnly* to return into *England*. The Father modestly excuses himself by Letters, and the Son begs the *Queen* not to be an Enemy to his Preferment, and professes himself to be a passionate Lover of the *Queen of Scots*; and she to requite his Love soon after honour'd him with the Dignity of *Knighthood*, and with the Title of *Baron of Armanock*, *Earl of Ross*, and *Duke of Rothsay*, and the fifth Month after he came into *Scotland*, with the Consent of many of the *Scotch Nobility*, *The Queen of Scots* made him her Husband. marry'd.

The *Queen of England* having notice of it, carried her self very temperately, and those which sought the Advancement of the Protestant Religion and the Safety of *England*, made use of it to persuade the *Queen* to marry, and very opportunely the Emperor *Maximilian* propounded Honourable Conditions of Marriage with his Brother *Charles*, by *Adam Smircorite* his Ambassador. At which time (for what Cause is unknown, unless for this Marriage) there arose a great Quarrel in the Court between the Earl of *Suffex*, who favour'd this Marriage, and the Earl of *Leicester*, who, in respect of his own Hopes, privately opposed it; but the *Queen* reconciled them, and bury'd their Malice rather than extinguish'd it. Within a Month or two she sent *Tamworth*, a Gentleman of her Privy Chamber to the *Queen of Scots*, to expostulate with her about her hasty marrying one of her Subjects without her Consent, and to put her in mind of keeping Peace between the two Crowns; and the *Queen of Scots*, tho' she would not admit the Ambassador into her Presence, yet by Letter promised, "That
"neither she nor her Husband would attempt any thing
"prejudicial to the *Queen of England*, but would gladly contract such a League with her, as might be beneficial and honourable to both Kingdoms, provided
"the *Queen* would establish the Succession upon them.

A. D.
1566.

King
James
Born.

Henry Earl of Arundel, one of the greatest Peers in *England*, having in a vain hope of marrying the Queen, consumed a great part of his Estate, and now finding his Expectations dash'd by *Leicester's* Interest overpowering him at Court, obtained leave to travel, and many other Persons of Quality that hated Idleness, went to the Wars against the *Turks* in *Hungary*. In *June* 1566, the Queen of *Scots* was brought to Bed of her Son *James*, of which she inform'd Queen *Elizabeth*, by *James Melvin*. The Queen, tho' she was grieved that she was prevented by her Rival, in the Honour of being a Mother, yet she forthwith sent Sir *Henry Killigrew* to congratulate her Delivery, and the Birth of her Son; and then took her Progress into the Country, for her Recreation: And that she might shew her self as gracious to the Muses at *Oxford*, as she had done at *Cambridge*, went thither also, where being magnificently entertained, she continued there seven days, much delighted with the Pleasantness of the Place; the Beautifulnes of the Colleges; the Wit and most exquisite Learning of the Students, who spent a great part of the Nights in *Comedies* and *Tragedies*, and the Days in *Learned Disputations*: For which she gave them Thanks in a Latin Oration, and with great Sweetness of Speech and Demonstrations of Respect, left that Place, and returned to *London*.

The Queen's
Marriage
discoursed
in Parlia-
ment.

A *Parliament* being now assembled, after they had passed a Bill or two, both Houses fell very hotly upon the Succession, and some more hastily than wisely, taxed the Queen with neglecting her Country and Posterity; slandered *Cecil* with scandalous Libels, and cursed *Huic* her Physician, as Persons that advised her to a single Life. In the Lower House things were carried more tumultuously by *Bell*, *Munson*, *Dutton*, *Paul Wentworth* and others, who said if the Queen would neither marry, nor nominate a Successor, she was not to be counted as a Nurse or a Mother to her Country, but a Step-Mother, nay, as a Parricide, who had rather that *England* should expire with her than survive her. That no Princes but Cowards, and such as were hated by their own People, stood in fear of their Successors.

All this Froth Queen *Elizabeth* was acquainted with, and either contemned or concealed it, but finding this Heat rather increase than abate, she sent for thirty Members of both Houses to come before her, whom with gentle Reprehensions, and promising not only the Care of a Prince,

Prince, but the Affections of a Mother to her Country, she qualified and reduced them to a more temperate Behaviour; and whereas the Parliament had offered far greater Subsidies than her Occasions requir'd, upon condition that she would nominate her Successor, she voluntarily refused that extraordinary Tender; accepted an ordinary Sum, and freely remitted the fourth Payment of the Subsidy which they had granted her, saying, *That Money in her Subjects Purses, was as well as in her own.* Thus a Woman's Wisdom suppressed these Commotions, and time so qualified the People, that none but the Over-timorous or Seditious were troubled about a Successor. Nevertheless, that her Mind might be known, she committed *Thornton* to the *Tower* for calling the Queen of *Scots* undoubted Title into question.

A. D.
1566.

About the same time, the Day approaching for the Baptizing the Prince of *Scotland*, at whose Christening the Queen of *England* being requested to be Godmother, she sent the Earl of *Bedford* with a Font of Gold for a Present, to perform that Solemnity, and expressly commanded that neither he, nor any *Englishmen* in his Company, should give the Title of King to the Lord *Darnly*. The Earl also interceded with the Queen of *Scots*, to accommodate the Domestick Jarrs that were raised between her self and her Husband. And now being sick and weak, she recommends her young Son to the Care and Protection of Queen *Elizabeth*, promising that after this, she would never urge any Declaration of her Title, but with all Love and Affection would espouse her Interest against all the World.

The Prince
of Scot-
land bap-
tized.

The Queen of *Scots*, also promised to send Commissioners to the Queen of *England*, to form a League between them; but before their Arrival, and about two Months after the Prince was baptiz'd, the King her Husband, to the Detestation of all Men, in the twenty first year of his Age, in the dead time of the Night, was strangled in his Bed, and his Body thrown into an Orchard, and the House blown up with Gun-powder. This barbarous Fact was charged upon *Morton Murray* and other Confederates, and they lay it upon the Queen; but the truth of the matter is, that *Murray* the Queen's base Brother, and *Liddington* contriv'd it, and *Bothwell* being put in hopes by *Morton* and *Murray* of marrying the Queen, was the Person that murdered the King, of which afterwards by another Contrivance he was acquitted, and marry'd to the Queen; but not long after

A. D.
1567.

His Fa-
ther mur-
dered.

A. D.

1567.

*His Mother
imprisoned.*

ter, the same Confederates accuse the *Queen* for murdering her Husband, and having seized her Person, cloathed her in vile Apparel, and thrust her into Prison at *Loth-Leven*, under the Custody of *Murray's* Mother, who having been *James* the Fifth's Concubine, insulted over the afflicted *Queen*, and impudently told her, that she was the Lawful Wife of *James* the Fifth, and her Son *Murray* his lawful Issue.

As soon as *Queen Elizabeth* had Information of this cruel Usage of the *Queen*, by a pack of perfidious Rebels, she sends Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* into *Scotland*, to expostulate with the Confederates about this insolent and inhumane Treatment of the *Queen*, and to contrive some way to procure her Liberty, to punish the King's Murtherers, and to send the young Prince for his Safety into *England*; but all the Arguments her Ambassador employed to those Purposes were wholly ineffectual: And at length by threatening the poor *Queen* with Death, they compelled her to set her hand to three Writings: The first was to resign the Kingdom to her Son, who was scarce thirteen Months old. By the second she constituted *Murray* to be Vice-Roy during his Minority, and by the third, if *Murray* should refuse the Charge, she named eight other Governours, and forthwith signified all this to the *Queen* of *England* by *Throgmorton*, who had told her, that all Acts done in Prison were of no effect.

*King James
Crowned.*

Five days after the *Queen's* Resignation, *James* the *Queen's* young Son was Anointed and Crowned King, *Knox* preaching the Coronation Sermon. Fifteen days after, *Murray* returns out of *France* into *Scotland*, takes upon him the Regency, puts some of *Bothwell's* Servants, which assisted at the murdering the King, to Death; and they (which he little expected) protested at the Gallows, before God and his holy Angels, that they understood from *Bothwell*, that *Murray* and *Morton* were the Authors of it, as *Bothwell* himself being Prisoner in *Denmark*, confessed, who all cleared the *Queen* from Suspicion of being concerned in it; and so did *Morton* also, when he suffer'd Death, Fourteen years after. However, notwithstanding all the Sollicitations of the *Queen* of *England*, and the *French* King, they could not procure her Liberty.

*Calais
demanded.*

Eight years limited for the Delivery of *Calais* to the *English* were now expir'd, and Sir *Thomas Smith* and Sir *William Winter* were sent into *France* to demand it, but

but they so delay'd, and adjourned the Debate about it, from time to time, that by degrees it expir'd in silence, by means of Civil Wars arising in *France*; and without doubt the *French* never intended to restore it, for as soon as ever it was taken, they threw down the old Forts, and built new ones, let out the Houses and Lands for Fifty Years, and some they gave away for ever.

A. D.

1567.

While these things were negotiating in *France*, Count *Stolberg* came into *England* from the Emperor *Maximilian*, to treat of a Marriage with the Arch-Duke *Charles*; about which the Queen had a little before sent the Duke of *Suffolk* to the Emperor; in which Service the Duke used his utmost Endeavours, that the Queen might be marry'd to a Prince, and *Leicester* be disappointed of his Hopes. Nothing was more frequent in *Suffex's* Mouth, than that a Foreign Prince was to be preferred before the Noblest *Englishman*, whether we respect Honour, Power, or Riches: Inſomuch as one who was of a contrary Opinion, ſaid merrily in his Preſence, *That where thoſe three were only regarded in Marriage, the World and the Devil were the Marriage Brokers.* *Suffex* ſtay'd in *Austria* five Months, and was Honourably entertain'd at the Emperor's Charge; but Difficulties arising about Religion, Titles, and the Succeſſion, time wore out thoſe Propoſals that had been ſeven Years making by honourable Mediators.

About this time Ambaſſadors came from *Muscovy* with rich Furs of Sables, &c. and made large Offers to the Queen, which were accepted, thence the Company of the *Russia* Merchants were ſetled.

A. D.

1568.

Now was the Peace of the Church diſturbed by a twofold Enemy: *Thomas Harden*, *Nicholas Sanders* and other fugitive Priests take upon them by Authority from the See of *Rome*, to grant Abſolution to the Queen's Enemies, and to corrupt her Subjects in point of Religion and Allegiance; and on the other ſide, *Coleman*, *Button*, *Hallingham* and *Benson*, openly call in queſtion the Diſcipline of the Church of *England*, and endeavour to reform it after the *Geneva* Pattern; and this Sect increaſed every where, through their own Obſtinacy, the Negligence of our Biſhops, and the Favour of ſome Noblemen, that were gaping after the Church's Patrimony; which Sect was ſoon known, by the Name of *Puritans*.

The ſecond of *May* 1568. the Captive Queen of *Scots* made an Eſcape out of Priſon to *Hamilton Caſtle*,
by

A. D.
1568.

The Queen
of Scots
coming in-
to Eng-
land.

She is
confined.

by the Help of *George Douglas*, to whose Brother's Cu-
study she was committed. Here within a day or two
so great a Multitude flocked to her from all Parts, that
she levy'd an Army of Six Thousand Men, who not-
withstanding when they came to fight, for want of
Discipline, were easily defeated by *Murray*. The fear-
ful Queen being terrified with this ill Success, was
forced to save her Life by Flight, and chose rather to
commit her self to the Mercy of the Sea, and the Pro-
tection of Queen *Elizabeth*, than to the Fidelity of her own
People. Accordingly the Queen, with the Lords *Peris*
and *Fleming*, and a few others, took Boat, and on the
17th of *May* 1568. arrived at *Wirkington* in *Cumberland*,
and the same day writ a Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*,
desiring her Protection: Who return'd an Answer by
Sir Robert Knolls, in a comfortable Stile, but deny'd
her Access to her Person, and commanded her to be
convey'd by *Lowder* to *Carlisle*, as a Place of Safety,
if her Enemies should attempt any thing against her.
Receiving this Answer, and Denyal of Access, she wrote
again to the Queen upon the same Subject; by which *Q.*
Elizabeth seem'd to commiserate this afflicted Princess her
Kinswoman; but whatsoever *Queen Elizabeth's* Intenti-
ons were towards her, the Council of *England* enter into se-
rious consideration what to do in the matter, and after
long Debates, whether to keep her in *England*, to send
her into *France*, or return her to *Scotland*, was safest, came
to this Conclusion, That she should be detained by Right
of War, and not be deliver'd till she gave Satisfaction
for usurping the Title of *England*, and had answer'd
for the Death of the Lord *Darnly* her Husband. In the
mean time, *Murray* calls a Parliament in *Scotland*, in
the King's Name, and proscribed some which took part
with the Queen, and seized upon their Lands and
Houses. At which the Queen of *England* being highly
displeased, sharply reprimanded *Murray*, and told him
by *Middlemore*, "That she could not endure to see the
" Sacred Authority of Princes should be had in such
" Contempt, and trodden under foot at the Will of
" Factious and Rebellious People, and tho' they forgot
" the Duty of Subjects, and their Fidelity to their *Queen*,
" yet she could not be unmindful of any Office, either
" of Piety or Kindness, to the Queen her Sister and
" Neighbour, and therefore commanded him to appear
" before her, and give an Account of his Actions.

Murray having no means to maintain his Regency in *Scotland*, but what depended upon *England*, obeyed the Summons, and came to *York*, the place appointed to determine this matter; but after two Sets of Commissioners had heard the Cause, it came to nothing. And now there growing a Suspicion that the Duke of *Norfolk* would marry the Queen of *Scots*, she was removed from *Bolton* (where all the Neighbourhood were *Papists*) to *Tutbury*, and committed to the Custody of *George Earl of Shrewsbury*.

A. D.
1568.

Now the *Guises* in *France*, and the Duke d' *Alva* Persecution in the *Netherlands*, breathing nothing but Blood and raised a-Slaughter against the Protestants, the Queen of *England* gainst Protestants. took them into her Protection, liberally sent them a Hundred Thousand Angels, and Ammunition of War, and kindly entertain'd all *French* People, that, to avoid Persecution, fled into *England*. The like she did by the *Hollanders*, and permitted them to settle at *Norwich*, *Colchester*, *Sandwich*, *Maidstone* and *Southampton*, to the great Advantage of the *English*; for they were the first that brought into *England* the Art of making slight Stuffs, whereof the *English* are now the great Manufacturers. And now I am necessitated to touch upon the beginning of the Wars in the *Netherlands*, that are so twisted with the *English* Affairs, that they cannot be omitted.

When the *Spaniard* could by no intreaty be persuaded to desist from his bloody Proceedings in the Low-Countries, in matters of Religion, but still exercised the Low-Cruelties over Men's Consciences, by setting up the Spanish Inquisition, a few of the Rabble rais'd a Tumult, and pull'd down Images in Churches; Tho' this commotion was soon quieted, yet the *Spaniard* charged the whole People with Rebellion, and sent *Don Ferdinando Alvarez* Duke of *Alva*, a stern and cruel Man, to govern that Country, who made it his whole Design to enslave and ruine the People, which ushered in a long and dangerous War.

When the Rumour of the Marriage between the Duke of *Norfolk* and the Queen of *Scots* was communicated to Queen *Elizabeth*, she chid him severely for attempting it without her Approbation; but after *Murray* had aggravated the matter, and put Queen *Elizabeth* in fear that he would disturb her Government, he was imprisoned in the *Tower*, with the Bishop of *Ross*, and *Robert Riddolph*, the *Florentine*, was committed in-

A. D.
1569.

A. D.
1509.

The first
Rebellion.

to Sir *Francis Walsingham's* Custody. Now arose a Rebellion in the North, which at first was neglected, till the frequent Meetings of the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Westmorland*, and others gave too much reason to believe it. The Queen sent for the Earls to appear before her in *London*, but they refused to appear, and, under pretence of restoring the *Romish* Religion, rush into open Rebellion, and were the first that disturbed the Peace of the Kingdom after it had been Eleven Years in quiet, under the Reign of *Queen Elizabeth*. *Nicholas Morton*, a Priest, who was sent from the *Pope*, to pronounce *Queen Elizabeth* a Heretick, and consequently that she had forfeited her Right to the Crown, was the great Incendiary; who marching with them to *Durham*, tore and trampled under feet all the *English* Bibles, and Common Prayer Books, which they found in that Cathedral, and other Churches; and when they understood that the Queen of *Scots*, for whose Deliverance they took up Arms, was conveyed from *Tutbury* to *Coventry*, That *Sussex* had raised a powerful Army against them, That Sir *Robert Bowes* had a select Party on their Backs, and that the Lord *Scroop* and the Earl of *Cumberland* had strengthened *Carlisle*, they returned to *Bernard Castle*, besieged and took it by composition. The very day they were proclaimed *Traitors*, *Sussex* marched against them with seven thousand Men, accompany'd with *Edward* Earl of *Rutland*, the Lord *Hunsdon*, the Lord *Eures*, and the Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*. When *Sussex* was advanced to *Aukland*, the Rebels fled in great fear to *Hexham*, and afterwards through by-ways to *Naworth Castle*; where hearing that the Earl of *Warwick*, and *Clinton* Lord Admiral pursued them with twelve thousand Men from the South parts of *England*, the two Earls with a small Company, and unknown to the Confederates withdrew themselves into *Scotland*. *Northumberland* was deliver'd into *Murray's* Hands, *Westmorland* escaped into the *Netherlands*, where he led a very poor Life, even to Old Age, living upon a slender Pension from the *Spaniard*. The rest being dispersed, saved themselves, some by flight, and some by lurking in secret places. Threescore and six for a Terror to others, were hanged at *Durham*, and many at *York* and other places. *Charles* Earl of *Westmorland*, *Thomas* Earl of *Northumberland*, *Ann* his Wife, and about fifty more of noble Birth were convicted of Treason, and proscribed; the rest which had no Estates, nor had fled the Land were pardoned. But

The Rebels
Routed.

But out of the Ashes of this Rebellion broke out another Fire at *Naworth* in *Cumberland*, kindled by *Leonard Dacres*, Son of *William Lord Dacres of Gilesland*, to deliver the *Queen of Scots* out of Custody; to which end he fortified *Naworth-Castle* as his own Inheritance, and gathered together three Thousand that were well affected to his Family, which was, at that time, in great Reputation in the North. Against these Rebels marched the Lord *Hunsdon*, with the old Garrison Soldiers of *Berwick*. And *Dacres* not trusting to his strong holds, met and encountred the Lord *Hunsdon* with great Bravery; but being overcome he fled into *Scotland*, from thence crossed the Sea into *Flanders*, died in a miserable poor condition at *Louvain*, and seemed to inherit his Father's Curse, which he laid upon him on his Death Bed for his Disobedience. The Lord *Hunsdon* having taken in the Castles, committed the Charge of them to the Duke of *Norfolk's* Servants, and the *Queen* by publick Proclamation pardoned the Rabble, whom their Leader had excited to Rebellion.

A. D.

1569.

Another
Rebellion.

The *Queen*, tho' her Affairs were embroiled with one Rebellion after another, never failed to relieve the *French Protestants*, who were now so distressed that their Condition was almost desperate, and therefore she supplied the *Queen of Navarre* with Money and Soldiers, and encouraged other *Protestant Princes* to defend the common Cause of Religion. The *French King* to exhaust the Treasure of *England*, and force it to run in some other Channel, resolved to raise a new War in *Scotland* against the *Queen*, and intended to send *Sebastian Martignes* with an Army thither; but he being killed at the Siege of *St. John d'Angeli*, that Design vanished into nothing. Nor was *Ireland* at this time free from Rebellions, for *Edmund* and *Peter Boteler*, Brothers to the Earl of *Ormond*, being assisted by the *Pope* and the *Spaniard*, endeavour'd to re-establish the *Popish Religion*, and to dispossess *Queen Elizabeth* of her Kingdom of *Ireland*. To strengthen this Rebellion, *Juan Mendoza* was sent privately out of *Spain*; and to put an end to it, the Earl of *Ormond* went out of *England* thither, who persuaded his Brothers to lay down their Arms, and submit to the *Queen's* Mercy, who, at his request, granted their Pardons.

The Queen
relieves
the French
Prote-
stants.

The Rebellions in *England* and *Ireland* being extinguished, *Murray* earnestly requested, that the *Queen of Scots* might be deliver'd into his hands, and therefore to

A. D.

1570.

A. D.
1570.

Murray
the Scotch
Regent's
Death.

ingratiate himself with Queen *Elizabeth*, by some meritorious Exploit, he marched into the Borders of *Scotland* in quest of the *English Rebels*, of whom he took some; but when he thought himself most secure, was shot into the Bowels as he rode through the Streets in *Lithgow*, by one *Hamilton*, in a private Revenge for Injuries that *Murray* had done him, and presently escap'd into *France* to avoid the Punishment. Various were the Censures of *Murray's* Life and Conduct; those of his own Party commended him, *Buchanan* especially; and by the other he was reprobated under the worst Character imaginable, as a treacherous, ungrateful and perfidious Dissembler.

The Scots
beg assistance of
Duke d'
Alva.

Soon after the Regent's Murther, *Thomas Carr* of *Fernihurst*, and *Walter Scot* of *Buchuly*, with other Confederates, in Revenge of the Queen of *Scot's* Confinement, enter'd the *English* Borders with Fire and Sword, and made great Desolation till they were vanquish'd by the *English*; then the Lords of *Scotland* elected *Matthew Earl* of *Lenox*, the King's Grandfather, Regent of *Scotland*, Queen *Elizabeth* not opposing it. In the mean time *Huntley*, the Duke of *Castle Herault* and *Argyle*, by the Queen of *Scot's* Advice and Consent, dispatch'd *George Lord Seaton* on an Ambassy to the Duke d'*Alva*, to persuade that the Ten Thousand Ducats assign'd the Queen of *Scots* might be paid, and that he would assist her with Forces for the Recovery of her Liberty. The Duke d'*Alva* answer'd, that he would assist the Business, and send them Soldiers, but Troubles encreasing upon him in *Flanders*; put him out of capacity of sending any Men into *Scotland*. This Project failing, *France* and *Spain* solicit Queen *Elizabeth*, by their Ambassadors, to deliver the Queen of *Scots*; to whom the Queen made answer, That in Prudence and Safety she could not comply with their Requests, and grant her Liberty; who by encouraging domestick Rebellions, aspired to the Kingdom of *England*. All other Means hitherto proving ineffectual, put the whole *Popish* Party into a Rage, and therefore, as their last and strongest Effort, Pope *Pius V.* having the last year Excommunicated Queen *Elizabeth*, and excited her Subjects to Rebellion, now causeth the Sentence to be fixed upon the Gates of the Bishop of *London's* Palace, under this Title.

The Pope's
Bull.

A Sentence Declaratory of our holy Lord Pope *Pius Quintus*, against *Elizabeth Queen* of *England*, and the Hereticks adhering to her, wherein also all her Subjects are declared

red to be absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and whatever other Duty they owe her; and they which from henceforth shall obey her, are involved in the same Curse or Anathema.

A. D.

1570.

This Sentence begot a Rebellion amongst the hot-headed Papists in *Norfolk*, under pretence of delivering their Duke from Imprisonment, who was highly esteemed among them; but their Designs were discovered and prevented before they came to maturity. Many were condemned, but only three were executed; the Principal of which was *John Throgmorton*, who, tho' he stood mute at the Bar, confessed at the Gallows, that he was Author of it. Not long after *John Felton*, that set up the Pope's Bull upon the Bishop of *London's* Palace Gate, was taken (for he would not fly) and being arraigned, undauntedly confess'd the Fact, but would not acknowledge it to be a Fault, and was hanged near the Place where he committed the Treason, and by his suffering obtained the Reputation of a *Martyr*; tho' the more moderate sort of Papists disapproved the Pope's whole Proceedings, as Unjust and Illegal. The same day that *Felton* was arraigned, the Duke of *Norfolk*, upon his Confession of having acted imprudently, and engaging, under his hand, not to meddle farther in the Marriage without *Queen Elizabeth's* Approbation, he was discharged from Imprisonment.

Felton
Condemn'd
and Executed.

Queen Elizabeth, who was now suspicious that some ill Design was forming, sent *Secretary Cecil* and *Sir William Mildmay* to *Chatsworth* to the *Queen of Scots*, to consult with her how the Dissentions in *Scotland* might be composed, her self restor'd, and the Security of *Queen Elizabeth*, and the Safety of the King of *Scots* might be provided for; and after long Debates, to little purpose, they return'd without effecting any thing; upon which the Bishop of *Ross* sent to the Pope, the *French King* and the *Spaniard*, to assist the *Queen of Scots* with an Army, to accomplish her Deliverance; but all in vain, for they were employed in other Business.

Queen Elizabeth went now to see a stately Building in *London*, which *Sir Thomas Gresham* had erected for the Use of the Merchants, and gave it the name of the *Royal Exchange*, and after that, created *William Cecil* her Secretary, *Baron of Burleigh*. Several Overtures were again made for freeing the *Queen of Scots*; but not succeeding, the Bishop of *Ross* lays a Plot, that the

A. D.

1571.

The Royal
Exchange
named.

A. D. 1571. Duke of *Norfolk*, with other select Confederates, should surprize Queen *Elizabeth*, marry the Queen of *Scots*, and restore the *Popish* Religion; but the Duke being a Man of innate Goodness and Honour, abhorred and rejected the Design, as wicked and full of Danger.

A Match
prouded
to Queen
Elizabeth.

In *France*, a Marriage was solemnized between *Charles* the Ninth, King of *France*, and *Elizabeth* of *Austria* Daughter to the Emperor *Maximilian*, and at the same time a Marriage was propounded by the Queen Mother of *France*, between Queen *Elizabeth* and her Son *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, and Articles were sent into *England* from the Queen Mother, by her special Favourite *Guido Cavalcanto*, a *Florentine*, and from the *French* by his Ambassadors, who jointly and severally solicited Queen *Elizabeth*'s Consent a whole Year together; but many Difficulties arising, by little and little it grew very cold. But the *French* King took not more pains for accomplishing this Marriage, than some *English* did to hasten a Marriage between the Queen of *Scots* and the Duke of *Norfolk*, whom they had drawn again into the Snare; which being discovered, and *Higford* the Duke's Secretary apprehended, he confessed the whole matter, and told in what places he had hid the Cyphers, and Letters of Correspondence between the Queen of *Scots* and his Master: Which when the Council had received and read, as likewise Letters from the Pope, and *Barker* being also apprehended, had confess'd, the Duke himself was examin'd by the Council; who not knowing his Servants had confessed, but believing the Letters had been burnt, denied all that they had confessed, and therefore was again committed to the Tower of *London*; and afterward, *Banister* the Duke's Lawyer, the *Earls* of *Arundel* and *Southampton*, the Lord *Lumly*, the Lord *Cobham*, *Henry Percy*, *Louder*, *Powel*, *Goodyear*, and others, were committed to Prison, and every one of them, in hopes of Pardon, confessed all they knew.

The Duke
of Norfolk
Committed.

Not long after, the Duke was again brought before the Council, and these Men's Confessions, the Queen of *Scots*, and the Bishop of *Ross*'s Letters, being produced and read to him, he was utterly confounded, and broke out into these words, *I am betray'd and undone by my own Confidents, whom I was unwilling to mistrust*, and therefore humbly beg'd the Council to intercede with the Queen for his Pardon. The Bishop of *Ross*, by the Confession of all the Criminals, and of the Duke himself, being charged

The Bishop
of Ross ac-
cused, and
committed.

charged as the Contriver of the whole Conspiracy; it caused great Debates what should be done with him being an Ambassador; but the Learned *Civilians* having determined that he had forfeited the Privilege of an Ambassador, he was brought before the Council, told that he had forfeited his Character, and should be punish'd according to his Deserts. The Bishop answer'd, *That he was an Ambassador of an absolute Queen, whose Privileges were not to be violated.* Burleigh, in a grave Reply, shew'd him that the Privilege of an Ambassador could not protect him in Offences against the publick Majesty of a Prince, but that he was liable to Punishment, or else every lewd Ambassador might attempt against the Lives of Princes, without controul. When they began to urge him with *English* Evidences, he prayed them not to do it, since by a constant received Custom which had now obtain'd the Force of a Law, *The Testimony of an Englishman against a Scot, or of a Scot against an Englishman was not to be admitted,* however, he was committed to the Tower. At this very time, Matthew

A. D.

1571.

The Regent
of Scot-
land mur-
dered.

This Year began with the Arraignment of the Duke of Norfolk in Westminster-Hall, before George Lord Talbot of Shrewsbury, Constituted Lord high Steward upon that occasion. His Peers were Reginald Lord Grey, Earl of Kent; Thomas Ratcliff, Earl of Sussex; Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon; Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford; Henry Herbet, Earl of Pembroke; Edward Seymour or St. Maur, Earl of Hertford; Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick; Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester; Walter d'Evereux, Viscount Hereford; Edward Lord Clinton, Lord Admiral; William Lord Howard of Effingham, Lord Chamberlain; William Cecil, Lord Burleigh; Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton; James Blount, Lord Mountjoy; William Lord Sands; Thomas Lord Wentworth; William, Lord Burrough; Lewis, Lord Mordant; John Pawlet, Lord St. John of Basing; Robert Lord Rich; Roger Lord North;

A. D.

1572.

The Duke's
Tryal.

A. D. 1572. Edmund Bruges, Lord Chandois; Oliver, Lord St. John of Bletso; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst; and William West, Lord de la Ware.

His Con-
demnation.

His Speech.

The Heads of the Duke's Indictment were, " That
 " he had traiterously consulted about Deposing the
 " Queen, and taking away her Life; for contracting
 " Marriage with *Mary* Queen of *Scots* against the
 " Queen's Consent; for assisting Rebels against the
 " Queen, and for craving Forces from Pope *Pius V.* the
 " Spaniard, and the Duke d' *Alva*, to set the Queen of
 " *Scots* at Liberty, and to restore the *Popish* Religion
 " in England. Of all which Crimes being found Guilty by
 " his Peers, the Sentence of Death was pronounced against
 " him; and about four Months after, viz. on June 2. 1572,
 " he was brought to the Scaffold on Tower-Hill, accompanied
 " by Alexander Nowel, Dean of St. Pauls, where, as soon
 " as Silence was obtained, the Duke deliver'd himself as fol-
 " loweth, " It is no new thing for Men to suffer Death
 " in this Place, tho' since the beginning of our most
 " Gracious Queen's Reign, I am the first, and God
 " grant I may be the last, to which the People answer'd,
 " Amen. I acknowledge, saith he, that my Peers
 " have justly judged me worthy of Death, nor is it
 " my meaning to excuse my self. That I have trea-
 " ted with the Queen of *Scots*, I freely confess, and that
 " in matters of great consequence, without acquaint-
 " ing my Sovereign; which I ought not to have done,
 " for which I was cast into the Tower. I was after-
 " wards set free upon my humble Submission, and giv-
 " ing my Faith that I would have no more to do with
 " her; yet, I confess, I did the contrary, and that
 " troubles my Conscience; but at the Communion
 " Table, as it is commonly reported, I neither promised
 " nor swore it. *Ridolpho* I never talk'd with but once,
 " and that not to the Queen's Prejudice. Two Letters
 " from the Bishop of *Rome* I saw, to which I assented
 " not, nor to the Rebellion in the North. I have not
 " been addicted to Popery since I had any Taste of Reli-
 " gion; but have always been averse to *Popish* Doctrines,
 " and embraced the true Religion of Jesus Christ, and
 " have put my whole Trust in the Blood of Christ, my
 " Redeemer and Blessed Saviour. Yet can I not deny
 " but I have had among my Servants and Familiars,
 " some that have been addicted to the *Popish* Religion.
 " If I have thereby offended God, the Church, or the
 " Protestants, I beseech them and God to forgive me.

" Then

Then, after the Recital of one or two Psalms, he said with a loud Voice, "Into thy hands, Lord, I commend my Spirit. Then, embracing Sir Henry Leigh, he whispered something in his and Dean Nowel's Ear, who turning to the People said, The Duke desires you all to pray to God to have mercy on him; and when one reached him a Handkerchief to cover his Eyes, he refused it, saying, *I fear not Death.* So falling upon his Knees, and fixing his Mind upon God, he laid his Neck upon the Block, and at one stroke his Head was cut off, which the Executioner shewed as a lamentable Object to the weeping sorrowful Spectators; which was augmented at the remembrance that his Father died the same death, in the same place, five and twenty Years before, only for Quartering the Arms of *Edward the Confessor* with his own, which the *Mowbray's Dukes of Norfolk*, from whence he drew his Descent, did always bear, by permission of King *Richard II.*

A. D.

1572.

His Execution.

The Liberty of the Queen of Scots was now more particularly the earnest Endeavours of *Spain* and *France*; but she enclining rather to the *Spaniard* than the *French*, that King, by degrees, grew very remiss and cold in the matter. Now after a gallant Muster of the *Londoners*, and Exercising before the Queen at *Greenwich*, several Military Men, who spent their time in idleness at home, began to flock into the *Low Countries*, and, according as they stood affected, chose their side. Some went to the *Duke d'Alva*, and the greater number went to the *Prince of Orange*, who took up Arms in defence of the Protestant Religion, and Liberty of his Country. In *France* the Protestants had now a shew of better usage. *Montmorency* solicits the Marriage with the *Duke of Anjou* upon new terms; but since they could not agree about the Exercise of Religion, he returned into *France*, leaving that Affair under utter improbabilities of ever being accomplished. In the mean time, a Marriage was preparing, with great solemnity, between *Henry of Navarre* and *Madam Margaret* the *French King's* Sister. To this Marriage, by flattering Promises and credulous Hopes of a perpetual Peace, the Queen of *Navarre* and all the chief of the Protestant Party were drawn to it. *Leicester* and *Burleigh* were invited out of *England*, the *Electors Palatine's* Son out of *Germany*; that being thus brought together, both they and the Evangelical Religion might at one stroke have their

A. D. 1572. *The Massacre of Paris.* Throats cut, or at least be mortally wounded; for no sooner was the Marriage solemnized, but the *Massacre of Paris*, and the Butchering of the Protestants, followed throughout all the Cities of *France* upon Men of all Qualities and Degrees whatsoever. Two days before this *Massacre*, the Queen Mother of *France* had commanded *La Mothe Fenellon* to propound a Marriage between Queen *Elizabeth* and her youngest Son *Francis* Duke of *Alençon*, which he did at *Kenelworth*; but Queen *Elizabeth* modestly excused her self, upon the difference of *Religion* and inequality of Age, he being scarce Seventeen, and she Thirty Eight; but *Alençon* did not give over his Suit, but prosecuted it with vigour by the Mediation of *Flerie*.

The Queen's extraordinary Care.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoyed perfect Health, fell sick of the Small-Pox at *Hampton Court*, but perfectly recover'd before it was known abroad that she had been ill, and immediately betook her self to the Care of the Realm; commanded *Portsmouth* to be new and strongly fortified, increased the number of her Ships; made Musters of the Trained-Bands in every County, and caused the Youth to be taught the Exercise of Arms, and all this in a time of perfect Peace. In *Ireland* were some Commotions, occasioned by the too vigorous Conduct of Sir *Edward Fitton* Governour of *Connaught*, and therefore the Queen removed him out of that Post, and made him *Treasurer* of *Ireland*. In *Lemster* also the *O Moors*, a Seditious kind of People, raised an Insurrection; but being proclaimed Traytors, returned to their Duty at the Persuasion of the *Earl of Kildare*.

A. D. 1573.

Trouble from the Puritans.

Now the *Spanish* Affairs were very much perplexed in the *Low-Countries*: *Flushing* was lost, *Holland* revolted, the *Spanish* Fleet was overthrown by the *Zealanders*; which made the *Duke d'Alva* more favourable to the *English*, and permitted them to Trade with the *Netherlanders* as formerly. At home, the Queen and the Ecclesiastical Estate were much afflicted with the new Sect call'd *Puritans*, who endeavoured, under pretence of greater Purity in Doctrine and Discipline, to eradicate things that were well established, to make way for their own Novelties; therefore, and to prevent a Schism in the Church, the Queen commanded the Law concerning Uniformity of Publick Prayers, to be every where put in Execution.

Brian Mac Phelim now making Tumults and Insurrections

rections in *Ulster*, *Walter d' Evereux*, whom *Queen Elizabeth* had lately created *Earl of Essex*, desired the Queen's leave to undertake an Expedition against him, in which he was guided by the advice of those, who desired above all things to have him further off, and to plunge him into Dangers, under pretence of procuring him greater Honour. This he was not altogether insensible of, yet being of undaunted Courage, and not unacquainted in Military Affairs from his very Youth, he held his Resolution, and made an Agreement with the Queen, that if he drove the Rebels out of *Clandeby*, one half of it should be given to him and his Soldiers; in consideration whereof, for the Defence of it, he would maintain two hundred Horse and four hundred Foot at his own charge, and to equip them he borrowed of the Queen Ten Thousand Pounds, and mortgaged his Lands in *Essex* to her for Security. At the Earl's arrival in *Ireland*, *Mac Phelim* drove all his Cattel into the inner parts of the Country. In his Stock consisted all his Wealth, which was very considerable, for besides Sheep and Hogs he had thirty thousand Cows. At first he congratulated the Earl, and offered him great kindnesses, and so did *Mac Galespic*, *Mac Guiller*, *Hugh Baron of Dunganon*, and other great Lords round about; but shortly after he revolted, and joyned with his Friend *Turlogh Lenigh*, upon which followed many Skirmishes with the *English*, which with his Friends deserting him and returning into *England*, caused *Essex* to make great Complaints to the Queen, that the Expedition was undertaken too late, Victuals too long ere they came to them, and those tainted; that he was unable to bear the Charge of the War, and therefore prayed the Queen to carry on the War at her own Charge; but all Ears at Court were deaf to any Proposal for the Earl's Honour or Advantage. While he was providing against these apparent Difficulties, he narrowly escaped being slain by the Irish; for *Brian Mac Phelim* who had lately treacherously killed one Captain *Moore*, conspired with *Turlogh* and the *Hebredian Scots* to cut him off. Which as soon as *Essex* understood, he thought it not advisable to stay for their coming, and therefore began with them, and set upon them with so much Resolution, that with the slaughter of two hundred Irish, he took *Brian*, and *Rory Oge* his half Brother, and *Brian's* Wife; and so the Year ended with great Damage and Charge to the Earl of *Essex*.

A. D.
1573.

Essex's Expedition into Ireland.

A. D.

1574.

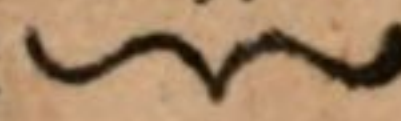
Alenſon
revives his
Pretenſi-
ons.

Francis Duke of Alenſon by Letters, and *Du Maurier*, the *French Ambaſſador*, now revived his Suit to *Queen Elizabeth*, and beg'd leave he might come into *England* to proſecute his Amours; and the *Queen* having a kindneſs for him, and, at preſent, ſome inclination to marry, ſhe granted him ſafe conduct, with demonſtrations of great Reſpect for his Perſon; but before her answer came to him, he was ſuſpected by the *Queen Mother*, that he and *Navarre* would remove her from the Government, and therefore they had Keepers ſet over them, and were committed to cuſtody; but *Thomas Wilkes* and *Dales* got privately to them, and comforted them in the *Queen of England's* Name, with aſſurance that ſhe would omit no opportunity to help and relieve them. To that end, *Queen Elizabeth* ſent *Thomas Randolph* into *France* to the *Queen Mother*, but before he arrived there *Charles the French King* died. Now *Henry* the third, ſucceeding to the Crown of *France*, the *Queen* ſent *Roger Lord North* to congratulate his return out of *Poland* to his own Inheritance, and deſired him to reſtore *Alenſon* into Favour, but the Ambaſſador effected nothing; for *France*, puſh'd on by its Deſtiny, run deſperately into a Civil War. Nevertheless the King and his Mother ſent *La Garde* into *England* to promote the Marriage for her Son *Alenſon*, on purpoſe to be rid of him.

The Earl of *Effex* in *Ireland* having reſigned up his Command in *Ulſter* to the Lord Deputy, as not being able to proſecute his Intentions with ſo ſmall a number of Men as were allowed him, he was commanded to re-aſſume it; but ſcarce had he marched againſt *Turlogh*, but other Orders came, that he ſhould give over the War, and make as Honourable a Peace as he could. Which being ſoon done, he marched againſt the *Hebredian Scots*, who had ſeized upon *Clandeby*, drove them into their Lurking Places, and by the ſkilful Conduct of *Norris*, attempted the Iſle of *Rachlin*, put four hundred of the Iſlanders to the Sword, forced the Caſtle, and Garifoned it with Engliſh. But now in the miſt of his Victories and Succeſſes, he was again contrary to expectation commanded to reſign his Authority; only as an ordinary Captain he had the command of three hundred Men given him, and by the contrivance of the Earl of *Leiceſter*, was croſſed in all his good purpoſes.

Effex croſ-
ſed in all
his purpo-
ſes.

All things now run into confusion in the *Low Countries*, by the Cruelty and Oppression of the *Spaniards*: 1575. 
 The stately City of *Antwerp* was miserably sacked; the House of the *English* Merchants there was plundered, and they forced to redeem their Persons by paying a great Sum of Gold to the Spanish Soldiers. Upon this and the coming of *Don John of Austria*, who was the natural Son of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth, to govern the *Netherlands*, the States took up Arms, and at the request and importunity of *Smevingham*, Queen *Elizabeth* sent them Twenty Thousand Pounds, upon condition they should neither change their Religion, nor receive the *French*, nor refuse a Peace, if *Don John* would condescend to reasonable conditions; so careful was this good Queen to keep the wavering Provinces in obedience to the *Spaniard*. About this time, the Emperor *Maximilian* and *Frederick* the Elector Palatine both died, and so did also *Walter d'Evereux* Earl of *Essex*, whom all agree to be an extraordinary Person, and as truly Honest as Honourable; yet could not withstand the effects of *Leicester's* Envy, and the Intrigues of his Court Faction; for having wasted a great part of his Estate in doing good Service in *Ireland*, and returning into *England*, was sent back again with the empty and insignificant Title of *Earl Marshal of Ireland*, and pining away with Grief and Dissatisfaction, he died of the Bloody-flux, after he had desired the standers-by to admonish his Son, who was then scarce ten years old, to have always in his thoughts the six and thirtieth year of his Age, as the utmost boundary of his Life, which neither he nor his Father had passed, and which his Son never lived to see, as will be shewed in its proper Place. The Death of this noble Man was attended with the suspicion of being poisoned, and the Rumour encreased by the Earl of *Leicester's* putting away *Douglas Sheffield* with a round Sum of Money, by whom he had a Son; (but whether she was his Wife, or his Mistress, is unknown) and immediately making Love to *Lettice* the Earl of *Essex's* Widow, to whom not long after he was married.

A. D.
1576. *The Queen
assists the
Hollanders.**Essex's
Death and
Premonition.*

Don John of Austria finding himself too weak to effect his designs upon the *Netherlands*, makes great shew of Friendship to Queen *Elizabeth*, and she inclining to Peace, sends an Ambassador to promote it; but the Prince of *Orange* having intimated to her by *Farnier*, that

A. D.
1577. 

A.D.
1577.

Don John's
Death.

that *Don John* was projecting to marry the Queen of *Scots*, and to conquer *England* and *Scotland*, she made a firm League, Offensive and Defensive, with the States of *Holland*, and that she might not be slandered with assisting Rebels against their Prince, assign'd *Don John's* Cruelty to the Protestants of *Holland*, and his Conspiracy against her and her Kingdom as the Cause of it. And now she might have employed her Father's saying, *Cui adhareo, Præst, to whom I adhere they succeed*; for her Majesty was now the Umpire between *Spain*, *France* and *Holland*, and held in her own hand the Balance of *Christendom*; which was a fore Affliction to *Don John*, who now in the Flower of his Age and Height of his Ambition died of Grief, or the Pestilence, for both are assigned as the Cause of it.

A. D.
1578.

Anjou pro-
secutes his
Amours.

The Duke of *Anjou*, though imployed in War, prosecuted his Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, which he had begun when he was Duke of *Alençon*. First *Basquerville*, who was sent on purpose, came to the Queen in her Progress at *Milford*, after him *Rambolette*, and last of all the Spruce Courtier *Semeiere*, well accompanied with the *French* Nobility; whom the Queen entertained so kindly at *Richmond*, that *Leicester* could not forbear shewing his Resentments, being now quite disappointed of his long hop'd-for Marriage with the Queen; which he might have known sooner, for when *Astly*, one of the Queen's Bedchamber, slyly recommended *Leicester* to her for a Husband, she answered him in great displeasure: *How canst thou think me so unlike my self, and so unmindful of Royal Majesty, that I should prefer my Servant, whom I have raised from nothing, before the greatest Princes in Christendom, in choosing me a Husband?* The King of *Scots* now takes upon him the Government of the Kingdom, and makes a grateful Acknowledgment of the Favours Queen *Elizabeth* had shewed him. But *Morton*, who could suffer none above him, kept the King within his own Power, in the Castle of *Sterlin*, and would admit none to him but whom he pleased; for which the Nobility rose in Arms against him.

A. D.
1579.

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In the mean while *Simiere*, on *Anjou's* behalf, lays strong siege to the Queen's Affections, and finding *Leicester* to be the main Obstruction, he told the Queen of his been married to *Essex's* Widow, which put her into such a chafe, that she commanded *Leicester* not to stir out of *Greenwich* Castle. Some few days after, the Duke  
of



of *Anjou* came privately into *England*, and unexpectedly addressed to the Queen at *Greenwich*, where they had some private Discourses together, and then without being known but to a very few, returned again into *France*. After a Month or two the Queen commanded *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer, *Suffex*, *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham*, to consider of the Dangers and Advantages that would accrue by this Marriage, which being reckoned up, the Balance was so even that nothing was determined by them.

A. D.

1579.

He came  
incognito  
to Green-  
wich.

About this time, *Francis Drake* having sailed round the World, and next to *Magellan*, who died in his Voyage, was the first that could justly claim the Glory of that noble Enterprize, returned into *England* with great Wealth, and deserved Honour. He was born of mean Parentage in *Devonshire*, bound Apprentice to a Master of a small Vessel, that carried Merchandize into *France* and *Zealand*. The Youth by his pains and diligence so pleased his Master, that at his death he gave him his Vessel for a Legacy; with this having got a little Money, and hearing that Sir *John Hawkins* was fitting out Ships at *Plymouth*, and intended a Voyage to *America*, which in those days was called the *New World*, he sold his Bark, and fitted out himself for that Expedition, which proved very unsuccessful to him. Five years after, in the year 1572, in a Man of War called the *Dragon*, with two little Tenders, he sailed again for *America*, acquainting only his Companions with the design of the Voyage. *Nombre de Dios*, a Town in the Isthmus of *Darien*, he presently took, and as soon lost it. Afterwards being informed by certain Fugitive Negroes, that great quantities of Gold and Silver was bringing from *Panama* by the *Muletiers*, he met them by the way, robbed them of it, and brought the Gold to his Ships; but the Silver, for want of help to carry it o'er the Mountains, he left behind, and buried some of it under-ground. Roving some time up and down the Mountains and parts adjoyning, he espied the South-Sea, and being blown up with Ambition and hopes of Wealth, from that very moment took up a Resolution to Navigate that Ocean.

A. D.

1580.

Drake's re-  
turn into  
England.

Accordingly in *December* 1577, he set sail from *Plymouth*, for the South-Sea, with five Ships and 163 Seamen, of which scarce a Man knew his Intentions. At *St. Jago* he took a *Portugal* Ship laden with Wine, let the Men go, but took the Ship and *Nonnius de Sylva*



A. D. 1580. *Sylva* the Pilot along with him, who might be useful to him on the Coasts of *Brasil*, with which he was well acquainted. Drawing near the *Equator*, *Drake* let all his Men blood with his own hands, to prevent Fevers and Calentures, and five and fifty days after saw no Land till he discovered *Brasil*. In *August* he entred the Streight of *Magellan*, from thence into the *Pacifick Sea*, but found it so rough and tempestuous that it carried the Fleet a hundred Leagues Westward, and separated them. In *September* he came to *Mouch*, where meeting with a Fisherman, he told him a great Spanish Ship lay laden at *Villa Parizo*, and directed them thither. The *Spaniard*, who took them for their Countrymen, were glad to see them; but *Drake* claps them aboard to rights, and putting the *Spaniards* under the Hatches, plundered the Town of *St. Jago*, together with the Chapel which fell to *Fletcher* his Chaplain's share; and having set the *Spaniards* ashoar, carried away the Ship, wherein was four hundred pound weight of the finest Gold, and the Master who was a *Grecian*. Then he went ashoar, where he found a *Spaniard* sleeping, and by him lay thirteen Wedges of Silver, valued at four hundred thousand Ducats, which he carried away, without being so rude as to wake the *Spaniard*.

At *Arica* he found three Ships without a Man in them, out of which he took, besides other Merchandize, fifty seven Wedges of Silver, each weighing twenty pound. At *Lima* he found twelve Ships, and in them store of Silks, and a Chest of Money ready coined, but not so much as a Boy aboard them. Having sent these Ships to Sea, he chased a very rich Ship, called the *Cacafuogo*, or *Shite-Fire*, and in his way took a *Brigantine* with fourscore pound weight of Gold in her, and soon after the *Cacafuogo*, out of which, besides Pearls and precious Stones, he took fourscore pound weight of Gold, thirteen Chests of coined Silver, and as much other Silver as would balast a Ship. Now he began to think of returning; and because the Streight of *Magellan* was very dangerous, and that he thought the *Spaniards* would lay wait for him, as in truth they did, he steered his course Northward to 42 degrees of Latitude, in hopes to discover a Streight that might lead him homeward; but finding nothing there but thick Clouds, severe Cold, and naked Shoars covered only with Snow, he fell to thirty eight degrees, and there meeting



meeting with a convenient Harbour he staid a while. A. D. 1580.  
 From thence he came to the *Molucca* Islands, thence to *Java Major*, from that place steered for the *Cape of Good-hope*, and from thence with a prosperous Gale into *England*, and came to an Anchor in *Plymouth Sound* the third of *September* 1580, three years after he set Sail from thence, to the great Admiration of all Men! *Drake's Return into England.*

The Queen received him very graciously, and laid up the Treasure he brought by way of Sequestration, that it might be forth-coming if the *Spaniard* should demand it. His Ship he caused to be drawn up into a little Creek near *Deptford*, in which her Majesty was treated, and at the same time conferred the Honour of Knighthood upon *Drake*. A great Sum of this Money was afterward paid to *Pedro Sebara*, a *Spaniard*, which he never paid to the right Owners, but employed it against the Queen in paying the *Spaniards* that served in the *Netherlands*, which was discovered when it was too late to redress it.

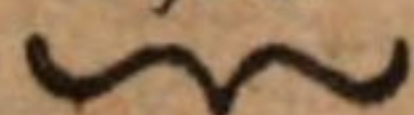
New Commotions arose about this time in *Ireland*, by the *O Conors*; but this Conspiracy was timely crush'd by the great Care of *Arthur Lord Grey*, Deputy of *Ireland*, who by terrifying others brought *Tutlough Lenigh* to Terms of Peace, who had raised Disturbances in *Ulster*, and reduced the *O Brians* and *O Moors* to land, and Submission. Great Feuds also were amongst the *Scotch Nobility*, one Party did accuse *Lenox* of dangerous Designs against the King and Kingdom, and others accuse *Morton*: Who was afterwards found guilty of being accessory to the Murther of the King's Father, for which he was beheaded. Collonel *Norris*, with his *English* Soldiers raised the Siege of *Steenwick*, and put *Reneberg's* Men to flight. The *English*, who of all the Northern Nations were counted the Soberest People, now learned of the *Netherlands*, the scandalous Vice of Debauchery, and immoderate Drinking, which had now so diffused it self over the whole Nation, that it was forced to be restrained by severe Laws. *A. D. 1581. Commotions in Ireland, and Feuds in Scotland.*

The *English* and *French* Commissioners, appointed to treat of the Marriage betwixt the Queen and the Duke of *Anjou*, at length agreed upon a Matrimonial Instrument to that purpose, viz. "That the Duke of *Anjou*, and the Queen of *England*, should contract Marriage within six Weeks after the Ratification of these Articles in *England*. That the Duke and all his Retainers (provided they are not Subjects to *Eng-*

*Articles of Marriage.*



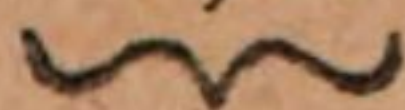
A. D.  
1581.



*England*) should freely enjoy the Exercise of their own Religion. That the *Duke* should enjoy the Title of King, but the Administration of the Government to be entirely in the Queen. Letters Patents, Writs, &c. should run in both their Names, as in the time of *Philip* and *Mary*. The Queen should assign him a Yearly Pension, and the *Duke* should settle the *Queen* a Dowry, to the value of forty Thousand Crowns a Year out of his *Dukedom* of *Berry*. The Education and Disposal of their Children, as to their Inheritances and Succession, should be left to the Parliament. The *Duke* should prefer no Foreigner in any Office in *England*, nor alter any thing in the Laws. To which a Reservation was added apart by it self, That *Queen Elizabeth* was not bound to consummate the Marriage till she and the *Duke* had satisfied one another in some Particulars. Not long after the *Duke* came into *England* in Person, was received with as great Respect as he could hope for, and no demonstration of Honour and Affection was omitted by the Queen; insomuch that as soon as she had magnificently celebrated the Anniversary of her Coronation, she drew off a Ring from her own Finger and put it upon the *Duke's*, upon certain Conditions known only to themselves; but the Spectators concluded it was a Confirmation of a Promise of Marriage. The Courtiers were diversly affected, some rejoiced, and others were dejected with Sorrow. *Leicester*, *Hatton* and *Walsingham* stormed at it, as if the Queen, the whole Realm, and Religion were ruined. The Queen's Gentlewomen, with whom she used to be familiar, grieved and lamented at such an extraordinary rate, that it terrified the Queen, broke her Rest, and so discomposed her Mind, that the next day she sent for the *Duke* of *Anjou*, and after they had long discoursed privately, the *Duke* return'd in passion to his Chamber, threw down the Ring and took it up again, bitterly inveighing against the Levity of Women, and the Inconstancy of Islanders, with two or three biting Reflections.

The Duke  
of Anjou  
comes into  
England.

A. D.  
1582.



The Queen also having seriously weighed the Inconveniency that might attend the Breach of this Marriage, and the Advantages that might accrue by consummating it, she rather inclined to think that she might better provide for the Common Weal, and her own Glory by living a single Life, than by entering into a state of Marriage; and yet carried it respectfully to the *Duke*  
of



of *Anjou*, who having staid three Months in *England* returned into the *Netherlands*, where he was made Duke of *Brabant*, *Limburg*, *Lorrain*, &c. for the States had before declared, that the King of *Spain* had forfeited his Sovereignty by violating their Laws, and therefore they broke his Seals in pieces, threw down his Arms in all Places, absolv'd the People from their Oaths of Allegiance, and said they were at liberty to chuse another Prince. And the Duke of *Anjou* having soon spent and consumed a great Mass of Money in the *Netherlands*, which he received from the Queen of *England*, and that without Success; and now finding that they gave him nothing but bare and empty Titles, whilst the Government and Management of all Affairs was wholly in the hands of the Estates, he rashly attempted to force *Antwerp* and other Cities, not without great Loss of his own Men to no purpose, and then dishonourably left the *Netherlands* without doing any thing worthy of Memory.

A. D.

1582.

He returns  
discontent-  
ed.

Queen *Elizabeth*, to strengthen her self abroad against the *Spaniard*, whom she knew was exasperated against her, without hope of Reconciliation, chose *Frederick II.* King of *Denmark* into the Society of the Order of *St. George*: And for her better Security at home, thought of compounding Matters with the Queen of *Scots*, but was prevented by the Artifice of the *Guises*, who sought to deliver her by Force or Stratagem, and had underhand encouraged *Lenox* to detain the King in *Ruthen Castle* against his Will, and so frightened and terrified him that he durst not stir abroad: Of which the Queen of *Scots* sadly complaining to the Queen of *England*, a serious Consultation was held in the Council-Chamber of *England*, upon what Terms that Queen might be set at Liberty; but the *Scots* of the *English* Faction so far opposed all Methods for her Deliverance, that their Debates had no effect. About this time dyed *Edmund Grindal* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a grave and religious Prelate. In his room succeeded *John Whitgift*, a very Pious and Learned Man, who finding that the *Puritans* had made a Schism in the Church, that the *Papists* were pleas'd at the Division, and by that means drew many to their Party, this good Man to take away these Differences, and restore the Church to Unity, propounded these Articles to be subscribed by the Ministers. First, That the Queen had Supreme Power over all Persons born in her Dominions, of what con-

A. D.

1583.

The Queen's  
Policy.

A Union  
endeavour-  
ed.

dition



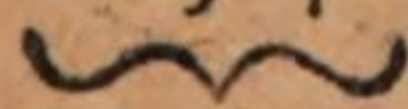
A. D.  
1583.



dition soever, and that no Foreign Prince or Prelate hath, or ought to have, any Power Civil or Ecclesiastical within her Dominions. Secondly, That the Book of Common-Prayer, and that other Book of Ordaining Bishops, Priests and Deacons, contained nothing in them contrary to God's Word, but might lawfully be used; and that they should use that, and no other Form, either of Prayer or Administration of the Sacraments. Thirdly, That they approved the Articles of the Synod at London, published by the Queen's Authority in the Year 1562, and believed the same to be Consonant to God's Word. It's almost incredible to believe what Controversies and Disputes, what Hatred and reproachful Speeches he underwent from some Factious Ministers, and what Troubles and Injuries he suffered from some Noblemen, who by promoting undeserving Persons, caused Distraction in the Church, or by gaping after its Revenues, sought to divide and destroy it. Nevertheless by his Constancy, Courage and Patience, he overcame all Difficulties, and at last restored the Church to Peace and Uniformity. The Papists both abroad and at home were very busie in slandering the Queen's Government, and forming Plots to take away her Life. Hereupon, as also upon Rumours from all Parts, that great Dangers were at hand, to prevent the wicked Designs and treacherous Practices of Seditious People, and to provide effectually for the Queen's Safety, upon which the Welfare of Religion and the Kingdom depended, many Men of all Qualities, Degrees and Conditions, throughout England, by Leicester's Means, and out of their own Care, and Love, bound themselves in an Association by mutual Oaths, Subscriptions and Seals, as far as lay in their Power, to prosecute to Death all those that should attempt anything against the Queen. The Queen of Scots, who easily perceived that her Destruction was aimed at in this Association, being weary of Imprisonment, and fearing harder Measure, sent these Propositions to the Queen and Council by her Secretary Name.

*The Association for the Queen's Safety.*

A. D.  
1584.



*Proposals for the Queen of Scots Liberty.*

That if her Liberty might be granted, and she assured of Queen Elizabeth's Love, she would enter into a closer Amity with the Queen, officiously love and observe her above all other Princes in Christendom, forget all past Displeasures, acknowledge her to be the true and rightful Queen of England, forbear any Claim to the Crown during her Life, renounce the Arms of England, and the Pope's Bull for deposing her, and confirm all this by Hostages. Moreover that she



she would alter nothing in Scotland, provided she and her Family might be allowed the exercise of their own Religion. That she would bury in Oblivion all Injuries that had been done her in Scotland, upon condition that what had been Enacted to her Disgrace might be Repealed. That she would recommend such Counsellors to the King as were well affected to Peace with England, and as far as lay in her power reconcile such of the Nobility as were fled. That she would do nothing about her Son's Marriage without acquainting the Queen: And as she would do nothing without the advice of her Son, so she desired that her Son might be included in this Treaty, that so it might be more strongly and solidly confirmed. She doubted not but the King of France would be her Surety in the business, and pass his word together with the Princes of the House of Lorrain for performance of Covenants. She prayed a speedy answer to prevent Inconveniences; and lastly, That she might be kept in freer Custody, that thereby the Queen's Love towards her might be more plainly manifested.

These Proposals carrying a face of much Respect and Honour, Queen Elizabeth seemed to be extremely pleased with them, and it was believed by all, that she really intended to set her at liberty; but when the business was upon the very point of concluding, it was dash'd by the Scots of the contrary Faction; who cried out, If she was set at liberty, there was no hope of the Queen of England's Safety; and if she were admitted into Partnership with her Son in the Kingdom, that the true Religion in Britain was ruined, and both the Kingdoms undone: Not content with this, the Scotch Pulpits roared against the Queen, and audaciously bespattered the King and Council; for which being summoned to appear before them, they peremptorily refused, as if the Scotch Clergy were exempted from the Authority of the Prince, and only Subject to the Presbytery.

But new Suspicions being laid hold on, she was removed out of the Earl of Shrewsbury's custody, and committed to the care of Sir Amias Pawlett, and Sir Drue Drury, and that purposely as some imagined, that being thereby driven to despair, she might take rash Counsels, and be the easier ensnared: For the Earl of Shrewsbury had kept her fifteen years with so much prudence and circumspection, that he prevented all ways of attempting any thing either for or against her; but now she importunes the Pope and the King of Spain by Sir Francis Inglesfield to hasten her deliverance whatever should

A.D.

1584.

Queen Elizabeth inclined to free her.

She is removed to other Keepers.



A. D. 1584. become of her. *Leicester* also, who People thought studied to prevent her Succession, privately sent Murderers (as some report) to take away her Life; but *Drury*, being a sincere honest Man, and one that abhorred to foul a Crime, would not admit them to see her; tho' privately Letters, as well counterfeit as true, were sent to her, that pushed her to Destruction.

This year died, in *France*, *Francis* Duke of *Anjou*, of a Sickness which he contracted through Grief and Disappointments; and in *Holland* died *William* Prince of *Orange*, being treacherously shot with three Bullets out of a Gun by *Balthazar* a *Burgundian*: The loss of both which gave the Queen a real Sorrow and Affliction.

A. D. 1585. At this time a *Parliament* was assembled, and *William Parry*, by Nation a *Welchman*, of obscure Parents, and a mean Estate, by Title a Doctor of Law, though but indifferently learned; when a *Bill* was offered in the House of Commons against the *Jesuits*, he was the only Man that spoke against it, saying, *The Law was cruel, desperate, and of pernicious Consequence to the English Nation*. Being required to give his Reasons, he refused unless it were before the Queen and Council, upon which he was committed to Custody; but his Reasons being heard, and Submission made, he was set at liberty. Shortly after the same *Parry* was accused by *Edmond Nevil*, for being engaged in a design to take away the Queen's Life, which at first he confidently denied, but being confronted by *Nevil* and sent to the *Tower*, he voluntarily confess'd the Fact, and said, The reading of *Allen's* Book against the *Justice of Britain*, wherein he taught, that Princes Excommunicated for Heresie might be deprived of Life, put him upon it. Some few days after he was arraigned at the King's-Bench-Bar, and pleading Guilty to his Indictment, received the Sentence of Death. Five days after he was laid upon an Hurdle, drawn through the Streets of *London* to *Westminster*, and without so much shew of Piety as to recommend himself to God, suffered the Death of a Traitor in the Court-yard of the Great Palace at *Westminster*, where was then a full Assembly of the Estates of the Realm met in Parliament.

Parry Executed for Treason.

The States of *Holland* being now in great distress, fly to the Queen of *England* for Protection; upon which a Consultation was held, whether they were to be protected or not? Some were of opinion, that they should be immediately relieved and assisted, lest the *Spaniards* having



having subdued them should from thence endanger *England*. Others alledged, that they were to be accounted *Rebels*, and unworthy of Succour, having cast off their Allegiance to their Prince; but those that were of this opinion, were reproached as inclining to the *Spanish* Interest, degenerated *Englishmen*, and faint-hearted Cowards. The Queen, with great deliberation, considered, that if they should put themselves under the Protection of the *French*, it might be prejudicial to the Kingdom, therefore she resolved to take them into her Protection; whilst all the Princes of *Christendom* admir'd at her Courage, which durst engage in a War against so Potent a Monarch as *Spain* was; and the King of *Sweden* said, *That Queen Elizabeth had now taken the Crown from her Head, and adventured it upon the doubtful Chance of War.*

War was now proclaimed, and that the Queen might not by delaying expect the War at her own doors, but give the *Spaniard* diversion in his own Territories, She sent Sir *Francis Drake* as Admiral, and *Christopher Carlisle* as General of her Land Forces, to the *West-Indies* with a Fleet of 21 Ships and 2300 Voluntier Soldiers, besides Seamen; who on a sudden surprized and took the Town of *St. Jago*. Not long after they took *St. Domingo*, which the Citizens redeemed, by paying 25000 Ducats, which they could hardly make up among them. From hence they sailed to the Continent of *America*, and with great difficulty took the City of *Carthagena*. Here they continued six Weeks, compounding at last to spare the Town for 110000 Ducats, which were presently paid down, and equally shared among the Seamen and Soldiers which had most need, and besides this they got little Booty; for the Citizens having notice of their coming from *Hispaniola*, they had conveyed away their Richest Treasure into remoter places, and the *Calenture* raging among them, and lessening their Numbers, forced them to lay aside their design of taking *Nombre de Dios*, and to sail homewards. Then coasting along the Shore of *Florida*, they took two Towns, *St. Anthony's* and *St. Helen's*, and burnt them. Holding their course, they found certain *Englishmen*, who had seated themselves in *Virginia*, so named in Honour of Queen *Elizabeth*, by that excellent Man, Sir *Walter Ramleigh*, who being in great want, Sir *Francis Drake* brought them back to their own Country; and these were the Men that first brought Tobacco into *England*.

War between the English and Spaniards.



A. D.  
1585.

Leicester  
made Ge-  
neral.

At the latter end of this Year, the Earl of *Leicester*, ambitious of Command and Glory, crossed the Sea into *Holland*, with the Title of *General of the Queen of England's Auxiliary Forces*, and was accompanied by the Earl of *Essex*, the Lords *Audley* and *North*, Sir *William Russel*, Sir *Thomas Shirley*, Sir *Arthur Bassett*, Sir *Walter Waller*, Sir *Gervase Clifton*, and other Knights, besides a select Troop of five hundred Gentlemen. *Leicester* arriving at *Flushing*, was entertained by his Nephew Sir *Philip Sidney* Governour of that Place, and afterwards by the Cities of *Zealand* and *Holland* with all manner of Honour, Acclamations, Triumphal Arches, and Feasting; and at the *Hague* had the Title of *Governour and Captain General of Holland, Zealand, and all the United and Confederated Provinces*, given him in Writing by the States General. And now being attended by a Noble Guard, saluted by all Men with the Title of *Your Excellency*, and blown up with Flattery, he began to take upon him as if he were a King; which the Queen ill resenting, both in the Givers and the Takers, checkt his swelling Pride in this short Letter.

A. D.  
1586.

The Queen's  
angry Let-  
ter.

"How contemptibly you have carried your self to-  
wards Us, you will understand by this Messenger,  
whom we send to you for this purpose. We little  
thought one that We had raised out of the Dust,  
would with so great Contempt have slighted and  
broken our Commands, in a matter of so great Con-  
sequence, and so highly concerning Us and our Ho-  
nour: Whereof though you have but small regard,  
contrary to what you ought by your *Allegiance* to  
shew Us, yet think not that We are so careless of  
repairing it, that we can bury such an Injury in Ob-  
livion. We therefore command you, all Excuses a-  
part, that forthwith upon the *Allegiance* you owe Us,  
you do whatsoever *Heneage* Our Vice-Chamberlain  
shall make known unto you in Our Name, upon pain  
of farther Peril.

In another Letter to the States General, she thus ex-  
postulated with them: "That they had to her Disgrace  
and without her Knowledge, conferred the Absolute  
Government of the *Confederated Provinces* upon *Lei-*  
*cester* her Subject, when she had absolutely refused it  
her self, and by a Publick Manifesto had declared  
to all the World that she intended only to relieve  
and succour her distressed Neighbours, and not to take  
the Sovereignty over them. She admonished them  
therefore



“ therefore to turn *Leicester* out of that absolute Au-  
 “ thority, whose Commission she had limited. The  
 States in humble manner write her Answer: “ That  
 “ they were very sorry they had incurred her Displea-  
 “ sure by granting absolute Authority to *Leicester* with-  
 “ out her knowledge. They entreat her to be pacified  
 “ considering the necessity thereof; forasmuch as such  
 “ an Authority was necessary to be granted to one or  
 “ other, to avoid Troubles and Dissentions, and to re-  
 “ voke the Authority already granted, were nothing  
 “ else but to plunge the State of the *Netherlands* into  
 “ extreme danger. By these Letters of the States, and  
 the sorrowful Lines of *Leicester*, who knew well enough  
 how with Tears and a pretended Sorrow for what was  
 past, to reconcile himself to his mild and good-natur'd  
 Princess, her Displeasure vanished by degrees till it was  
 forgotten. Now the Prince of *Parma* besieged *Grave*,  
 which was resigned to him by *Van Hemert* the Gover-  
 nour, a young raw Man, and unskill'd in military  
 Affairs, for which he afterwards suffer'd Death as a  
 Terror to others. After that *Parma* took *Venlo*, whilst  
 in other parts Sir *Philip Sidney* and *Grave Maurice* the  
 Prince of *Orange's* Son, surprized *Axele*, and Sir *Wil-*  
*liam Pelham* General of the *English* Horse ranged all  
 over *Brabant*. From *Venlo* the Prince of *Parma* march'd  
 to *Berck*, which was garison'd with 1200 *English* un-  
 der the Command of Collonel *Morgan*, and laid Siege  
 to it. To raise this Siege *Leicester* made haste thither,  
 but finding himself under great Disadvantages, he turn-  
 ed off and besieged *Doesbourg*, which was yielded to  
 him before the Prince of *Parma* could be drawn from  
*Berck* to relieve it. A Convoy being sent to *Zutphen*,  
 the *English* in a Fog fell upon the *Spaniards*, and tho'  
 they were fewer in Number, overthrew a Troop of  
 Horse under the Command of *George Cressiack* an *Alba-*  
*nois*, and took him Prisoner, after he was unhorsed by  
 the Lord *Willoughby*; *Hannibal Gonzago* and many others  
 being slain. Of the *English* few were missing but the  
 brave Sir *Philip Sidney*, who, having his Horse killed un-  
 der him, was shot into the Thigh as he was mounting  
 another, and died five and twenty days after. He died  
 in the Flower of his Age, lamented by all good Men,  
 having scarce out-lived his Father four Months: For  
 whom his Uncle *Leicester*, at his return into *England*,  
 made a splendid military Funeral in *St. Paul's Church*  
 in *London*. *James King of Scots* honoured him with

A. D.

1586.

She is pa-  
cified.Sir Philip  
Sidney  
killed.



A. D. 1586. an Epitaph; both the *Universities* condoled his Loss in mournful Dirges, and *New College* in Oxford published an elegant Description of his Atchievements. These and far greater Honours his great Vertue, Excellent Wit, Exquisite Learning, Profound Judgment, and Sweet Conditions deserved, and will be remembered with Love and Admiration till Time shall be no more.

Leicester  
returns into  
England.

*Leicester*, though full of Sorrow for the Loss of his Nephew, vigorously assaulted the *Sconces* near *Zutphen*; and the better to take the Town, he took the Island in the River, and in it the principal Fort: Then setting upon the lesser Fort, he took it by the valour of *Edward Stanly*, who laying hold on a *Spaniard's* Pike that was thrust at him, held it so fast that he was drawn up into the Sconce by it, which so terrified the *Spaniards* that they quitted it. *Leicester* Knighted *Stanly* for his Courage, and gave him forty Pounds *English* in hand, and a yearly Pension of a hundred Marks during Life. And now *Leicester* having blocked up *Zutphen*, and put his Men into Winter Quarters, he returned to the *Hague*, where he was but indifferently received by the States General, and instead of Congratulations, heard nothing but Complaints of his ill Conduct, misapplying their Money, and many other matters, which he pacified with good words, and promising Redress for the future, took his leave and returned into *England*.

A Conspira-  
cy against  
Queen Eli-  
zabeth.

Now the long desired League betwixt *England* and *Scotland* was agreed upon and mutually confirm'd, and the same Month a dangerous Conspiracy against the Queen was discovered. Some Fugitive Priests in the *Seminary* at *Rheims* had persuaded one *Savage*, a Bastard born, and a Person fit to undertake any Villainy, that it was a meritorious Act to kill Queen *Elizabeth*, and he readily engaged to do it. But that so great a matter might not be intrusted in one hand, several others, as *Ballard*, *Babington*, *Edward Windsor*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Charles Tilney*, *Chidiack Tichburn*, *Edward Abington*, *Robert Gage* of *Surrey*, *John Travers*, *John Charnock*, *John Jones*, --- *Barnwell*, *Henry Dun*, and the Queen of *Scots's* two Secretaries. One *Polly* also insinuated himself into their Company, a Man who perfectly understood all the Queen of *Scots* Affairs, a cunning Counterfeit, who was thought to have revealed all their Consultations to Secretary *Walsingham*, and to have wheedled the young Gentlemen into this desperate Conspiracy,



spiracy, though *Nave*, the Queen of Scots Secretary, had given them notice to beware of him. To these Men *Babington* breaks the design, but not all the parts to every one of them. The Conspirators often met at Taverns, where they every day consulted Expedients, and drank and feasted merrily, pleasing themselves with the Expectation of great Honours, and were grown to such an height of Vanity, that those Men who were appointed to be the *Assassins*, were pictured to the Life, and *Babington* in the midst of them, with this Verse :

*Hi mihi sunt Comites, quos ipsa pericula ducunt.*

*These Men are my Companions, invited by real dangers.*

This being too easily understood, they laid it aside; and put in *Quorsum hac alio properantibus*, To what purpose are these things to Men that are hastening to another end? But whilst they thought Heaven was a stranger to their Design, *Walsingham* had wrought himself into a glimmering knowledge of it, and afterwards by the means of one *Gifford*, whose Conscience check'd him in the prosecution of such a barbarous design, and therefore voluntarily discover'd the whole matter to him, all their Letters of foreign Correspondence, and also with the *Queen of Scots* were brought to *Walsingham*, who open'd them, copy'd them, found out the *Cypher*, and seal'd them up again so artificially, that no Man could imagine they had been opened, and then caused them to be deliver'd as directed. Thus were intercepted the Letters between the *Queen of Scots* and *Babington*, and between her and *Mendoza* the Spanish Ambassador.

*Traytors  
betrayed.*

As soon as *Queen Elizabeth* understood by these Letters the dreadful Storm that hover'd over her both at Home and Abroad, she caused *Ballard* to be apprehended, upon which *Babington*, *Gage*, *Charnock*, *Tichburn* and *Dun* absconded at *Bellamies*, at *Harrow on the Hill*, where at length they were all taken, brought up to *London*, and cut one anothers Throats by their open Confessions. All this while the *Queen of Scots* and her Servants were so strictly watched by *Pawlet*, that she was utterly ignorant of these Occurrences, tho' they were known to all *England* besides. When the Conspirators were all apprehended, *Sir Thomas Gorges* was sent to give her notice of it, to amuse her as she was taking Horse to ride a Hunting; nor was she suffered to return, but was carried from one Gentleman's House to another,



A. D. 1586. under pretence of doing her Honour, while Sir *John Manners*, Sir *Edward Aston*, Sir *Richard Bagot* and

*Mr. William Ward* committed *Nave* and *Curl*, her two Secretaries to several Keepers, that they might have no Conference with the Queen or one another. Then breaking open the Doors of her Privy Closet, they sent all the Cabinets, wherein her Letters were kept, to the Court, which being searched before Queen *Elizabeth*, there were found many Letters from Persons beyond the Seas, about sixty Indexes of private Cyphers, Characters, and Letters from *English* Noblemen full of Expressions of Love, Respect and Kindness, which Queen *Elizabeth* concealed in silence, according to her Motto, *Video & Taceo, I see but say nothing.*

The Queen  
of Scots  
Papers  
seized.

The Conspi-  
rators con-  
victed and  
executed.

On September the 17th, 1586. seven of the Conspirators were Arraigned, and pleading Guilty were Condemned to die. Two days after seven more of them pleading Not Guilty, were Tryed, Convicted, and Condemned to be Drawn, Hang'd and Quarter'd, and on the twentieth of the same month a Gallows being set up in *St. Giles's* in the Fields, near the place where they used to meet; the first seven were all Executed as Traytors. *Ballard*, the first Conspirator, asked Pardon of God and the Queen, if he had sinned against her. *Babington*, who beheld *Ballard's* Execution without any kind of concern, ingenuously acknowledged his Offence. *Savage* broke the Rope, and fell down from the Gallows, but was seized by the Executioner, his Privities cut off, and his Bowels taken out alive. *Barnwell* extenuated his Offence upon the account of Religion and Conscience. *Tichburn* humbly acknowledg'd his Crime, and moved the Spectators to commiserate his Condition; but *Abington*, a Man of a turbulent Spirit, menaced the Nation with a Bloody Revenge. The next day the other seven were Executed at the same place, but by the Queen's Command with less Severity; for they all hung till they were dead before they were Bowelled. *Salisbury* died very penitent, and so did *Dun* that followed him; *Jones* laid the blame upon *Babington*. *Charnock* and *Travers* employed their time in Prayer, and recommended themselves to God and his Saints. *Gage* extoll'd the Queen's Bounty to his Father, and reproach'd himself as Perfidious and Ungrateful to his Princess, to whom he was so infinitely obliged. *Pierom Bellamy*, who concealed *Babington* after he was proclaimed Traytor, died in a deep silence and confusion.

*Nave,*



*Nawe*, a Frenchman, and *Curl* a Scotchman, who were Secretaries to the Queen of Scots, having voluntarily confessed, that the Letters, Copies of Letters, Notes and Cyphers found in the Queen's Closet, were of their own hand writings, as they were dictated from the Queen's Mouth in French to *Nawe*, and translated into English by *Curl*, and so wrote in Cyphers: The next Question was what should be done with the Queen of Scots. The Council were divided in their Opinions about it; some were for treating her with Mildness, and only confine her to stricter Custody, because she was not the Author of the Mischief, but only an Accessary to it, and being sickly and not likely to live long, it was pity to add to her Afflictions. Others were of opinion, that for the Security of Religion, she was forthwith to be put to Death by Law, and to that end Commissioners were appointed to try her by an Act made the last Year, against all that should raise Rebellion, invade the Realm, or attempt any Violence against the Queen.

A. D.  
1586.The Queen  
of Scots  
accused.

The greatest part of the Commissioners met at *Fotheringhay Castle* in *Northamptonshire*, upon the 11th of October 1586, where the Queen of Scots was then in Custody. The next day *Queen Elizabeth's* Letters were sent to her, which she read with a composed Countenance, without any sign of Grief or Fear, saying, *It grieves me* Her Answer to the Queen's Letters. *that the Queen my dear Sister is misinform'd concerning me, and that after so many years Imprisonment, by which I am grown lame of my Limbs, and have been wholly neglected, and after I have offered so many reasonable Conditions for my Liberty, the Queen should command me as a Subject to submit to a Tryal. I am an absolute Queen, and will do nothing that shall be prejudicial to Royal Majesty. My Mind is not so far dejected, nor will I faint or sink under this Calamity. I refer my self to what I formerly protested before Bromley, now Chancellor, and the Lord Le War. I am a stranger to the Laws and Statutes of England, destitute of Counsellors, and who shall be my Peers, I cannot tell. My Papers and Notes are taken from me, and no Man dares to be my Advocate. I am clear from being guilty of any thing against the Queen, I have raised no Commotions, and am not to be charged but upon my own Words or Writings, which I am sure cannot be produced against me. Yet can I not deny but that I have recommended my self and my Condition to Foreign Princes.*

The next day *Pawlett* and *Barker* went to her again from the Commissioners, to let her know that her Answer



A. D.  
1586.

*An additional Answer.*

swer was put into Writing, and to enquire whether she pleased to stand to it: To which she answer'd she would; but this said she, I had quite forgotten, and desire it may be added, *That whereas the Queen writes that I am subject to the Laws of England, and liable to be Tryed and Judged by them, because I have lived under the Protection of them. I answer, that I came into England to crave her Aid and Assistance, and ever since have been detained in Prison, so that I could not enjoy the Protection or Benefit of the Laws of England; nay, I could never yet understand from any Man what manner of Laws they were. In the Afternoon, some came to her that were deputed from the Commissioners, with Men Learned in the Civil and Canon Law, to shew her, that neither her Imprisonment, nor her Prerogative of Royal Majesty, could exempt her from answering in this Kingdom, and therefore advis'd her to hear what should be objected against her: Otherwise they threatned that by Authority of the Law, they could and must proceed against her, tho' she was absent.*

*Her Reply to the Commissioners.*

To which she answer'd, *That she was no Subject, and would die a thousand Deaths before she would acknowledge herself to be one, for by so doing, she should both injure the Majesty of Princes, and subject her self to the Laws, and even to the Religion of England. Nevertheless she was ready to answer in a full and free Parliament; but as for this meeting, it was, for ought she knew, devised against her, to give some colour to a legal Proceeding; but let them, says she, look to their Consciences, and remember that the Theatre of the whole World is larger than the Kingdom of England. After this, several Messages pass'd between her and the Commissioners, and also several personal Conferences, which at last induc'd her to submit to a Trial, wherein she was charged with Designs to invade the Realm, to depose the Queen and take away her Life. The Facts were prov'd out of the Confessions and Letters of Ballard and Babington; all which she deny'd, and with great Presence of Mind and Modesty of Behaviour, vindicated her own Innocency. The Court sat three several times, only reiterating the same Charge, and the same Defences. Then the Court was Adjourned till the 25th of October to the Star Chamber at Westminster.*

*Sentence pronounced against her.*

On that day all the Commissioners met, except the Earls of Shrewsbury and Warwick, which were both of them sick: And after Nawe and Curl had upon Oath, *Vivâ Voce*, voluntarily avowed, affirm'd and justified, all



all and every the Letters and Copies of Letters before produced, to be true and real, Sentence of Death was pronounced against the *Queen of Scots*, confirmed under the Seals and Subscriptions of the Commissioners, and the Reasons for it Recorded in these words, “ By  
 “ their unanimous Assents and Consents, they do pronounce and deliver this their Sentence and Judgment, for that since the first day of *June*, in the 27th  
 “ year afore said; divers matters have been compassed  
 “ and imagined within this Realm of *England*, by  
 “ *Anthony Babington* and others, with the Privy of  
 “ the said *Mary*, pretending a Title to the Crown of  
 “ this Realm of *England*, tending to the Hurt, Death  
 “ and Destruction of our said Lady the Queen. And  
 “ also that since the first day of *June*, the afore said  
 “ *Mary* pretending a Title to the Crown of this Realm  
 “ of *England*, hath composed and imagined divers  
 “ Matters, tending to the Hurt, Death and Destruction  
 “ on of the Royal Person of our Sovereign Lady the  
 “ Queen, contrary to the Statute in the Commission afore said specified.

A.D.  
1586.



This Sentence which depended solely upon the Credit of the *Queen of Scots* two Secretaries, occasion'd variety of Discourses, while some People thought them worthy of Credit, and others as a couple of Fellows not to be believed. However, the same day a Declaration was publish'd by the Commissioners and Judges of the Land, *That the said Sentence did not prejudice James King of Scots, in his Title or Honour; but that he was in the same Place, Degree and Right, as if the said Sentence had never been pronounced.* After this followed a Parliamentary Proscription of the Lord *Paget*, *Charles Paget*, *Sir Francis Inglefield*, *Francis Throgmorton*, *Anthony Babington*, *Thomas Salisbury*, *Edward Jones*, *Chidiock Tichburn*, *Charles Tilney* and the Confiscation of their Estates.

*The King of Scots  
cajol'd.*

The Parliament having in their Votes approved and confirmed the Sentence given against the *Queen of Scots*, presented their Petition to the Queen by the Hands of the Lord Chancellor, wherein they desire, for the Preservation of Christ's true Religion, the Security of the Realm, and the Preservation of the Queen's Person, and the Safety of themselves and their Posterities, that the Sentence given against *Mary Queen of Scots*, according to the Law might be published and executed.

*The Parliament's  
Address.*

The Queen with great Majesty in her Speech and Countenance, after she had commemorated the Goodness

*The Queen's  
Answer.*

ness



A.D.  
1586.



ness of God, and the extraordinary Love and Care of her Subjects in her Preservation, was pleased to tell them, " That since the Matter before her was of great Consequence, and that there were few or no Examples to direct her Judgment, she hoped they did not expect a present Resolution from her, whose Custom in Matters of far less importance is to be long in deliberating, where it can be but once determined. In the mean time she desired God to illuminate her Understanding and direct her Heart, that she might resolve upon what was most to God's Glory, and the Good of his Church and People; and that, *says she*, delay may breed no danger, we will signifie our Resolutions to you with all Conveniency. And whatever the best of Subjects may expect from the best of Princes, that you may always expect to receive from me.

*She is in great perplexity.*

Twelve days after, having seriously considered the whole Affair, and being in conflict with her self, what to determine in so nice and important a business, she sent the Lord Chancellor to the House of Lords, and Pickering to the House of Commons, requiring them to consult again on this weighty matter, and if it were possible to find out some more grateful Expedient, whereby the Queen of Scot's Life might be spared, and provision be made for hers and their own Safety. But the Lords and Commons returned the same Reply that their Address contain'd, viz. That there could be no Expedient thought of, for the Preservation of Religion, the Queen, and the Realm, but by putting the Sentence against the Queen of Scots in Execution. The Queen being harass'd with various Thoughts, about the Consequence of what was requested by both Houses, and the Reflections that would be made upon her, if she should suffer the Life of a Queen and her nearest Kinswoman to be taken away by the bloody Hands of an Executioner, scarce knew whether to speak or be silent, and therefore desired them to accept of an Answer without an Answer. Your Judgments, says the Queen, I don't condemn, nor mistake your Reasons; but I must desire you to excuse those Doubts that almost distract my Mind, and rest contented with my thankful Esteem of your Kindness, and the Answer I have given, if you will allow it to be one. If I should say I will not answer your Desires, peradventure I might say more than I intend; and if I should say I will do it, I might throw my self into as great Inconveniencies as those you endeavour to prevent,

*An Answer without an Answer.*



vent, which I am confident your Wisdoms will not desire, when all Circumstances are considered. After this the Parliament was prorogued.

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1586.

About this time the Lord *Buckhurst* and *Beale* were sent to the Queen of Scots, to let her know that Sentence was pronounc'd against her; that it was approved and confirmed by Authority of Parliament as Just and Lawful; and Execution immediately desired, since as long as she liv'd the Religion of *England* could not be secured. At this she rejoiced exceedingly, and gave God thanks that she was taken to be an Instrument for the re-establishing the *Popish* Religion in *England*, earnestly desiring that she might have a *Romish* Priest allowed her, to direct her Conscience, and prepare her for Death, and smartly retorted upon the *English* Nation, *That they were accusom'd to put their Kings to death upon every trivial occasion, no wonder therefore if they exercised their Cruelty upon her, who was of the same Royal Blood.* The Publication of the Sentence being made known to her, she was so far from being dismay'd at the News, that lifting up her Eyes and Hands to Heaven she gave thanks to God for delivering her from a miserable Life, into a state of Glory.

A smart  
Repartee.

In the mean time the King of Scots her Son labour'd all he could to save her Life, and omitted nothing that became a Dutiful Son, and a Wise and Prudent King; but without any kind of Success, for the Scots were so torn by intestine Quarrels, and so divided into Factions, that some of them solicited Queen *Elizabeth* to hasten her Execution. The *French* King also by special Ambassadors interceded for her Life, but it had the same effect with the former, and therefore the *French* Ambassador *L' Aubespine*, a Man wholly devoted to the *Guises*, practis'd to take away the Queen's Life by Poyson, or by conveying a Bag of Gun-powder under her Bed, and giving Fire to it. By these Attempts, those that hated the Queen of Scots took occasion to hasten her Death, and to terrifie the Queen they caused Reports to be spread all over *England*, *That the Spanish Fleet was already in Milford Haven, That the Scots were raised to broke into England, That the Duke of Guise was landed with fright the an Army in Sussex, and, That there was a new Conspiracy on foot to kill the Queen, and to burn the City of London,* with other such ridiculous Stories, which crafty Politicians and timorous Fools, are wont to impose upon the credulous Mobility; which coming thick upon the neck

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Rumours  
Queen.



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A Warrant  
for Execu-  
tion.

In the midst of these doubtful and perplexed thoughts the *Queen* gave her self wholly up to a solitary and melancholly Life, sitting silently, and frequently sighing out, *Aut fer, aut feri, Either bear with her or punish her:* At last from these words, *Ne feriare feri, Strike lest thou be stricken*, she deliver'd a Writing to *Davison*, one of her Secretaries, commanding a Warrant to be drawn up for her Execution, to lie in readiness if any Commotion should happen; and commanded him to acquaint no Man with it. The next day her mind changed, and she commanded *Davison* by *William Killigrew* that the Warrant should not be drawn; but *Davison* came to the *Queen* and told her it was drawn and under Seal already. The *Queen* seem'd to be exceedingly troubled, and blam'd him for making so much haste: Notwithstanding, he acquainted the Council with the Warrant and whole Matter, and easily persuaded them, who were apt to believe what they so much desir'd, that the Queen had commanded it should be Executed. Hereupon *Beale*, who in respect of Religion, of all others was the Queen of *Scots* most deadly Enemy, was without delay sent down with a Warrant (and one or two Executioners) wherein Authority was given to the 'Earls of *Shrewsbury*', *Kent*, *Derby*, *Cumberland*, and others to see her Executed: And all this without the Queen's Knowledge, nay, expressly against her Order, for she had told *Davison* that she would take another Course with the *Queen of Scots*, and yet he would not command *Beale* to desist and come back again.

Davison's  
Treachery.

As soon as the Earls came to *Fotheringhay*, they, together with Sir *Amias Pawlet*, and Sir *Drue Drury*, to whose Custody she was committed, went to the *Queen*, told her the end of their coming, read the Warrant to her, and in few words admonished her to prepare her



her self, for she was to die the next morning. The Queen undauntedly, and with a noble Courage and Resolution above her Sex, made this answer: *I did not think the Queen my Sister would have consented to my death, who am not subject to her Laws; but seeing it is her Pleasure, Death is most welcome to me; for I account that Soul unworthy of everlasting Joys, whose Body cannot contentedly suffer the stroke of an Executioner.* She desired to have Conference with her Almoner, her Confessor, and Melvin the Master of her Household. Her Confessor was positively denied her, and the Bishop or Dean of *Peterborough* was recommended to comfort her, but she refused their Assistance. When the Earls had took their leaves, she went to Supper, and seeing all her Servants, both Men and Women, weeping and lamenting excessively, she comforted them with great Piety and Magnanimity of Spirit, and commanded them rather to rejoice, that she was quickly to be freed from a World of Miseries.

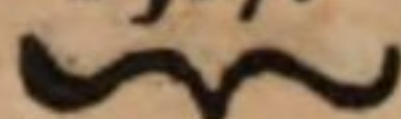
The fatal day, *February* the Eighth, being come, she dressed her self in as much State as she used to do at Festivals, and calling her Servants, commanded her Will to be read, praying their Acceptance of the small Legacies she had given them, having no Ability to extend her kindness in greater matters. Then retiring to her Oratory, she continued in Sighs, Groans and Prayers, till *Thomas Andrews*, Sheriff of the County, acquainted her, that she should come out to Suffer. And forth she came in State with a majestick and composed Countenance, a chearful Look, and in modest Habit. Her Head covered with a linen Veil hanging down to the Ground, her Beads at her Girdle, and carrying an Ivory Crucifix in her Hand. In the Porch she was met by the Noblemen, where Melvin her Servant falling on his Knees, and pouring out abundance of Tears, bitterly lamented his Misfortune, that he must be the unhappy Messenger to *Scotland* of the woful Fate and unhappy Death of his Queen and Mistress. She comforted him, and bid him Rejoice, for by and by he should see Mary Stuart freed from all her Cares and Troubles, bid him commend her to her Son, and be a faithful Servant to him.

Then turning to the Lords, she desired that her Servants might be used civilly, and quietly enjoy the Legacies she had given them; that they might stand by her at her Death, and afterwards be safely conveyed into their

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of Scots  
ExecutionHer Re-  
quests for  
her Ser-  
vants.



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*Her Aver-  
sion to the  
Protestant  
Religion.*

their own Country. The former Requests were granted, but the Earl of Kent scrupled their being present at her Death, for fear of acting some Superstitious Ceremony. *Fear it not*, said the Queen, *these harmless Souls only desire to take their last Farewel of their Mistriss, and I know my Sister Elizabeth would not deny that my Women should be present, for the Honour and Decency of her Sex. I am her near Kinswoman, descended from Henry the Seventh, Queen Dowager of France, and the Anointed Queen of Scotland.* Then it was granted that such of her Servants should be present, whom she should please to name, which were *Melvin*, *Burgoign*, her Physician, her Apothecary, her Chirurgion, two of her Women, and others, among which *Melvin* carried up her Train. So the Gentlemen, two Earls, and the Sheriff of the County going before her, she came to the *Scaffold*, which was built at the upper end of the Hall, on which was placed a Chair, a Cushion and a Block covered with black Cloth. *Beale* read the Warrant, and *Fletcher Dean* of *Peterborough* began a long Speech of her Life, past, present, and to come. The *Queen* interrupted him once or twice, *desired him to give himself no further trouble, protesting she was immoveably fixt in the Roman Catholick Religion, and now came to shed her Blood for it.* When the Dean perswaded her to a sincere Repentance, and by Faith to rely upon the Merits of Christ; she answered, that *in that Religion she was born and bred, and now was ready to die for it.* The Lords said they would pray for her, to whom she replied, *That she would give them hearty Thanks if they would pray with her; But, said the Queen, to join in Prayer with you who are of another Perswasion, would be a heinous Sin.* Then the Lords ordered the Dean to pray, with whom while the Multitude that stood round about were praying, she fell upon her Knees, and holding the Crucifix before her, prayed in *Latin* with her Servants, out of a Book called the Office of the *Blessed Virgin Mary*.

*Her Pious  
Death and  
Burial.*

When the Dean had made an end of praying, she in *English* recommended the Church, her Son, and *Queen Elizabeth* to God's Protection and Blessing, forgave all her Enemies, and kissing the Crucifix, and signing herself with the Cross, she said, *As thy Arms, O Christ, were extended upon the Cross, so, Lord, receive me with the out-stretched Arms of thy Mercy, and forgive me my Sins.* While her Women with Floods of Tears, were taking off her upper Garment, she kissed them affectionately,  
signed



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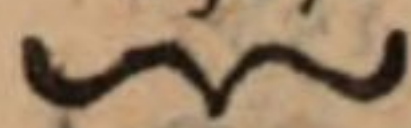
signed them with the *Cross*, and with a pleasant Countenance bid them forbear their Womanish Lamentations, for now she should rest from all her Sorrows. Now having covered her Face, and laying her self down to the Block, she repeated the Psalm, *In thee, O Lord, do I put my Trust, let me never be confounded*; then stretching forth her Body, she said many times, *into thy Hand, O Lord, I commend my Spirit*; and at two Strokes her Head was severed from her Body: The Dean crying out, *So let the Enemies of Queen Elizabeth perish*, and the Earl of Kent answering *Amen*, and the Multitude sighing and sorrowing. Her Body was embalmed, and with a Royal Funeral interred in the Cathedral Church of *Peterborough*.

This deplorable End had *Mary Queen of Scots*, Great Her Descent Grand-daughter to *Henry VII. King of England*, by his and Chara-eldest Daughter, in the Six and Fortieth Year of her *Eter in lit-* Age, and the Eighteenth of her Imprisonment. A Lady *tle.* constant to her own Religion, of singular Piety towards God, of many rare and exemplary Virtues, but still cross'd with the Frowns of Fortune, which never any bore with greater Courage and Magnanimity to the last. Her Death was lamented by many, and some particular Friend had the Courage to shew it in affixing near her Sepulchre the following Inscription. *Mary Queen of Scotland, Daughter of a King, Widow of the King of France, Kinswoman and next Heir to the Queen of England, adorned with Royal Virtues and a Princely Spirit; having often, but in vain, implored to have the Right done her that was due to a Prince, the Ornament of our Age and Mirror of Princes, by a barbarous and tyrannical Cruelty is cut off; and by one and the same infamous Judgment, both Mary Queen of Scotland is punished with Death, and all Kings living made liable to the same Stroke. A strange kind of Grave is this, wherein the living are included with the dead; for with the Ashes of this blessed Mary thou shalt know, that the Majesty of all Kings and Princes lies here depressed and violated. But because the Regal Secret admonishes all Kings of their Duty, Traveller, I will say no more. The Author hereof being unknown, and not to be found, it was taken down.*

As soon as the Report of her Death reached *Queen Elizabeth's* Knowledge, who little thought such a piece *Queen Elizabeth* of Cruelty had been acted, she heard it with such a troubled *it.* Mixture of Grief and Indignation, that her Countenance grew Pale and Sorrowful, her Speech faultred,



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her Spirits failed her, and she was under so great an Astonishment and Confusion, that she had no Enjoyment of her Life; Company seemed a Burden, and her whole Mein was discomposed; insomuch that she gave her self up to Grief and Melancholy, put on close Mourning, shed abundance of Tears, severely rebuked her *Council*, commanded them out of her Presence, and ordered *Davison* to be tried in the *Star-Chamber*. Thus she continued for some time, but as soon as Grief would give her leave she wrote as follows to the King of *Scots*, and sent it by Mr. *Robert Cary*, a Son of the Lord *Hunsdon*.

Her Letter  
to the King  
of Scots.

My dearest Brother, " I would to God thou knewest, but not that thou feltest the incomparable Grief  
" my Mind is perplexed with upon this lamentable Accident, which is happened contrary to my Meaning  
" and Intention, which since my Pen trembles to mention, you will fully understand by this my Kinsman.  
" I request you, that as God and many others can witness my Innocency in this Matter, so you will  
" also believe that if I had commanded it, I would  
" never deny it, for as I know it has deservedly happened to her, so if I had intended it I would not  
" have laid it upon others, but I will never charge  
" my self with that which I had not so much as thought of. God preserve you long in Health and  
" Safety.

When Mr. *Cary* arrived in *Scotland*, the King refused to give him Audience, or receive his Letter, which he acquainting the Queen with, she directed him to apply himself to the *Council*, for possibly the King might take Information from them, tho' he denied her Agent access to his Person; which after some delay had effect, and with the Queen's Letter he also delivered the following Writing.

Mr. Cary's  
Declaration.

" Whereas the Queen's Majesty, my  
" Mistress, desires to have your Majesty truly informed  
" of the Death of the Queen your Mother, and how it  
" came to pass, and has commanded me since I am  
" denied your Presence, to declare my Message to some  
" of your Council, I have thought fit to put it into  
" Writing, because Words may be mistaken, and my  
" Charge may be better performed by this Method.  
" First, she commanded me to assure your Majesty,  
" that it never entred her Thoughts to put your Mother to Death, notwithstanding the daily Persuasions of her Council, the Supplications of the Nobility,



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“ lity, Knights and Gentlemen, and the daily Out-  
“ cries of her poor People and Commonalty, where-  
“ with she was wearied, and out of measure grieved  
“ to see their Determinations fixed that way. And  
“ that upon Advertisements coming every day unto her,  
“ that Ships and Men were preparing in *France* and  
“ *Spain*, to invade her Realm, and Reports of break-  
“ open *Fotheringhay Castle*, and the Queen your Mo-  
“ ther’s escape. Now lest she should be unprovided  
“ in any such Extremity, she signed a Warrant to her  
“ Council to do what they thought best with your Mo-  
“ ther: Which Warrant she delivered to her Secretary  
“ Mr. *Davison*, to be kept, not intending he should  
“ deliver it out of his Hands, unless some Invasion  
“ from abroad, or Insurrection of Rebels at home;  
“ were made to procure her Liberty. But her Secre-  
“ tary, contrary to her Commands, having shewed  
“ the Warrant to two or three of the Council, they  
“ call’d the whole together, and presently sent a Man-  
“ date for her Execution; which was done, she pro-  
“ tests to God, before she knew of it. Hereupon the  
“ Secretary is committed, and will not escape her  
“ high Displeasure. This is the effect of my Message,  
“ which if I could express so dolefully as a heavy  
“ Heart made her utter it, I believe your Majesty would  
“ rather pity her for her extream Grief, than blame  
“ her for an Act which she never consented to.

This Declaration gave the King no Satisfaction, for ’twas a Jest to think the Council would presume to take away his Mother’s Life, without the Queen’s Knowledge; and for the Prosecution of the Secretary he accounted it but a Sham, which could no way repair the Injury he had suffered. Nor wanted he some Malecontents about him to encourage him to revenge it, as an Indignity put upon the whole Nation: Which the Queen understanding, she laboured by her able Ministers, of which she was never unprovided, to appease his Mind, and divert him from the War he intended. These working privately with the King of *Scots* chiefest Counsellors, and those of his Chamber, which he was known to affect, they kept off things from breaking out into open Hostility, which was every day expected. First, Secretary *Walsingham* by a long Letter to the Lord *Thirlstane*, who was then most in Credit, and had the chief Administration of Affairs, proposed divers weighty and important Considerations to keep the King from



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such Resolutions, and because his Letter contained the true Reasons that in the end perswaded his Majesty to forbear any violent Course, and take more calm and prudent Measures I thought fit to present the Reader with the Principal Contents of it.

Secretary  
Walsingham's Letter.

“ Sir, Being absent from Court at the late Execution  
“ of the Queen your Sovereign's Mother, at my return  
“ I wrote to Mr. *Douglafs*, what Course the King's best  
“ Friends here, thought was fit for him to take in this  
“ remediless Accident, for Continuance of Peace and  
“ Amity between the two Crowns; but finding him  
“ unwilling to concern himself, I thought good to  
“ write to you for the same purpose. And the rather  
“ because I hear your King seems inclined to *War*, to  
“ revenge his Mother's Death, which as I am sorry to  
“ hear, so I have reason to hope that his Majesty being  
“ of such an excellent Judgment himself, by the good  
“ Advice of such as you are, in Credit and Authority  
“ about him, Men of Wisdom and Experience, whom  
“ he will hear, this Mischief may be prevented, if all  
“ things are duly considered. For not to stand upon  
“ the Justness of the Quarrel, consider how your Sove-  
“ reign will be able to go through with such an Enter-  
“ prize if he undertake it, since the Forces of his own  
“ Kingdom are far inferiour to those in *England*, and  
“ to expect Assistance from *Spain* or *France* is a meer  
“ Chimera; for considering the accustomed Delays,  
“ and after long Solicitation the simple Supplies that  
“ are commonly found at these Princes hands, as also  
“ how doubtful the Success of War may prove, *Eng-*  
“ *land*, God be thanked, being so well able to defend  
“ it self, and being assisted by Sea with *Holland* and  
“ *Zealand*, need not fear what all the Potentates of  
“ *Europe* can do to annoy her. This being thought of,  
“ your Sovereign will scarce embark himself and Estate  
“ in such an unnecessary War: But much more if you  
“ consider what a *Train of Dangers* it carries along with  
“ it; for if he should escape being slain in the Field,  
“ yet if he should be taken Prisoner, or be forced to  
“ fly the Kingdom, for such things have often happen-  
“ ed, having incensed all *England* against him, he  
“ will be put by any Right in the Succession of this  
“ Crown, (as Authority is given to do it by the same  
“ Statute whereby they proceeded against the Mother)  
“ for attempting to invade this Kingdom, what Ex-  
“ tremity would he be reduced to? Besides the *Nobi-*  
“ *lity*



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“ lity by whose Judgment the late Queen was condem-  
 “ ned, and the *Gentry* that confirmed it in *Parliament*,  
 “ would adventure any thing, even to the marching  
 “ over their Bellies, rather than yield to his Government,  
 “ who being so vindictive, they might doubt would  
 “ one day call their Lives and Honours in question.

“ For these Reasons it will appear most reasonable  
 “ to all Men of Judgment, not transported with Pas-  
 “ sion, or byassed by private Respects, that your So-  
 “ vereign should treat the Queen with a Princely Mo-  
 “ deration on this unhappy Occasion, and seek to  
 “ win the good Will of the *English* Nation, as his  
 “ best Assurance of their future Respects. To depend  
 “ either upon the *French* King or the King of *Spain*,  
 “ to gain the Possession of this Crown, would be a  
 “ very desperate Course; for 'tis unsafe for any Prince  
 “ to repose his Strength upon their Assistance and Fa-  
 “ vours, whose Greatness may impeach their own De-  
 “ signs, and 'tis against common reason to expect they  
 “ will assist him farther than consists with their own  
 “ Pretensions, whereof neither of the two Princes can  
 “ joyn with your Sovereign for his Good.

“ First, Because his *Religion* is odious to them both,  
 “ and likely to prove most prejudicial to the *Popish In-*  
 “ *terest*, when he shall be so great as the Union of  
 “ the two Crowns will make him. Next, it is wholly  
 “ repugnant to the *Interest* and *Policy* of *France* to suf-  
 “ fer the uniting of *England* and *Scotland*, were it but  
 “ meerly out of Consideration of the Ancient Claim  
 “ that *England* makes to that Crown, wherein much  
 “ *Scotish* Blood has been formerly spent in *French*  
 “ Quarrels about it. As for the King of *Spain*, the  
 “ Donation of this Crown made him by the late Queen  
 “ of *Scots* in her Letters, with a Promise to confirm  
 “ it by her Testament, ought to breed Suspensions in  
 “ in your Sovereign's Head, and give him opportunity  
 “ to consider how he would be treated by such an As-  
 “ sistant. *Auxiliary Forces* have always been reputed  
 “ dangerous, if either in Number, or Policy, they were  
 “ superiour to them that call'd them in. The Assi-  
 “ stance therefore of *Spain* and *France* being directly  
 “ of this Nature, as your Sovereign stands in need of  
 “ neither, so for his own ease he would do well to for-  
 “ bear them both.

“ It may be some will pretend, that by changing his  
 “ *Religion* your Sovereign will be in a better conditi-



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“ on, in regard of those Foreign Princes, besides a  
 “ great party within this Realm that will thereby  
 “ be drawn to depend wholly on his Fortune: But  
 “ the poor distressed *don Antonio* being a Romish Prince,  
 “ spoiled by a Papist, and receiving so little Succour  
 “ at Popish Princes hands, is a sufficient Bar to all  
 “ that can be alledged in that behalf. And as to the  
 “ *English Papists*, they never could be brought to draw  
 “ all in one Line in his Mothers time, much less  
 “ will they be brought suddenly to rely upon him, if  
 “ he should alter his Religion (which God forbid); but  
 “ would utterly ruin him with both the Parties, nei-  
 “ ther of them having cause to repose any Confidence  
 “ in him, but to forsake him, for dissembling with  
 “ God and Man. And whereas some insinuate that  
 “ your Sovereign is obliged in Honour, to give some  
 “ remarkable Testimony to the World of his Duty his  
 “ Mother, in revenging her Death; but your King  
 “ cannot be ignorant, that Passion and Fury often u-  
 “ surps that Name, and therefore ought to consider,  
 “ whether the Attempt be within the Limits of *Possibi-*  
 “ *lity, Decency and Justice.* If the late Queen had  
 “ been Innocent, Revenge had been necessarily Just,  
 “ and Honourable; but being culpable, that Conside-  
 “ ration discharges the Duty of a Son, from hazard-  
 “ ing his own Ruin unjustly. Others, I hear, per-  
 “ suade the King, that by mediating for his Mo-  
 “ ther against the Mind of the *Parliament*, he has al-  
 “ ready so distated the Nobility and People of *England*,  
 “ that he must be forced to procure Foreign Aid; but  
 “ these *Incendiaries* grossly abuse both his Highness and  
 “ this Realm; for as they were not unsensible, what  
 “ *Nature* might require of him, so long as his Mother  
 “ was alive, and there was any hope of Life; so they  
 “ doubt not but that Reason will induce him to leave  
 “ sorrowing in due time. Thus have I troubled you  
 “ with a long Discourse, to which my desire of conti-  
 “ nuing Friendship between the two Crowns has car-  
 “ ried me unawares, farther than I intended, which  
 “ I refer to your good Consideration, not doubting but  
 “ you will readily contribute all good Offices, that may  
 “ tend to the common Good of both Islands; and so I  
 “ commit you to God.

From the Court at Greenwich, the 4th of March, 1586.

Your Lordship's assured Friend

Fr. Walsingham,



Whilst Mr. Cary was in Scotland, Davison was brought into the Star Chamber before certain Commissioners chosen to that purpose, where he was charged with causing the Queen of Scots to be executed against or without the Queen's Knowledge. Davison answered, that if he should confess himself guilty of the Crimes objected against him, he should injure his own Reputation, which was dearer than his Life, and if he should contest with the Queen in his own Defence, he should do what was unbecoming the Obedience of a Subject, the Behaviour of a Servant, and the Faith and Office of a Secretary. He protested before God and the Commissioners, that had done nothing in this Matter but what he had perswaded himself was the Queen's Will and Pleasure, wherein if he had wronged himself, either through Ignorance or Negligence, he could not but be exceedingly troubled, and patiently undergo the Commissioners Censures.

The Commissioners were all agreed that Davison was an honest Man, and that in this Act he had done the Nation great Service; but for the manner of doing it without the Queen's Knowledge, they fined him Ten thousand Pounds, and Imprisonment during the Queen's Pleasure.

Thus was Davison, an ingenious Man, but a Stranger to the Artifices of Courts and Courtiers, brought upon the Stage on purpose (as some thought) to serve a Turn, but miscarrying in the last Act, was thrust off again, and tho' not without the Pity of many good and thinking Men, kept a long time in Prison; which, if you believe his private Apologetical Discourse to Walsingham, you will also think he had very hard Measure. "The Queen, saith he, after the Departure of the French and Scotch Ambassadors, commanded me to deliver her the Warrant for Executing the Sentence upon Mary Queen of Scots: When I had deliver'd it, she readily signed it with her own hand, and commanded it to be sealed with the Great Seal of England, and jestingly said, go tell all this to Walsingham, who is now sick, tho' I fear he will die for sorrow when he hears it. She added also the Reasons for deferring it so long, namely, that she might not be suspected to do it out of Malice, tho' she was not ignorant there was a necessity for the doing it. Moreover she blamed Powlet and Drury, that they had not eased her of this Care and Trouble, and wished that



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“ that *Walsingham* would feel their Pulses about it. The  
 “ next day after it was under the Great Seal, she com-  
 “ manded me by *Killigrew* that it should not be done,  
 “ and when I told her it was done already, she found  
 “ fault with making such great haste, telling me that  
 “ in the Judgment of some Wise Men, *Another Course*  
 “ *might be taken*. I told her that Course was best and  
 “ safest which was most Just; but fearing she should  
 “ lay the Fault on me (as she had laid the putting the  
 “ Duke of *Norfolk* to Death upon *Burleigh*) I acquaint-  
 “ ed *Hatton* with the whole Matter, protesting I would  
 “ plunge my self no deeper in so great a Business. He  
 “ presently imparted it to *Burleigh*, and the Lord *Bur-*  
 “ *leigh* to the rest of the Council, who all agreed the  
 “ Execution should be hastened, and every one of  
 “ them vowed to bear an equal Share in the Blame, and  
 “ sent *Beale* away with the Warrant and Letters.  
 “ The third day after, when by a Dream which she  
 “ told of the Queen of *Scots* Death, I perceived that  
 “ she wavered in her Resolution, I asked her whether  
 “ she had changed her Mind? *she answer'd*, No; but  
 “ another Course, said she, might be taken, and with-  
 “ al, asked me whether I had received any Answer  
 “ from *Powlet*: Whose Letter when I had shewed her,  
 “ wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which  
 “ stood not with Justice and Honour; she growing an-  
 “ gry, accused him and others (who had bound them-  
 “ selves by the Association) of Perjury, and Breach of  
 “ their Vow, as those that had promised great Matters  
 “ for their Prince's Safety, but would perform nothing.  
 “ Yet there are those, *says she*, that will do it for my  
 “ sake. But I shewed her how dishonourable and un-  
 “ just a thing this would be, and withal into how  
 “ great Danger she would bring *Powlet* and *Drury* by  
 “ it: For if she approved the Fact she would draw  
 “ Danger and Dishonour upon her self, besides being  
 “ accused of Injustice: And if she disallowed it, she  
 “ would utterly undo Men of great Desert, and their  
 “ whole Posterity. And afterward she gave me a light  
 “ Check the same day, because the Queen of *Scots* was  
 “ not Executed.

The K. of  
Scots re-  
sentments.

Now though the King of *Scots* took no notice of the  
 Displeasure against *Davison*, nor how great Grief  
 Queen *Elizabeth* conceived or pretended, for the Death  
 of the Queen of *Scots*, nor would suffer *Robert Cary*, the  
 Lord *Hunsdon's* Son, who was sent to excuse the Queen,  
 and



and lay the Blame upon her Council and *Davison*, to enter into *Scotland*, nor scarce give him the hearing by another, nor, without much ado, receive the Queen's Letter; but called home his Ambassador out of *England*, and threatned nothing but a direful Revenge, for the Death of his Mother: Yet he was so well satisfied with *Walsingham's* Reasons, and the Queen's lulling him asleep with fair Promises, and the Hopes of being her Successor, which considering his present Circumstances among a divided Nobility, a Factious Clergy, a Discontented People, and a Barren Country, was an unanswerable Argument to induce that King to consult his own Interest, and to compound the Matter without Blows, since he was no great Admirer of Fighting.

Whilst with these important Suggestions she cool'd the Heat and Anger of the King of *Scots*; to prevent a War threatned by the *Spaniard*, she sent Sir *Francis Drake*, with four of her own Ships, and others to the Coast of *Spain*, to surprize and destroy his Shipping in his Harbours, and intercept his Provisions: In which he had such Success, by burning about a Hundred Vessels at *Cadiz*, taking two Galleons richly laden, a great Ship called the *St. Philip*, and a Carrack at the *Azores*, that from this short Voyage great Advantages redounded to the *English*; for the *Spaniards* suffered so great a Loss, that they were constrained for this Year, to give over their Design of invading *England*. And by taking the Merchants Books and Papers in the *Indies*, the *English* were made so sensible of the Advantages of Trading thither, that they afterwards set up a Company of *East India* Merchants. No less Success had *Thomas Cavendish* of *Suffolk* against the *Spaniard*, upon the Coasts of *Chili*, *Peru* and *New-Spain*, who this Year brought home the Plunder of Nineteen Merchant Ships, and was the second after *Magellan*, who sailed round the World.

*Sluys* being besieged by the Prince of *Parma*, the Earl of *Leicester* was sent for out of *England*, by the States to relieve it. This Town being furiously batter'd with 17000 great Shot, which made a wide Breach, was bravely defended a while by Sir *Roger Williams*, Sir *Francis Vere* and Captain *Nicholas Basquerville*, with a Garrison of *English* and *Walloons*, but was at last surrendered, when *Leicester* who was drawing near to succour them, being too weak to encounter the Enemy, was forced

A. D.  
1587.Drake's  
Exploits.



A. D.  
1587.

Leicester  
call'd home.

forced to retire, which was the States Fault, who would not allow him such a sufficient Force. The Earl afterwards attempting to bring *Leiden* and other Cities under his own Power, was complained of by the States, called home, and *Grave Maurice of Nassau*, Son to the Prince of Orange, being Twenty Years of Age, was in *Leicester's* room, made Governour of the United and Confederate Provinces by the States, and *Peregrine Lord Willoughby* was made General of the English Forces in the Low-Countries, by the Queen.

A. D.  
1588.

The Spa-  
nish prepa-  
rations.

Now we are come to the memorable Year 1588, wherein the King of *Spain*, by the Instigation of Pope *Sixtus Quintus* and others, provided a Fleet and an Army to invade *England*, which was so vast and formidable, in the Opinion of all the World, that they gave it the arrogant Name of the *Invincible Armada*. To these Preparations in *Spain*, the Prince of *Parma* in the *Netherlands* assisted, by building many Ships and flat bottom'd Boats, big enough to carry thirty Horse, and having an Army in readiness of a hundred and three Companies of Foot, and four Thousand Horse, to be transported into *England*, and join the Land Forces that were to be brought for the same purpose out of *Spain*, and which was valued of greatest Force, a Consecrated Standard and Benediction of Pope *Sixtus Quintus*, who thought by employing the *Spanish* Arms abroad, to get the advantage of wresting the City of *Naples* out of their possession, and lay it to the Church's Demeasns.

The Queen  
provides  
against  
them.

Queen *Elizabeth*, that she might not be surprized, imployed her utmost Care in providing as strong a Fleet as she could, and all other Necessaries for War. The Command of the Navy she gave to *Charles Lord Howard of Effingham*, as Lord Admiral of *England*, and sent him early to the Western Parts of *England*, where *Drake*, whom she made his Vice-Admiral, was to joyn him. The Lord *Henry Seymour*, Son to the Duke of *Sommerset*, she commanded to lie upon the Coasts of *Holland* with Forty Ships, to prevent the Prince of *Parma* from putting to Sea with his Forces to joyn the *Spaniards*. For Land Service twenty Thousand Men were appointed to attend the Southern Coast, besides two Armies of well disciplined Soldiers: The one commanded by the Earl of *Leicester*, consisting of a thousand Horse, and two and twenty Thousand Foot, which Encamped at *Tilbury*: The other under the command of the Lord *Hudson*, consisting of thirty four Thousand Foot and



two Thousand Horse, to guard the Queen's Person.

A. D.

1588.

However, in the midst of these Preparations for War, Projects for Peace were not quite neglected, and to that end, *Henry Earl of Derby*, *William Brook Lord Cobham*, *Sir James Crofts*, Comptrouler of the Queen's Household, *Valentine Dale* and *John Rogers* Doctors of Law, were sent Commissioners into *Flanders*, to treat with the Prince of *Parma's* Commissioners. They met in Tents near *Ostend*, and dallied so long with the *English* about a Truce and other Preliminaries, till the *Spanish* Fleet were upon the Coasts of *England*, and the thundering Canons were heard from the Ocean. Thus this Treaty came to nothing, which was first began by the Queen to divert the *Spanish* Fleet, and continu'd by the *Spaniards* that they might surprize *England* at unawares and unprovided, both Parties sewing the Foxe's Tail to the Lyon's Skin.

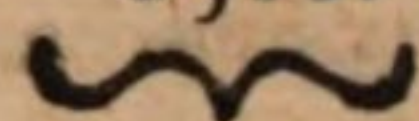
The *Spanish* Fleet consisted of 130 Ships, in which were 19290 Soldiers, 8350 Seamen, 2080 Gally-slaves, and 2630 great Guns. *Don Alphonso Perez de Gusman* The Spanish great Duke of *Medina Sidonia* commanded in Chief, and under him *Juan Martinez de Recalde* an experienced Navigator. Numbers.

On the 29th of *May* they put to Sea out of the River *Tayo*, and steering their Course toward the Groyn in *Galicia*, they were dispers'd by a Tempest, and so shatter'd and Weather-beaten, that the *English* concluded the Design was at an end for this Year; but the Lord Admiral would not trust to such Opinions; and therefore kept his Fleet together. *July* the 12th, the *Spaniards* put to Sea again, and met with another Storm, which so scatter'd them that they could hardly reassemble their Fleet, till they came within sight of *England*. The Lord Admiral having certain Intelligence that the *Spanish* Fleet was in the Channel, and was seen off the Lizard Point, he towed his Fleet out of Harbour and put to Sea. The next day the *English* spied them, and suffered them to pass by, that they might chase them before the Wind. The next day the Lord Admiral with own Ship, (fell as he thought) upon the *Spanish* Admiral, tho' it proved to be *Alphonso de Leva's* Ship. Soon after *Drake*, *Hawkins* and *Forbisher* engaged their Rear Squadron commanded by *Recalde*, and so scatter'd them that they were forced to fly into the headmost Fleet for shelter, and now a smart Fight continued for two hours, which the Lord Admiral thought fit to hold no longer, forty of his Ships

The first  
Engage-  
ment.



A. D.  
1588.



Ships being not yet come in to him. The 23d, betimes in the Morning, the *Spaniard* tacked about upon the *English*, and each Fleet striving for the Wather-gage, they fought smartly, but in great confusion, and what Advantage there was, fell to the *English*, for the *Spanish* Fleet being huge, heavy, unweildly, high Ships, they shot over their Enemies, while the *English* low and light Frigots, forely gauled and wounded the *Spanish* moving Castles.

On the 27th, the *Spanish* Fleet came to Anchor before *Calais*, and the Lord Admiral with two other Squadrons within Cannon shot of them. From hence they sent to the Prince of *Parma* to send them forty Fly-Boats, and desired him to put to Sea with his Army, and Land it in *England*; but he was so strictly watched by the *Holland* and *Zeland* Fleets, that he could not come out without throwing his Fleet and Land Army upon certain Destruction. The *English* Squadrons being now reinforced by the young Gentry, who out of Love to their Queen and Country, had hired Ships at their own proper charges, in considerable numbers; among others, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Northumberland*, *Cumberland*, *Thomas* and *Robert Cecil*, *Henry Brook*, *Charles Blount*, *Walter Rawleigh*, *William Hatton*, *Robert Cary*, *Ambrose Willoughby*, *Thomas Gerard*, *Arthur Gorges*, and others of good Quality, and seeing the *Spaniards* were unwilling to hazard a Fight at Sea; the Admiral, in the dead of the Night, sent eight Fire-Ships, under the command of *Young* and *Prowse* into the *Spanish* Fleet, which the *Spaniards* espying, raised a hideous Outcry, weighed Anchor, cut their Cables, and in a terrible Fright and great Confusion put to Sea. A great Galleon having broken her Rudder, after a sharp Fight, wherein the Captain *Don Hugo de Moncado* was killed, fell into the Hands of the *English* with a considerable quantity of Gold, which was shared among the Sailors. *Drake* and *Fenner* chased the *Spanish* Fleet, and fell upon them as they were gathering together at *Gravelin*, with whom quickly joyned *Fenton*, *Southwel*, *Breston*, *Cross*, *Riman*, and not long after the Lord Admiral, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the Lord *Sheffield*. The Duke *Leva*, *Oquenda*, *Recalde* and others, having got clear of the Shallows, endured their shot to their great damage; but the Galleon *St. Matthew*, commanded by *Don Diego Pimentelli*, which was forely raked and battered by *Seymour* and *Wintour*, drove

The Inven-  
tion of  
Fire-ships.



drove near *Ostend*, and was taken by the *Flushingers*. A. D.

The last day of the Month, the Wind blowing hard at West North West, drove the whole *Spanish* Fleet towards *Zealand*, and the *English* seeing them hurrying so fast to their own Ruin, upon the Sands and Shelves of *Zealand*, they gave over the Chace; but the Wind shifting to the Southward, they escaped that danger, and holding a Council of War, resolved to return into *Spain* through the Northern Sea; but some being of opinion that they would return, *Queen Elizabeth* came to *Tilbury*, and with a Masculine Bravery, with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, rid from Rank to Rank among the Army, where it was a pleasant sight to see how her Presence encouraged both her Officers and Soldiers, who made the Heavens eccho their joyful Acclamations. The *Spaniards* having now thrown off all Hopes of coming back again, and placing their Safety in their flight, made no stay till they arrived in *Spain*. Thus this great and falsely called *Invincible Armada*, which was at a vast Charge, three whole Years, fitting out, was in a Months time totally overthrown: Upon which Medals were Coined in *England* in memory of this signal Victory: *A Fleet of Ships flying*, with this Inscription, *Venit, Vidit, Fugit; It came, it saw, it fled*. Other Medals with *Fire-ships and a Fleet in confusion*, Inscribed, *Dux fœmina facti, A Woman's Conduct accomplished it*. The *Spaniards* that through great Difficulties got home, imputed their Misfortunes to the Prince of *Parma's* Negligence, and their own too obsequious obeying Orders, which left them no liberty to act by their own Prudence, as unthought-of Emergencies might intervene. The King of *Spain* took his Loss patiently, and the Queen of *England* joyfully, and both of them caused publick Thanks to be given to God in all their Churches: *Queen Elizabeth* because it was so well, and King *Philip* because it was no worse. Nor was the Joy less in *Scotland*, for that King hearing the News, said merrily, *That he expected no other Favour from the Spaniard, than what Polyphemus promised Ulysses, that he should have the honour of being last devoured*.

The Spaniards defeated.

Medals Coined.

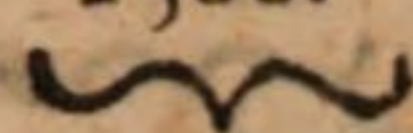
Now died the Earl of *Leicester*, which the Queen laid much to heart, he being her special Favourite. He was first Son to *John* Duke of *Northumberland*, Privy Counsellor to *Edward VI*. Master of the Ordnance to Queen *Mary*, Master of the Horse to *Queen Elizabeth*, who,

The Earl of Leicester's Death.

as

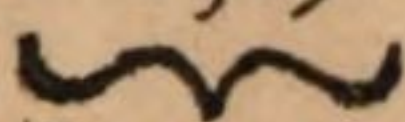


A. D.  
1588.



as it was reported, loved him dearly; Knight of the Orders of *St. George* and *St. Michael*, of the Queen's Privy Council, Lord Steward of her Household, Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*, Justice in *Eyre*, Lieutenant and Captain General of the *English* Forces in the *Low-Countries*, Governour and Captain General of the United Provinces, and this year General of the *English* Army against the *Spaniards*. He was esteem'd an exquisite Courtier, but his Character is so divided between Extreams of Good and Evil, that I shall not meddle with it. He died in the Queen's Debt, and his Goods were sold to discharge it; for the Queen, tho' she was otherwise kind enough to her Subjects, she would abate no Debt due to her Treasury.

A. D.  
1589.



The Earl of  
Arundel  
condemned.

The *Spaniards* meeting with this Disappointment, they have another Plot upon *England*, and intend to infect it by the way of *Scotland*. In this Affair they employed *Bruce* a Priest, and *Chreiton* and *Hays* Jesuits, who easily inveigled into their Party the Earls of *Huntley*, *Arrol* and *Crawford*, who were bigotted to the *Popish* Religion, and *Bothwel*, a Man of an unsteady and disloyal Temper; the Sum of their Design was, To seize upon the King's Person, to let in Foreign Troops, to restore Popery, and to invade *England*, and revenge the Death of the Queen of Scots; but the King by a speedy March against them, overthrew that Design in *Scotland*; and the Queen by Apprehending, Trying and Condemning *Philip Howard*, Earl of *Arundel*, who favour'd the *Spanish* Party, tho' she gave him his Life, put an end to the whole Enterprize.

This being done at home, the Queen sent out a Fleet, wherein were 11000 Soldiers, and 1500 Mariners, under the command of Sir *John Norris* and Sir *Francis Drake*, who took the lower Town at the *Groyn*, and plunder'd all the Villages about it, and slaughtered the flying *Spaniards* three Miles together. At this time, *Robert* Earl of *Essex*, a young Gentleman ambitious of Military Glory, despising the Ease and Pleasures of the Court, at his own charge put himself (against the Queen's Consent) to Sea, and came to them. The next day they all sailed to *Penicha*, a Town in *Portugal*, and took it, and from thence the Land Army marched to *Lisbon*, upon whom the *Spanish* Garrison sallied, and *Bret* with his Men sustained the charge with great Courage, till they were reinforced by more *English* and *Portuguese*, and then the Earl of *Essex* drove them back  
and



and slaughter'd them to the Gates of the City. In the mean time *Drake* took *Cascaes*, afterwards *Vigo*, and then a deadly Sickness falling among the *English*, they returned home. A. D. 1589.

Now began the *Holy League* in *France*, against the King and the Protestants, whereof the Duke of *Guise* was the Head, with design to exclude the King of *Navarre*, and his Cousin *Conde* from the Succession. *Guise* coming to *Paris* raised such a Tumult, that the French King was forced to summon a Meeting of Parliament at *Blois*; and now finding the Duke of *Guise* too big to be questioned by Laws, and suspecting that the Duke had laid a Plot to take away his Life, he caused him treacherously and unawares to be stabb'd in the Court, and soon after his Brother the Cardinal to be strangled; In requital whereof, the Leaguers seeing the King adhere to the Protestants, procured him to be barbarously murdered by *James Clement* a Monk, excluded the King of *Navarre* from succeeding to the Crown, tho' it was his undoubted Right, and proclaim'd the Cardinal of *Bourbon*, King of *France*. The Queen gave the King of *Navarre* what Assistance she could, and to strengthen the Alliance among Protestants, proposeth the King of *Scots* to marry with the Lady *Catharine* his Sister; but that King having a greater Affection for *Ann* Daughter of *Frederick* the Second, King of *Denmark*, he sail'd thither, and consummated a Marriage with her in *October* 1589. The French Holy League.

In this Year happen'd little of moment, and is most considerable for the Loss of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Principal Secretary of State, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaster*, and of the Order of the Garter. He was a Wise and Vigilant States-man, had performed several Honourable Embassies, was a resolute Maintainer of the Protestant Religion, and had a peculiar Talent in discovering Conspiracies, and secret Practices against Religion, his Prince and Country, by which he preserved his Mistress's Life from daily Attempts, and Plots against her, and by a refined piece of Policy, defeated for a whole Year together the Measures *Spain* had taken for fitting out their *Armado* to invade *England*. He had his Spies in most Courts in *Christendom*, and allowed them a liberal Maintenance. The Court of *England* had reason to have an Eye upon the King of *Scots*, as being the next Heir to the Crown, and therefore he planted one *Wigmore* there, that gave him a full Ac- A. D. 1590.

*Sir Francis Walsingham's Death.*



A. D.  
1590.

count of all his Publick and private Transactions, and yet lived nine Years in the greatest Favour and Familiarity with King *James*, without the least Suspicion of being a Spy upon him. *Walsingham* also laid the Foundation of the Civil Wars in *France* and in the *Low-Countries*, which put a final Stop to the vast Designs of the House of *Austria*. Upon which Occasion he told the Queen at his return from his Embassie into *France*, "That she had no reason to fear the *Spaniard*, for tho' he had a strong Appetite and a good Digestion, he had given him such a Bone to pick, as would take him up twenty Years at least and break his Teeth at last: So that her Majesty had no more to do, but to throw from time to time, some *English* Fuel into the Fire he had kindled, to keep it burning. This great Man, after all the Services he had performed for his Queen and Country, gave a remarkable Proof at his Death, how far he had preferred the publick Interest before his own; for he died so poor that his Friends were obliged to bury him privately in the Night, for fear his Body should be arrested for Debt. *A Fault which few Statesmen, since his time, have been guilty of.* He left behind him only one Daughter, famous for having three Husbands, the greatest Men of note in their time. The first was Sir *Philip Sidney*, the second *Robert Earl of Essex*, and the third *Earl of Clanrickard*, who was by King *Charles* made *Earl of St. Albans*.

A. D.  
1591.

Hacket the  
Blasphemer.

About this time appear'd a great Blasphemer named *Hacket*, born at *Oundle* in *Northamptonshire*, who with *Wiggington*, *Coppinger*, and *Arthington*, laboured to introduce the Presbyterian Discipline of *Geneva* into *England*, and to that end declared, *That he was Divinely Inspired, nay, was the Messias himself: Also, That Hacket was the Supreme Monarch of the World; That he only was to be obeyed, and the Queen deposed.* Shortly after being apprehended, he was indicted of Treason, confessed himself Guilty, and by his Blasphemous Answers struck the Auditors into Horrour and Astonishment. Being condemned, he was laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn thro' the Principal Places of the City, incessantly roaring out, *Jehova, Messias, Jehova, Messias, behold the Heavens open, behold the Son of the most High descending to deliver me.* Being at the Gallows, and admonished to acknowledge his Sins against God and the Queen, the execrable Wretch inveighing bitterly against the Queen called aloud to God, *To shew some Miracle from*



from the Clouds to convert the Infidels, and to rescue him from his Enemies; but if thou wilt not do it, says he, I will set the Heavens on Fire, and with these Hands pluck thee from thy Throne. Then turning to the Hangman as he was putting the Rope about his Neck, he said, *Thou Bastard, wilt thou hang Hacket thy King?* And when the Rope was about his Neck, he casting up his Eyes to Heaven, and grinning, said, *Dost thou pay me with this instead of a Kingdom? I am coming to revenge it.*

A. D.  
1591.

While the King of Spain was prosecuting his Wars, and the Queen knowing he carried on Designs more by the Power of the Gold of *America*, than the Strength of *Spain*, she resolv'd to send Sir *Walter Rawleigh* with fifteen Ships to take *Panama*, but being kept in the Harbour three Months, by contrary Winds, that Design miscarried; however, in their Return home they took a huge Carrack, call'd the *Mother of God*, valued at one hundred and fifty thousand Pound Sterling, besides other small Vessels worth the Voyage.

A. D.  
1592.

The Queen still continu'd supplying the *French King* with Men and Money, and at length hearing to her great Affliction, that he had forsaken the Protestant Religion, and to please his Factious Subjects, embraced Popery, she sent him this Letter. "Alas, what deep Sorrow, what vehement Grief, what Sighs have I felt at my Heart, for what *Morlant* has told me? Is the World come to that pass? Is it possible that any Worldly matters should make you quit the Fear of God? Can we expect any happy Issue of such a Fact, or could you think that he who has hitherto, with his own right hand, upheld and preserved you, would now forsake you? It is a dangerous thing to do evil that good may come thereby, yet I hope sober Thoughts will put you into a better mind. In the mean time I will not omit to make it a principal part of my Prayers, the recommending you to God, beseeching him that the hands of *Esau* may not disappoint you of the Blessing of *Jacob*. And whereas you do religiously and solemnly offer me your Friendship, I am very sensible, to my great cost, that I have well deserved it, nor should I repent that, had you not changed your Father. Verily from hence-forward I cannot be your Sister, by that Father, for the truth is, I shall for ever dearly love and honour my own Fa-

G

"ther,

A. D.  
1593.

*The Queen's  
Letter to  
the French  
King.*



A. D.

1593.

“ ther, rather than a false and counterfeit one, which  
 “ God knows very well, whom I beseech to bring you  
 “ back to a better mind. Subscribed,

*Your Sister, if it be after the old manner,  
 as for the new, I have nothing to do with it.*

Elizabeth R.

*An attempt  
 to poyson  
 the Queen.*

A. D.

1594.

The *Spaniard* not prevailing against the Queen by force of Arms, began to attempt her Death by Poyson, and to that end employed *Roderigo Lopez*, a *Jew*, one of the Queen's Physicians in ordinary, to effect it, to whom they joined *Stephen Ferrira*, *Gama*, and *Emanuel Loisie*, *Portugueses*. The Plot was discover'd by intercepted Letters, and the Offenders being apprehended, were arraigned at *Guild-Hall*, and by their own Confessions, convicted of a Design to poyson the Queen. At the Bar *Lopez* said little for himself, but charged the Fault upon *Ferreria* and *Emanuel*, and the others charging the Blame upon him, all saying they had no ill design upon the Queen, but only thought to get some Money from the *Spaniard*. They were all of them condemned, and three Months after put to death at *Tyburn*, where *Lopez* affirmed, that he loved the Queen as well as *Jesus Christ*; which coming from a profess'd *Jew*, gave an occasion of Laughter.

A. D.

1595.

This year the *Spaniards*, under the Conduct of *Didaco Brochin*, put to Sea with four Gallies, and arriving in *Cornwal*, went ashore and fired a Church that stood alone in the Field, *Mouſe Hole*, *Newlin* and *Pensance*, three poor Fisher Towns, and retired with great Precipitation, without killing or taking so much as one Man. And these were the first and last *Spaniards* that ever made any Hostile Attempt by Invading *England*; but greater matters were undertaken against the *Spaniards*, by the incomparable *Sir Walter Rawleigh* and others, who sailing to the Isle of *Trinidad*, took the City of *St. Joseph*, and the Governour *Antonio Bereo*, but found not so much as one piece of Silver Coin among them. At the same time, *Amias Preston* and *Sommers* sack'd the Island *Porto Santo*, near *Madera*, *Coke* near *Margarita*, the little Town of *Coros*, and the City of *St. Jago de Leon*, but spared *Cumana*, for a Sum of Money: A few Months after, the Earl of *Cumberland's*



land's three Ships set upon a huge Carrack, called the *A. D.*  
*five wounds of Christ*, who unfortunately took fire in the 1596.  
 fight, and was burnt with all her Merchandize.

A general Report being spread that the *Spaniard* was *An Expedi-*  
 preparing for another Attempt upon *England*, the *tion into*  
 Queen to disperse the Storm that was gathering, thought *Spain.*  
 it adviseable to attack the Enemy in his own Ports,  
 and to that end rigg'd out a Fleet of 150 Ships, in  
 which were 6360 Soldiers under pay; Voluntier Gen-  
 tlemen 1000, and 6772 Seamen. *Robert Earl of Essex*,  
 and *Charles Howard* Lord Admiral of *England*, who  
 were both at great Charges in this Expedition, were  
 Commanders in chief; to whom were joyned for a  
 Council of War, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Sir *Walter*  
*Ramleigh*, Sir *Francis Vere*, Sir *George Carew*, Sir *Coniers*  
*Clifford*, and the whole Fleet was divided into four  
 Squadrons. On Sunday the 20 of June early in the  
 Morning this Fleet came to an Anchor in *Cadiz Bay*.  
*Essex* full of Courage and youthful Heat, was for land-  
 ing immediately, but the Lord Admiral and *Ramleigh*  
 opposed it. The next Tide, the *Spanish* Men of War  
 sailed up to *Puntal*, the Merchant Ships toward *Port*  
*Royal*, and the *English* anchor'd in their places. The  
 next Tide they weigh'd and dispers'd the Gallies, and  
 fell upon the Men of War at *Puntal* with so much fu-  
 ry, that being shot through and miserably torn, the  
*Spaniards* resolv'd to fire their Ships or run them a-  
 ground. The *Spanish* Admiral called *St. Philip*, was  
 burnt, but the *St. Matthew* and the *St. Andrew* were  
 both saved and taken. The Sea Fight being ended;  
*Essex* landed 800 Men at *Puntal*, about a League from  
 the City of *Cadiz*, and having broken down the Bridge  
*Suaco*, march'd directly to the City, and forcing the  
 Gates, a sharp fight began in the Streets, and in half  
 an hour, the *English* led by the Earl of *Essex*, gain'd  
 the Market-place, and being reinforced by the Lord  
 Admiral's Seamen, the *Spaniards* retir'd into the Ca-  
 stle and Town-house. The latter was presently yield- *Cadiz tak-*  
 ed, and the Castle the next day, upon these Condi- *ken by the*  
 ons, viz. That the Citizens should depart in safety, with the *English.*  
*Cloths they had on*: That 520000 Ducats should be paid for  
 their Ransom, and forty of the Principal Citizens should be  
 sent Hostages into *England* till the Money was deposited.  
 The Women, Church-men and Citizens were con-  
 veyed to *Port Santa Maria*.



A. D.  
1596.

*Rawleigh*, in the mean time, with his lesser Ships, was commanded to burn the Merchants Ships at *Port Royal*. Two Millions of Ducats were offered for their Redemption, but the Lord Admiral refused all Composition, saying, *He was sent to destroy the Shipping, and not to release them for Money*; and it was done accordingly. In the City was found vast Provision for War, and great Sums of Money, of which every one caught what they could. In this Expedition, by a very modest Computation, the *Spaniard* lost above the value of twenty Millions of Ducats. Of the *English* no Man of Note miscarried but Sir *John Winefield*, who was honourably interr'd in the principal Church of the City. *Essex* only was of opinion that the Town ought to be kept, but being over-ruled, after they had ran sack'd the Island, razed the Forts, and burnt many of the Houses, they quitted the place, with this Commendation from the *Spaniards*, *That tho' in Sacred things the English shew'd themselves like Hereticks, yet in all other matters they behaved themselves like stout Soldiers, wise Counsellors, and Men of Honour*. The Queen at their return receiv'd them all very graciously, especially *Essex* and the Admiral, whom she extoll'd with the highest Acknowledgments.

The *Spaniard* attempting to make a more successful Invasion on *England*, and to recover his Losses at *Cadiz*, set out another Fleet, but were so scattered by a violent Storm, that they were forced to return. The Earl of *Essex* in the beginning of the Spring was sent out with a Fleet of Ships, which were divided into three Squadrons, the first commanded by *Essex* himself, the second by the Lord *Thomas Howard*, and the third by Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, who were to steer to *Fayal* and the *Groin*, to surprize the *Spanish Fleet* in their Harbours, and intercept the *Indian Fleet* at the *Azores*, but they had scarce got forty Leagues when they were driven back by a terrible Tempest, and afterwards stayed by contrary Winds till the 17th of *August*, when the Fleet puts to Sea, but by accident at the Lands-end *Rawleigh* is left behind, and *Essex* and *Howard* proceed on their Voyage. *Rawleigh* follows after, but loseth them and Landeth at *Fayall*, which he taketh, and thereby offendeth *Essex*, to whom however he is reconciled. *Gratiosa* and *Flores* yield to *Essex*, but they unfortunately miss of the *American Fleet*, of which they only take three, and vainly attempt the rest in the Haven, and afterwards



wards burn a Carrack, in their way home are scattered by a Storm. When *Essex* came home he was displeased to find Sir *Robert Cecil* made Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, and that *Charles Howard*, Lord Admiral was honoured with the Earldom of *Nottingham*, and grew very uneasie at Court; but the Queen, who had always a great Esteem for *Essex*, appeas'd his Discontent by dignifying him with the Title of *Earl Marshal* of England.

A. D.

1597.

*Essex made  
Earl Mar-  
shal.*

Proposals of Peace being made between the *French* and *Spaniards*, which the Queen obstructed what she could, and being now almost brought to a happy Issue, the same Offers were made to *England* and *Holland*, which the Queen seemed to accept, but *Holland* opposed it to the utmost. *Burleigh* Lord Treasurer inclined to have Peace with the *Spaniard*, and by many solid Arguments press'd the Acceptance of it, as a great Good to *England*. *Essex* argued to the contrary with all the Force he was Master of, insomuch that the Lord Treasurer said, he breath'd nothing but Danger, War and Blood, and after hot Dispute, drew out his Psalm Book, and saying nothing, pointed *Essex* to these Words, *Men of Blood shall not live out half their Days*. In carrying on this Business of the Peace, and chusing a fit Person to manage the Affairs in *Ireland*, which were now in great Disorder, there grew a hot Debate between the Queen and the Earl of *Essex*, none being present but the Lord Admiral, Sir *Robert Cecil*, and *Windebank*, Clerk of the Signet. The Queen thought Sir *William Knolls*, *Essex's* Uncle, to be the fittest Person to be sent into *Ireland*, and *Essex* obstinately asserted, that Sir *George Carew* was a fitter; and since he could not perswade her Majesty to be of his Opinion, the Earl quite forgetting himself, and neglecting his Duty, uncivilly, and in Contempt, turn'd his Back upon her, and gave her a scornful Look. The Queen not enduring such a rude Behaviour, gave him a Box on the Ear, and bid him get him gone, and be hang'd. He presently laid his Hand upon his Sword, the Lord Admiral stepping between, he swore he would not put up the Affront, nor would have taken it at King *Henry's VIII's* Hands, and in great Passion withdrew himself from Court.

A. D.

1598.

*The Queen  
strikes  
Essex.*

In his Retirement the Lord-Keeper by a Letter gave him this good Advice, to submit himself to the Queen's Mercy, and remember that of *Seneca*: *If the Law pu-*



A. D.  
1598.

His Answer  
to the Lord  
Keeper.

nish one that is guilty, he must submit to Justice: If one that is Innocent, he must submit to Fortune. If he had justly offended his Prince, he could not make her Satisfaction; if she had offended him, Prudence, Duty and Religion required he should submit, where he was under such great Obligations, since there is no Equality between a Prince and a Subject. He answered the Lord-Keeper's Letter very passionately, using these and the like indecent Expressions. "No Storm is more violent and outrageous than the Anger of a passionate Woman; the Queen's Heart is hardened. I know what I owe as a Subject, and what as an Earl, and Earl Marshal of *England*; but how to serve as a Drudge and a Slave, I know not. If I should acknowledge my self Guilty, I should wrong the Truth, and God the Author of it. My whole Body is wounded by that one Blow, and having received this Indignity it were Impiety to serve longer. Cannot Princes Err? Can they not wrong their Subjects? Is any Earthly Power Infinite? *Solomon* says, a Fool laughs when he is stricken! They who get Advantages by Princes Errors and Misdoings, let them take Injuries at Princes Hands. They who believe not the Infinite Omnipotency of God Almighty, may acknowledge an Infinite Power in Royal Majesty. I that have been torn and rent with so many Wrongs, have long enough endured the Bitterness of Injuries in my very Bowels. However, not long after he became more submissive, obtained his Pardon, and was received into Favour, the Queen being of such an excellent Disposition, that she always thought it less be-coming her Majesty to offend and anger a Man, than to hate him; yet from this Disaster his Friends suspected his Ruin, for Fortune is seldom reconciled to her Foster Children whom she has frowned upon, and seldom are Princes propitious to those whom they have offended.

The Death  
and Cha-  
racter of  
the Lord  
Burleigh.

About this time died *William Cecil* Lord *Burleigh*, and Lord Treasurer of *England*, being worn out with Labour of Mind, the Gout, and old Age, and now falling sick, wrote a Letter to the Queen, for her leave to lay down his Offices. The Queen visited and comforted him; but within a few days, having lived long enough to Nature, long enough to his own Glory, but not long enough for his Country, he peaceably resigned his Soul to God. He was a most excellent Person, who

to



to say nothing of his Reverend Person, and his calm and undisturbed Deportment, was so disposed by Nature, so polished by Education, and enriched with Learning, that for Wisdom, Piety, Honesty, Integrity, Gravity, Temperance, Industry, and Justice he had no superior. To add any thing after this would look like Flattery, and therefore to sum up all, the Queen was happy in such a Counsellor, and the Nation happy in such a States-man.

A.D.

1598.

In the former Years the Rebellion grew very hot in *Ireland*, and now the *English* Interest there was looked upon as desperate, for the whole Nation was almost up in Arms, and so enraged with their Discontents, that they threaten'd to throw off the *English* Yoke. For Prevention of this Mischief, and to extinguish the Rebellion, the Queen thought of sending *Charles Blunt* Lord *Mountjoy*, to be Deputy there; but the Earl of *Essex* intimated that he was a Man but of a mean Estate, of no Experience, and too Bookish for such a Martial Employment; and in making the Character of a Man fit for that Office, he so artificially drew his own Picture, that the Queen immediately resolved to make him Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, and General of the Army: Which yet he made a shew of refusing, praying the Queen to bestow it upon some abler Person, and yet if any other Person was named, he still made Objections against him, and behaved himself in such a manner, as gave his Enemies the Advantage of saying, he wanted nothing but an Army at his Command, to set up a Title to the Crown, which his Friends and Flatterers had drawn up for him. Other Courtiers who had rather have his Room than his Company, push'd him forward to accept the Command, knowing his youthful Heat, and Ambition of Glory would hasten his Ruin; there being no such effectual way to destroy a Popular and Aspiring Man, as by thrusting him upon Business he is unfit for; but all these Arts he either did or would not perceive, and therefore to the general Rejoycing was made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*.

A. D.

1599.

A Rebellion  
in Ireland.Essex made  
Lord De-  
puty.

An Army of 16000 Foot, and 1300 Horse was appointed for him, and whatever else he could wish was obtained by the officious, but deceitful Intrigues of his secret Enemies, who were raising him on high, that his Fall might be the greater. The Earl went over in *March*, and having received the Sword according to Custom, he presently made the Earl of *Southampton* General



A. D.

1599.

He is sus-  
pected by  
the Queen.

neral of the Horse, contrary to his Instructions, and march'd against petty Rebbels, neglecting the Arch-Rebel *Tir Owen*, against whom he was particularly sent over, and all without acquainting the Queen with his Reasons for so doing, which caused her to be extremely dissatisfied with his Conduct. Two considerable Defeats the *English* suffered in *Ireland*, and at length the Earl contrary to order concluded a Peace with *Tir Owen*, which the Queen having notice of, and that with so strong an Army, in so long a time, and at so great Expence of Money *Essex* had done nothing, she was angry at it, blamed his Counsels and Resolutions as over-rash, unfortunate and full of Contempt and Direspect to her Majesty; nay, she stuck not to say, That he had something else in his Mind than to do his Prince and Country Service in *Ireland*. Nor were her Suspicions ill grounded, for now he began to contrive a wicked Design of returning into *England* with a Party of select Men to reduce his Adversaries into his Power by Force of Arms, being perswaded that many would joyn with him, either out of Love, or a desire of Innovations: And had certainly attempted it, if the Earl of *Southampton* and Sir *Christopher Blunt* had not dissuaded him from it, as a Wicked, Bloody, Hateful and dangerous Project. Whether the Queen had Intelligence of this Matter or not, does not appear, tho' it is reasonable to think she had, for at the same time an Army of 6000 Men were raised in *London*, whereof 3000 were appointed to guard the Queen's Person, and the rest to be always near and ready upon all Occasions, under the Command of the Earl of *Nottingham*; but a few days after, this Army was disbanded.

Within a Month the Earl of *Essex* posted into *England*, accompanied with several of his Choice Friends, went to *Nonsuch*, where the Queen then lay, and early in the Morning presented himself on his Knees before the Queen in her Privy Chamber, when she little thought of it. She entertained him somewhat graciously in a short Conference, but not with so pleasant a Countenance as formerly, and at his Departure commanded him to keep his Chamber; for as she was before displeased with his ill Conduct, he had now incurred her further Displeasure in leaving *Ireland* without Licence. Afterward his Proceedings being generally disliked by the Council, and aggravated by Fictions and Inventions of his Adversaries, he was committed to the Custody

Committed  
to Custody.



Custody of the *Lord-Keeper*, that he might not be farther withdrawn from his Duty, by seditious Counsels.

A. D.

1599.

But let us return to the *Irish* Affairs. Scarce was the Truce from six Weeks to six Weeks expired, but *Tir Owen* prepared again for open Hostility, and being accused by the Council for Breach of Faith, he said he had just cause to renew the War, since the Earl of *Essex*, on whom he solely depended for his Life and Safety, was committed to Custody in *England*, nor would he for the future have any thing to do with the Council of *Ireland*, who had dealt fraudulently with him heretofore. In the mean time Rumours flew abroad among the Rebels, that *England* e're long would be embroiled in Civil Commotions, and therefore he gave Encouragement to the *Irish* Rebels to joyn with him, to the Destruction of the *English* power in *Ireland*; to which he was encouraged by the *Spaniards* who had sent him both Money and Ammunition, and also by the Pope, who had encouraged him by large Promises and Indulgencies, all which Rebellious Practices in *Tir Owen* were either directly or indirectly charged upon the Earl of *Essex* by his Enemies. Now the Queen sends the Lord *Mountjoy* her Deputy into *Ireland*, who with great Care and Industry fortified the most important Places in *Ireland*, and so assaulted *Tir Owen* with continual skirmishing, that he changed the Fortune of War, drove the Arch-Rebel into his Fastnesses and Lurking-places, subdued the Rebels in *Ulster* and *Leinster*, and where-ever he came proved a Conqueror. No worse Success had Sir *George Carew* in *Munster*, the Southward part of *Ireland*, against the Titular Earl of *Desmond*, and so absolutely quieted those Parts, that not so much as one Fort held out against the Queen.

*The Irish  
Affairs bet-  
tered.*

The Earl of *Essex* had been in Custody at the Lord Keeper's six Months, and now out of his own good nature, the Sense of his Afflictions, and the good Advice of his Friends, especially of the Lord *Henry Howard*, he began to repent of his ill Designs, and made such a shew of Piety, Patience, Modesty and Humility, that his Friends were in good Hopes of his Conversion, his Adversaries envied him, and the Queen being pacified with his Submission and Penitent Letters, suffered him to go to his own House, under the free Custody of Sir *Richard Berkley*, protesting oftentimes that she would do nothing against him for his Ruin, but only for his Reformation. But since the vulgar

fort



A. D.

1599.

*The Earl's  
Cause  
heard.*

*He is Sen-  
tenced.*

*The Queen  
is reconci-  
led.*

A. D.

1600.



fort had openly proclaimed his Innocency: That the Queen might not be suspected of Prejudice or Injustice, she thought fit to have his Cause heard, not in the *Star-Chamber*, lest he should be severely Fined, but in the Lord-Keeper's House, before the Queen's Council, four Earls, two Barons, and four Judges, and that some Censures should be given upon his Actions, yet without any Charge of *Perfidiousness*. The Heads of his Accusation were the same that have been formerly mentioned, which were highly aggravated by the Queen's Council. The Earl kneeling at the Table; gave Thanks to God for all his Mercies, and to his Gracious Princess, that proceeded so mildly against him, protesting that he would not contend with her, nor in Whole, nor in Part, excuse the Errors of his young and inconsiderate Years; and by solemn Asseverations protested, that he had sincerely kept his Allegiance and Duty to her, never had a Thought to disobey her, and that his Meaning was good in all things tho' it fell out otherwise. In Conclusion, the Lord Keeper pronounced this Sentence, *That he should be removed from his Place of Privy Counsellor, suspended from his Offices of Earl Marshal and Master of the Ordnance, and be detained in Custody during the Queen's Pleasure.* This Censure all the rest approved, and many were in Hopes that he would be received again into Favour, since the Queen had expressly commanded, that he should not be suspended from being Master of the Horse, and that this Censure should, by no means, remain upon Record.

After this, the Earl made a shew of extraordinary Humility, which the Queen was pleased to hear of, and thereupon removed *Berkley* his Keeper from him, set him at Liberty, and gave him Leave to retire into the Country; but admonished him for the future to make his own Discretion his Keeper, and by no means come to the Court, or near her Person. But as soon as his Servant *Cuff* had Access to him, he began to poyson his Ears, and corrupt his Heart with ill Principles. The Earl at present gave little regard to what he suggested, being in hopes that he should recover the Queen's Favour, and get a new Grant for his Farm of the sweet Wines (for so were called all Wines but *French* and *Rhenish*) which brought him great Profit, and was now almost expired. The Queen gave him hopes of her Favour both by Words and Letters, but as to the Farm she gave him these brief and biting Answers:



fwers: " That she must first understand the Value of  
 " it. That Benefits are not to be bestowed blindfold.  
 " That a restiff Horse, must be kept short of Proven-  
 " der, that he might be the more easily managed;  
 and commended that Aphorism of the Physicians,  
 which tells us, *that corrupt Bodies are injured by feeding*  
*plentifully.* These Answers so enraged Essex, that they Essex re-  
 threw him into his former Frensie, fired him with In-  
 lapseth.  
 dignation, and subjecting his Reason to his Passion  
 made him listen to the Suggestions of Cuff, Merick, and  
 other Incendiaries, whose desperate Malice led them to  
 their Masters and their own Destructions: Of such ill  
 Consequence are Ear-Wigs to Greatness. Their pro-  
 voking Speeches to him, made him too often chime in  
 with them, and let fall such dangerous Words, as fa-  
 voured more of Passion than Prudence, which coming  
 to the Queen's Knowledge, and, no doubt, sometimes  
 aggravated too with malicious Comments, and ominous  
 Inferences, alienated the Queen's Affections from him;  
 but that which made an irreparable Breach, was his  
 undervaluing and reflecting undecently upon her Shape,  
 for to mention nothing else, he gave out, *That the Queen*  
*was now grown an old Woman, and was no less crooked and*  
*distorted in her Mind than in her Body,* which some of the  
 Court Ladies, whom he had formerly deluded in Mat-  
 ters of Love and Courtship, taking up at the rebound,  
 aggravated it so spitefully, that they kindled new  
 Flames of Discontent between them; and so sting'd his  
 already distracted Mind, that he began to revive the  
 clandestine Designs that he had first hatched in *Ireland*;  
 tampered with the Puritans and their factious Mini-  
 sters, and also with the Papists, by seeming to commi-  
 serate their Affliction. He secretly entertained Soldiers, *Raiseth*  
 and bold daring Spend-thrifts, whose Poverty made *Soldiers.*  
 them fit for any unlawful Enterprize, and kept them  
 near his House. He and his particular Friends, the  
 Earl of Southampton, Sir Charles Danvers, Sir Ferdinando  
 Gorges, Sir John Davis, and John Littleton of Frankel,  
 had their private Cabals in Drury House, where they  
 took up Resolutions To seize the Tower, the Court, the  
 Queen's Person, and call a Parliament to set up another Go-  
 vernment. These frequent Meetings and the great Re-  
 sort to Essex House, under Pretence of hearing Sermons,  
 encreased the Suspicions of him, and caused him to be  
 sent for to appear before the Council, which he refused  
 to do, being resolved to preserve his Liberty, tho' with  
 the



A. D. the Loss of his Blood, and to that end had gathered to  
1601. his own House the Lords *Sands, Parker, and Mont-Eagle*,  
and about 300 Gentlemen of good Quality.

Imprisons  
the Privy  
Counsellors.

The Queen having ordered the Lord Mayor to keep the Citizens in a due Obedience to her Commands, sent the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *William Knolls* and *Popham* Lord Chief Justice, to know the Cause of this Riotous Assembly. With much Trouble they were admitted into *Essex's* House through the Wicket, and in the Court-yard found a confused Multitude with *Essex* in the middle of them, and the Lord Keeper demanding the Cause of that Tumult, assuring him that if any had injured him he should have equal Justice against them, *Essex* answered, *There was a Plot laid against his Life*; and when the Lord Keeper press'd him to be particular, the Multitude interrupted him, saying, *Let us go, they abuse your Patience, and betray and undo you*. Hereupon *Essex* retired into his House, and when the Lord Keeper and the rest followed him, the Multitude cryed out, *Kill them, throw away the Broad Seal, shut them up in Custody*; then *Essex* commanded to bolt the Doors and shut them in, saying, *Have Patience a little, I will go into the City and advise with the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs and return immediately*.

Excites the  
Citizens to  
Rebellion.

Coming into London, *Essex* cryed out, *for the Queen, for the Queen, a Plot is laid for my Life*, and went directly toward Sheriff *Smith's* House in *Fan-Church-street*, and seeing the Citizens run and gaze, he bid them, *Arm themselves or they could do him no Good*; but not one Man took up Arms for him, and the Sheriff in whom he confided, hearing of his coming, withdrew himself out at a Back-door to the Lord Mayor's, and would not see him. In the meantime, *Essex* was proclaimed a Traytor in all Parts of the City, and seeing none would espouse his Quarrel, and that his own Party began to desert, he gave *Gorges* leave to set the Privy Counsellors at Liberty, who did it, and went with them to the Court by Water. *Essex* returning to his House, found a Chain drawn cross the Street at *St. Paul's*, and Pikes and Musqueteers planted against him by the Bishop of London, under the Command of Sir *John Levison*. The Earl drew his Sword, and commanded *Blunt* to fall upon them, which he did very resolutely, killed *Waite*, and was himself desperately wounded and taken Prisoner. There fell also *Henry Tracy*, a young Gentleman, whom *Essex* dearly loved,  
and



and one or two Citizens. Being thus repulsed at this place, his Hat shot through, and many flinking from him, he returned to his House by Water, burnt several Papers that they might tell no Tales, and fortified his House on all sides.

A. D.  
1601.



The Lord Admiral presently besieged it by Land by the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Lincoln*, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, the Lord *Grey*, the Lord *Burleigh*, the Lord *Compton*, and others. He himself, with the Lord *Essex* his Son, the Lord *Cobham*, Sir *John Stanhop*, Sir *Robert Sidney*, and Sir *Fulk Grevil*, entred into the Garden by the *Thames* side, and being ready to assault the House, he summoned him by *Sidney* to yield. *Southampton* asked to whom they should yield: To their Adversaries? that were to run themselves headlong into Ruin: To the Queen? that were to confess themselves guilty; but says he, if the Lord Admiral will give us Hostages for our Security, we will appear before the Queen; if it not, we are resolved to sell our Lives as dear as we can. The Lord Admiral answered, That such Conditions were not to be proposed by Rebels, but in compassion to the weaker Sex, he would permit the Countess his Wife, the Lady *Rich* his Sister, and their Women, who filled the Air with their Shrikes and Lamentations, to go out. This *Essex* took as a Favour, only desired an hour or two's time to fortifie the place they should go out at, and that was also granted.

*Essex House*  
Besieged.

Now the Earl of *Essex* looking upon all things as desperate and lost, once resolved to force his way out, to which he was encouraged by the ancient Lord *Sands*, who said, *That the resoluteſt courſes were the ſafeſt, and that 'twas more honourable for Noblemen to die fighting, than by the hands of an Executioner*; but *Essex* wavering in his Mind, and having the Lord Admiral's Promise that they should be treated civilly, all the Noblemen at ten a Clock at Night, falling upon their Knees, delivered up their Swords, and themselves Prisoners to him. *Essex* and *Southampton* were first confined in *Lambeth-house*, and shortly after with *Rutland*, *Sands*, *Cromwel*, *Monteagle*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, and Sir *Henry Bromley* committed to the Tower.

*Essex and*  
*his Associates*  
surrender.

A. D.  
1602.



On the 19th of February 1602, *Essex* and *Southampton* were brought to their Tryals in *Westminster-Hall*, before the Lord Treasurer *Buckhurst*, and for that Tryal Lord High Steward, the Earls of *Oxford*, *Nottingham*, *Shrewsbury*, *Derby*, *Worcester*, *Cumberland*, *Sussex*, *Hartford* and *Lincoln*.

Are brought  
to their  
Tryals.



A. D.  
1602.

*Lincoln.* The Lord Viscount Howard of Bindon, the Barons of Hunsdon, La Warr, Morleigh, Cobham, Stafford, Grey, Lumly, Windsor, Rich, Darcy, Chandois, St. John, Burleigh, Compton and Howard of Walden, to whom as Assistants, sate the Lord Chief Justice Popham, Periam Lord Chief Baron, Gandy, Fenner, Walmsley, Clark and Kingmill. Their Charge was High Treason, the Heads of which were, *That they had plotted to deprive the Queen of her Crown and Life, and had broken out into open Rebellion;* to which they pleaded *Not Guilty*, Essex averring that he had done nothing, but what was agreeable to the Law of Nature, and upon urgent Necessity.

Yelverton, the Queen's Sergeant, and Edward Coke her Attorney, opened the Indictment, and according to the Custom of Lawyers, tho' not very commendable, upbraided Essex with the Queen's Favours, compared him to *Cataline*, and made (as some thought) too indecent Reflections, and Insults upon Men of their Quality, under such unhappy Circumstances; for Coke ended his Harangue with this ill natur'd Conclusion, *It were to be wished that this Robert, might be the last of this Name Earl of Essex, who affected to be Robert the first of that Name King of England.*

The Earl of Essex with great Courage and Modesty answer'd, That this Art of scandalous Oratory was common with Men of their Profession, who accounted it their Glory, to run down Innocent Men with multiplicity of Words, and therefore prayed the Lords not to regard their Clamours and Noisie Suggestions; but weigh the matter according to Truth, and not by Rigour and Quirks of Law: Which was added by Southampton. The Evidences against them being heard, and the whole proved against them, Southampton endeavoured to excuse himself out of his Love to Essex, and his Ignorance of the Laws, and with great Humility begged the Queen's Mercy, whom he had always looked upon as a lively Image of the Divine Goodness, and against whom his heart had never harbour'd a disloyal Thought. Essex, when the Heat was over between him and Cecil, answered more calmly, That he had no design but to repel Force by Force; nor would he have entred the City so inconsiderately, if he had not thought his Life in danger; nor with so small a number, if he had intended any thing but to defend himself against his private Enemies.



A. D.

1602.

The Prisoners having now made their Defences, the Lords withdrew, and in an hour returned to their places, where every one of them pronounced *Essex* and *Southampton* Guilty; who now being brought again to the Bar and acquainted with it, *Essex* humbly begged the Lord's Favours, that they would intercede with the Queen for *Southampton's* Pardon, who might do her good Service. For my own Life, saith he, I care not; for I desire nothing more than to lay it down with sincere Faith to God, and Loyalty to my Prince, tho' the Law has made another Interpretation of it. Yet I would have no Man tell the Queen that I slight her Mercy, tho' I believe I shall never fawningly beg it. And I beseech you my Peers, tho' you have condemned me by Law, that you would absolve me in your Consciences, who never intended any ill against my Prince.

And Con-  
demned.

The next day, Sir Robert Vernon, Sir William Constable, Sir Edmund Bainham, Knights, John Littleton, Henry Cuff the Earl of *Essex's* Secretary, Captain Whitlock, John and Christopher Wright, and Orel, an old Soldier, were arraigned, and as soon as they had held up their hands, and the Queen was told they were unwarily drawn in, she commanded that none but Littleton, Bainham and Orel should be tryed, and that the rest should be remanded to Prison, and tho' Sentence was pronounced against those that were tryed, yet at last all their Lives were spared. Bainham redeemed his by a Sum of Money paid to Sir Walter Raleigh, Littleton dy'd of a Disease, and Orel was pardoned.

In the mean while the Earl of *Essex*, either troubled in his own Conscience, or terrified by the Minister that attended him, if he concealed the Truth, and did not discover his Accessaries, he desired to speak with some of the Privy Council, and particularly with Secretary Cecil. Upon this Request, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, and Cecil went to him, and after he had asked the Lord Keeper's Pardon for detaining him in Custody, and Cecil's for accusing him in the matter of the *Infanta*, he told them, That the Queen could never be safe as long as he lived, and therefore desired he might suffer privately in the Tower. Some of his Associates in the Conspiracy he discover'd: He desired to speak with Blunt and Cuff, and as soon as he saw them, broke out into these Words, O Cuff! Ask God's and the Queen's Pardon, and see you deserve it. For my part, I am resolved to deal sincerely before God and Man, and cannot but tell you plainly, that you were the Person that chiefly

His Con-  
fession.



A. D. chiefly moved me to this Disloyalty. Nor was he satisfied  
1602. with this verbal Confession, but under his hand discovered the Conspirators.

February 25th, the Day appointed for his Execution, *Tho. Montford*, and *Will. Barlow*, Doctors of Divinity, with *Ashton* Minister of the Church in the Tower, were sent to him early in the Morning, to prepare him for Death. In these Men's Presence he gave Thanks to God that his Designs, which were so dangerous to the State, had no Success. He told them he had now look'd seriously into his Sin, and was heartily sorry, that he had so obstinately defended an unjust Cause at the Bar. He thanked the Queen who had granted him a private Execution, lest his Mind, which was now composed, might be disturbed by the Peoples Acclamations; saying, He had now learned how vain a thing Popular Breath and Favour was, and how he deserved to be spued out by the Common-wealth, for the Wickedness of his Enterprize, which like a Leprosie had spread far and near, and infected many.

*The Queen's  
Mind changes.*

The Queen's Mind, in the mean time, waver'd concerning him; her former Affection and Favour towards him, recall'd her to some degree of Compassion and Clemency, and she sent her Commands by *Sir Edward Cary*, that he should not be Executed: On the other side, his perverse Obstinacy who scorned to ask her Pardon, and had openly declared, that his Life would be the Queen's Destruction, did so push her on to use Severity, that soon after she sent a fresh Command by *Darcy*, that he should be Executed. Accordingly, he was brought to a Scaffold erected in the Tower, accompanied by the Divines aforenamed. Near the Scaffold's side the Earls of *Cumberland* and *Hertford*, Viscount *Howard* of *Bindon*, the Lord *Howard* of *Walden*, the Lord *Darcy*, the Lord *Compton*, some of the Aldermen of *London*, and several Knights, amongst whom was *Rawleigh*, with a purpose, if you believe himself, to answer if the Earl should object any thing against him at his Death; but others interpreted his being there in a worse sense, that he might please his Eyes with a sight of the Earl's Sufferings, and satiate his Malice with his Blood, and therefore being told of it as a Fault, he withdrew into the Armory, and there beheld the fatal Tragedy.

*His Execution.*

The Earl, as soon as he came upon the Scaffold, uncovered his Head, and lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, con-



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confess'd his Sins, and begg'd Mercy for them, especially this last Sin, which he call'd a *Bloody, Crying and Contagious Sin*. He prayed the Queen and her Ministers to forgive him, and that God would give her a long and happy Reign, protesting that he never intended to lay violent Hands on her Person. He pray'd God to strengthen his Mind against the Terrours of Death, and entreated the Spectators to joyn with him in a short Prayer, which he uttered with great Devotion. Then he rehearsed the *Apostles Creed*, and, laying himself down, placed his Neck upon the Block, and having repeated the first Verses of the 51st Psalm, his Head was struck off at the third Blow; but the first took away both Sense and Motion.

Thus dyed *Robert d' Evereux* Earl of *Essex*, in the 34th year of his Age, who was accomplish'd in all those Vertues that become a Nobleman. He had a high and towring Mind, and an obliging Affability, which was too greedily imbibed by the popular Eye, and being a great Ingrosser of Fame, it procured him many Enemies, and made his Mind boil into undecent Passions, more suitable to his Enemies Designs than his own; for they lighted their Candle at his Fire, and this Heat being blown into a Flame by some fiery Spirits about him, stained the Goodness of his Nature with a tincture of Revenge, which his Enemies made reflect upon the Queen, so that the Coal which he design'd to burn his Enemies Nests, kindled his own Funeral Pile. His Genealogy was ancient and illustrious. His Estate and Dignity of Baron came by a Marriage with *Cecily*, Daughter of *William Boucher*, whose Grandmother was Sister to *Edward IV.* King of *England*. Her great Grandmother was Daughter of *Thomas of Woodstock*, Son of King *Edward III.* born of a Daughter of *Humphrey Bohun*, Earl of *Hereford* and *Essex*, upon which the Title of Viscount *Hereford* was conferr'd upon his great Grandfather *Walter*, by King *Edward VI.* and the Honour of *Earl of Essex* upon his Father by Queen *Elizabeth*. This Earl had a Liberal Education in *Cambridge*, and being recommended to the Queen by his Father-in-Law, the Earl of *Leicester*, and made Master of the Horse, he had great difficulty to get into her Favour, but when he had gained it, she loaded him with Preferments, and afforded him a great share in her Affections, which begot him many Enemies, and 'tis no wonder, conside-

His Ex-  
traction.



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ring he was not born for a Courtier; for he could neither flatter nor dissemble, but always carry'd his Love and Hatred on his Brow. He married *Frances* the Daughter of Sir *Francis Walsingham*, Widow of Sir *Philip Sidney*, by whom he had a Son named *Robert*, and two Daughters *Frances* and *Dorothy*, besides a Son by his Mistress *Southwell*, who was named *Walter*.

March 5. Sir *Christopher Blunt*, Sir *Charles Danvers*, Sir *John Davis*, Sir *Gilly Merick* Knights, and *Cuff*, being accused of the same Crimes with *Essex*, were brought to their Tryals, and being Convicted by the Jury, received the Sentence of Death, and were all executed at Tyburn, except Sir *Christopher Blunt* and Sir *Charles Danvers*, who being nobly descended, were beheaded upon *Tower-Hill*. To this Cause also belongs a Censure, given at this time in the *Star-Chamber*. The Earl of *Essex* complained at his Tryal, that his Letters were counterfeited, and upon diligent Enquiry into that matter, a bold Imposture was discovered. The Countess of *Essex* being afraid, that in those troublesome times some Evil might befall her Husband and herself, put some Letters which she had receiv'd from him into a Cabinet, and intrusted it in the Hands of a Dutch Woman call'd *Rihove*, who hid them in her House. By chance *John Daniel*, her Husband, found them, read them over, and observing that there was something in them that might incense the Queen, and endanger the Earl, caused them to be transcribed by one that was expert at *Counterfeiting Hands*. And when the timorous Countess was ready to lie in, he told her that unless she would give him three Thousand Pounds, he would deliver them into the Hands of her Husband's Enemies. The good Lady to prevent that danger, immediately gave him eleven hundred and seventy Pounds; and yet for that great Sum, the Villain gave her only the Copies, and kept the Originals to get another Sum for them from the Earl's Enemies. For which he was condemned to perpetual Imprisonment, Fined in 3000 Pounds, two of which were to be paid to the Countess, and to stand with his Ears nail'd in the Pillory, with this Inscription on his Breast, *A wicked Forger and Impostor*.

A Piece of  
Forgery.

Ostend  
besieged.

About this time the Arch-Duke *Albert* besieged *Ostend*, and the Confederate States being obliged, for their own Preservation, to defend it, they made Sir *Francis Vere* Governour of it, under the Title of

General



*General of all the Forces within and without Ostend.* This Place in the Memory of Man, had but a few Cottages for poor Fishermen on a naked Shore; but at the beginning of the Low-Country Wars, was fortified by the States, first with a Palissado; afterward the Sea working in, and making it a very convenient Harbour, they added a Trench to it, and placed an *English* Garrison in it. These Men, first under *John Conway*, and afterwards under *Sir John Norris*, so disturbed and over-run *Flanders*, that the Prince of *Parma* began to lay siege to it, but in vain. *La Motte* attempted it by Treachery, but was beaten off with great loss of Men; and the Arch-Duke *Albert* surrounded it with seventeen Sconces. But when the Garrisons and these Sconces proved as burthenfome and vexatious to *Flanders*, as the Enemies, and the Haven being thought convenient both to Harbour the *Spanish* Gallies, and disturb the Navigation of the *English* and *Zealanders*, the *Spaniards* resolv'd to take it, what ever it cost them: and the States on the other hand resolv'd to defend it. Never in that Age was a Siege more obstinately maintained, or more gallantly defended: nor a greater slaughter of Men, nor a piece of Service that lasted longer; but the Journal being extant, I will not here repeat it. At five Months end *Sir Francis Vere* finding his Forces diminished by frequent Sallies, the Enemies shot, and the Pestilence, a part of the old Town swallow'd by the Sea, their Provision almost spent, and by reason of contrary Winds no hopes of Supplies, which he had often in vain demanded, and understanding that the Enemy were ready to make a general Assault upon the Town, he desired a Parly with the Arch-Duke about yielding the Place; after Hostages were given on both sides Commissioners were sent to treat about it. But General *Vere* only delayed the time, and fed them with hopes of a Surrender, till fresh Supplies of Men were come to him, and then sent back the Commissioners, excusing himself by that Military Axiom, *That to delude and over-reach an Enemy is pleasant and advantagious*, and therefore desired their Pardon, if in case of the like necessity he should make use of the same Stratagem. The Arch-Duke, in revenge, made a furious Assault the next day, but was beaten off; and General *Vere*, when he had made good the shaken and battered places, was called away by the States, who thought fit every five Months to send a new Go-



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1602.

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A three
years siege.

vernour and fresh Supplies of Men, leaving his Office to *Frederick Dorpe*. Which Generals and their Successors, with great Prudence and Resolution defended the Town three years, and about a hundred days, against the furious Assaults of the *Sea* and the *Enemy*, and happy had it been if the *Sea* had been let in and had swallow'd it; for the stoutest and bravest Soldiers of the *Low-Countries*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Italy*, whilst they contended for a barren Plat of Sand, found here one common Sepulchre, tho' withal it was an eternal Monument of their Valour.

The Spani-
ard in-
vades Ire-
land.

The *Irish* had been long in expectation of Assistance from *Spain*, and now to their great Joy they arrived in great State at *King sale*, and having peaceably entred the Town and refreshed themselves, *Don Juan d' Aquila*, who commanded them, with the Title of *Master General and Captain of the Catholick King in God's War, for maintaining the Faith in Ireland*, published several Papers, wherein he endeavour'd to persuade the People, that *Queen Elizabeth* was by several Sentences of the Pope deprived of her Crown, that her Subjects were absolved from their Oath of Allegiance, and that now the *Spaniards* were come to deliver *Ireland* out of the Jaws of the Devil; and by that specious pretence he drew great Numbers of lewd and dissolute Fellows to joyn with him. The Lord Deputy having drawn together what Troops he could, besieged *King sale*, forced the Castle of *Kincurran* to surrender, and with the help of Vice-Admiral *Levison*, begirt the Town with a closer Siege, which notwithstanding was soon after somewhat slackned, in regard *Levison* with his Fleet was fain to sail hence against 2000 *Spaniards*, which were landed at *Bere Haven*, *Baltimore*, and *Castle Haven*, five of whose Ships he sunk. About the same time *O Donel*, *Tir Owen*, *O Rork*, *Reymund Burk*, *Mac Mahon*, *Randal Mac Surley*, and the chief Rebels drew near, and joyning the new Landed *Spaniards*, made up 6000 Foot, and 500 Horse, and were puffed up with such a Confidence of Victory, as being more in Number, fresh Men, and well provided with all Necessaries, whereas the *English* were tired out with a Winter's Siege, destitute of Provisions, and their Horses spent with hard Service and want of Hay and Corn. However, when both Armies came to engage they found to the contrary; for the *Spaniards* were slaughter'd, the *Irish* betook themselves to flight, throwing
away

They are
beaten.

away their Arms. *Don Alphonso O Campo* was taken Prisoner, with three *Spanish* Leaders and six Ensigns. Twelve Hundred Men were slain, and nine Colours taken, whereof six were *Spanish*. Of the *English* few were kill'd, but many wounded.

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Great and many were the Advantages of this Victory, for *Ireland* that was staggering and ready to revolt, was hereby kept in Obedience; the *Spaniards* were driven out of that Country; the Arch Rebel *Tir Owen* was forced into his Shelters; *O Donel* was forced to fly into *Spain*; the rest of the Rebels were dispersed; the Queen's Authority was restored; the Hearts of honest Men revived, and a solid and perfect Peace established in all *Ireland*.

The next day the Lord Deputy commanded *Josias Bodley* to survey the Works about *Kinsale*, to finish the Mount, and draw the Trenches nearer the Town, which was six days a doing; and in the mean while *D' Aquila* sent a Trumpeter to the Lord Deputy, desiring a Parley. Sir *William Godolphin* was chosen for that purpose, to whom *D' Aquila* signified, That he had found the Lord Deputy a smart but honourable Enemy; that the Irish were Weak, Rude, and Perfidious; that the Catholick King had sent him to assist two Earls, but now he questioned whether there were any such Earls in the World, since one Blast of War had blown one of them into *Spain*, and the other into the North, where neither of them were to be found, and therefore he was willing to treat of a Peace, which might be advantageous to the English, and not prejudicial to the Spaniards; tho' he wanted nothing for a Siege, and every day expected Succors to enable him to do what he came for. Briefly it was concluded, that the Spaniards should surrender *Kinsale*, the Castles and Forts at *Baltimore*, *Bear-haven* and *Castle-haven* to the Lord Deputy, depart with their Lives and Goods, and Colours flying, and not be molested by any English Ship in their Voyage to *Spain*. These Articles being ratified, the Spaniards took the first Opportunity of returning Home.

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1603.

They Capitulate and leave Ireland.

And that they might have no Temptation to make another Descent in *Ireland*, the Queen sent a Fleet of Ships into *Spain*, which harra's'd their Coasts and took a Carrack valued at a Million of Ducats, with the Loss of five Men only. Now there happened a great Quarrel between the Jesuits and the Secular Priests in *England*; for *Blackwel*, who was wholly at the Com-

A Quarrel between the Jesuits and the Monks.

A. D.
1603.

mand of *Garnet*, General of the Jesuits in *England*, usurp'd Authority over them, depriv'd them of their Faculties, and procured a Brief from the Pope, wherein they were declared Schismatics and Hereticks, which they cleared themselves of, by a Censure of the University of *Paris*. Publishing one Book after another, the Secular Priests highly extolled the Queen, and made it appear, That in the first 11 Years of her Reign, there was not one Papist had his Life call'd in question for his Religion; and that in 10 Years after the Publication of the Bull of Pope *Pius Quintus*, and the Rebellion of the Papists, not above twelve Priests were put to death for Treason, till in the Year 1580, when the Jesuits first crept into *England*. Then they shew'd at large, that the wicked Designs of the Jesuits confounded all, and enforced the making of severe Laws against Papists. That after Seminaries for *English* Fugitives were made in *Spain* by the Procurement of *Parsons* an *English* Jesuit, and fifty every Year were sent into *England* to disturb the Peace of the Kingdom. That *Parsons* excited the *Spaniards* to invade *England* and *Ireland*, and set up the *Infanta* of *Spain's* Title to the Crown of *England*. That *Holt*, a Jesuit, perswaded *Hesket* to raise a Rebellion, hired *Cullen*, *York*, and *Williams* to kill the Queen. That *Walpool* a Jesuit perswaded *Squire* to poyson her: Insomuch that the Queen, whose Judgment was, that Conscience ought not to be forced, was necessitated to use Severity, or betray her own and her Kingdoms Safety. *Parsons* they reproach'd with being a Bastard, the Dregs of the People, and a Turbulent, Seditious Sycophant and Equivocator. The Defamatory Libels which the Jesuits made against the Queen, they condemn'd of Falshood, and the Authors as Traytors to God and her Majesty, and desired the *English* Papists not to send their Children to be Educated in the Jesuits Colleges, where they suckt in the Poyson of Treason and Rebellion with their first Rudiments.

While these Contentions were on foot, and were encouraged by the Bishop of *London*, the Privy Council were of Opinion, that notwithstanding this pretended Animosity, they were both agreed to pervert her Majesty's Subjects, and therefore were both banish'd by Proclamation; and it came out but in time, for while they were managing these Disputes, *Thomas Winter* and *Tesmund* a Jesuit, were sent over into *Spain*, where they carry'd on a dangerous Plot for cutting off

Queen

They are
banish'd.

Queen Elizabeth, and excluding *James* King of Scots A. D. 1603.
from his Succession to the Crown of *England*.

After the *Spaniards* were driven out of *Ireland*, *Tir Owen*, under a great Fright, made haste to his lurking Holes in *Ulster*, and from this time forward could not rest in quiet, but haunted with an evil Conscience, mistrusted every one, and continually removed from place to place. The Lord Deputy put his Soldiers into Winter Quarters, and as soon as the Season of the Year would permit, he marched against the Rebels, and sent Sir *Arthur Chichester* and Sir *Henry Dockwra* to fall upon *Tir Owen*; but all Approaches were so miry, the March so troublesome, the Weather so foul, and their Guides so perfidious, that they were forc'd to give over their Enterprize; but in Conclusion, the Garrisons placed here and there by the Lord Deputy, did so vex and afflict the Rebels by often charging upon them, that when they saw themselves beset on every side, and that like wild Beasts they were compelled to hide themselves in Woods and Forests, they began to submit to the Lord Deputy, striving who should be the first; complaining that *Tir Owen*, for his own private Grudges, had exposed the Nation to Ruin, and that the War was only carry'd on to serve his Purposes, but was destructive in its Consequence to every Body else. *Tir Owen* also finding his ill Successes had weakned the Fidelity of his Followers, and lessen'd his Forces, resolved, if it were possible, to save his own Life, therefore sent submissive Letters to the Queen and the Lord Deputy, with Prayers and Tears, wherein he begg'd his Pardon, and giving such Signs of true Repentance, the Queen order'd the Lord Deputy to receive him to Mercy, provided he would beg it upon his Knees, with that Humility and Submission, that he pretended to in his Letters. Upon notice of this welcome News, *Tir Owen* repairs to Court, and being admitted into the Presence Chamber, where the Lord Deputy sat in his Chair of State, with a great number of Sword Men about him, he fell on his Knees at the very Threshold, then advancing nearer with a dejected Countenance, said, *I acknowledge my Sin against God, and my Offence against my most Gracious Queen and Sovereign Lady, to whose Royal Clemency, as a Sacred Anchor I betake my self, offering up my Life and Estate to be at her Disposal, whose former Bounty and present Power as I have felt, so I most humbly beseech her, that*

Successes
against the
Irish.

Tir Owen
submits.

A. D.

1603.

An end of
the Irish
Wars,

I may now taste of her Mercy, and be made an eternal Example of her Princely Clemency. My Age is not so far spent, nor my Body so feeble, nor my Mind so broken, but that by my valiant and faithful Service I may yet expiate the Sin of my Rebellion. Thus ended *Tir Owen's* Rebellion by the Auspicious Fortune of the Queen, and the good Conduct of the Lord *Montjoy* Lord Deputy of *Ireland*, eight Years after it first began. That it continued so long is no wonder, if we consider that it encreased by slighting it, and the over-Covetousness of *England*, who were unwilling to grant Supplies: That it was protracted by unseasonable Emulations, dissembled Truces, troublesome Ways, difficult Access to Places, and by the Temper of the *Irish*, who trusted more to the Nimbleness of their Heels, than the Strength of their Hands.

The Queen
sickens.

The Queen, who had hitherto enjoyed a perfect Health, began in her Climacterical Year, the 70th. of her Age, to be sensible of the Infirmities of old Age, by a general Weakness and Indisposition that had lately seized upon her; and therefore removed from *Westminster* to her Palace at *Richmond*, that she might enjoy a better Air, and more freely attend the Service of God and the Salvation of her Soul. And here commanding her Inauguration Ring to be filed off her Finger, because it was grown into the Flesh and was painful, it was look'd upon as an ill Omen, and that the Marriage between her and the Kingdom was dissolving. Her Sickness began by a Swelling in her Throat, but that soon abated. Then by degrees her Appetite failed; she had no Relish of any thing she eat, wholly resigned her self to Melancholy, and seemed afflicted with some peculiar Grief, that all except her self was ignorant of the Cause of: But whether occasion'd by the Violence of her Distemper, the Loss of the Earl of *Essex* (as his Friends perswaded themselves,) or that after so great Expences in the *Irish* War, she was prevailed upon to pardon *Tir Owen*, or that many of the Nobility declined their Duty to her, to worship the rising Sun, I will not take upon me to determine: Tho, to their Reproach be it spoken, she saw her self but ill attended in her Sickness, and forsaken by all but three or four Persons, which she was not unsensible of, and therefore Grief and Indignation made her say, *They have yoked my Neck; I have none that I can trust: My Condition is strangely turn'd upside down.*

In

In the beginning of *March* her Melancholy encreased, and a Frowardness familiar to old Age, seized upon her; she would sit silent, and not endure any Talk, unless it were with the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, with whom she often prayed with great Fervency and Devotion, until, by degrees, her Speech failed, and then heard him pray by her with great Attention. Now the Lord Admiral telling the rest of the Privy Council, what the Queen had sometime said to him about the Succession, they all thought fit that he, with the Lord Keeper, and the Secretary of State, should wait upon her, and in the Name of the rest of the Council, understand her Pleasure concerning her Successor. The Queen made answer, with a Gasping Breath, *I said that my Throne was the Throne of Kings, and that I would not have any mean Person succeed me.* *She names her Successor, and* The Secretary asking her what she meant by these words; *I will, said she, that a King succeed me: And who should that be but my nearest Kinsman the King of Scots; Then being put in mind by the Arch-Bishop to think upon God, That I do, said she, nor does my mind wander from him: And when she could no longer pray with her Tongue, with Hands and Eyes lifted up to Heaven; she directed the Thoughts of her pious Heart to God, and prayed, by sorrowing inwardly that she could not pray vocally, as was observed by the Signs she made to her Attendants, when she could speak no longer. And on the 24th. of March, 1603, peaceably resigned her pious Soul to God, having reigned 44 Years, 4 Months, and in the seventieth Year of her Age, to which no King of England ever attained.*

To draw a Picture worthy of Queen Elizabeth would be a Task for the greatest Masters; since all that ever was Great in Womankind contributed to make up her Character. As to her Person, she had but little of a regular Beauty in her Face, but that was well proportion'd, and in the main very agreeable. Her Mein and Gate were noble, and in every thing she said or did there was something of Majesty that struck both Love and Reverence. In her Features, Person and Mein, she had more of King Henry VIII. than of the unfortunate Anna Bullen, but they were his good and not his ill Qualities. Her Youth was a continued Scene of Afflictions, but this was her Happiness, that she was too young to understand them. Her Brother, King Edward, took care of her Education, and her Improvement in good Literature

Her Character.

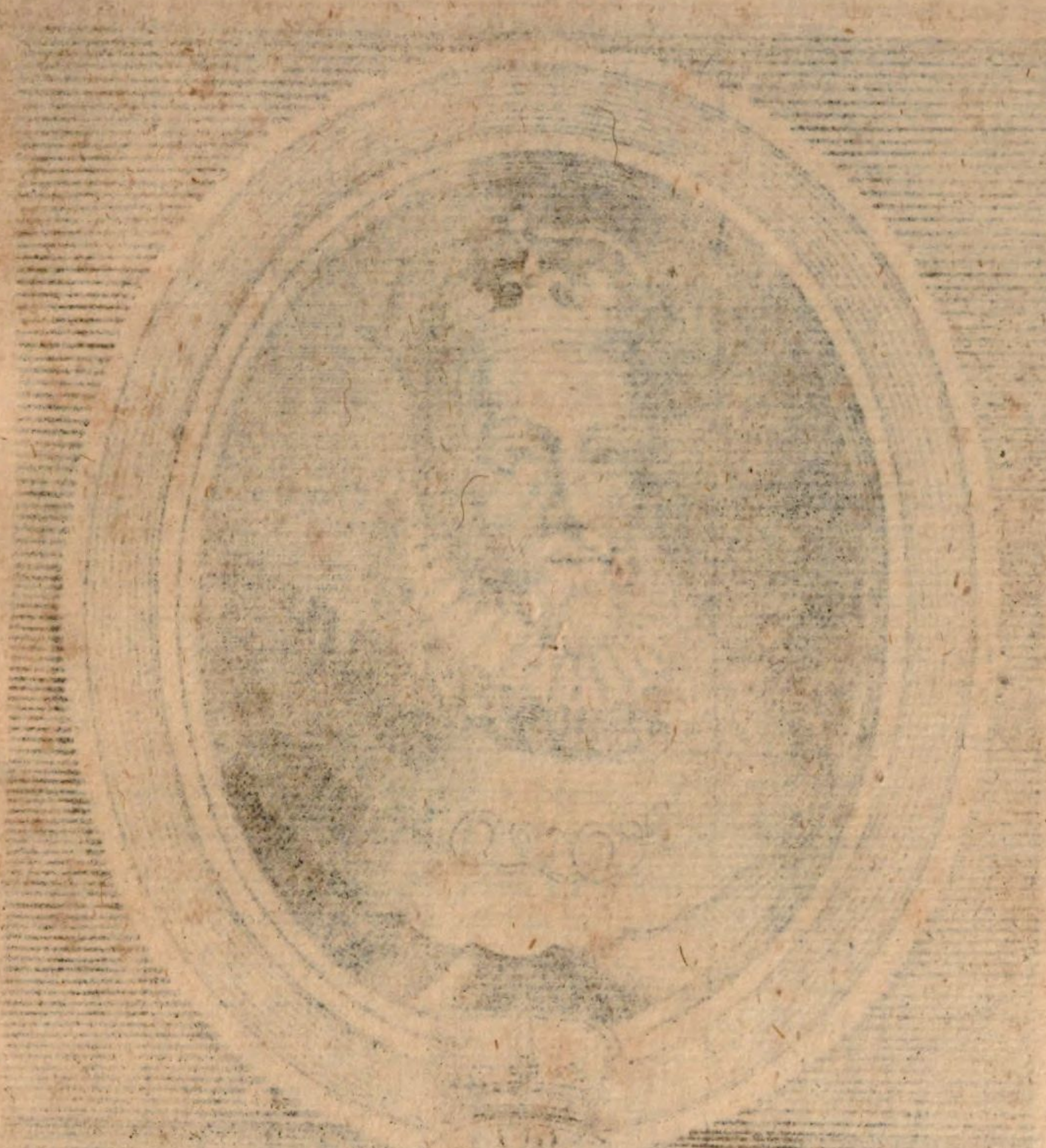
A. D.
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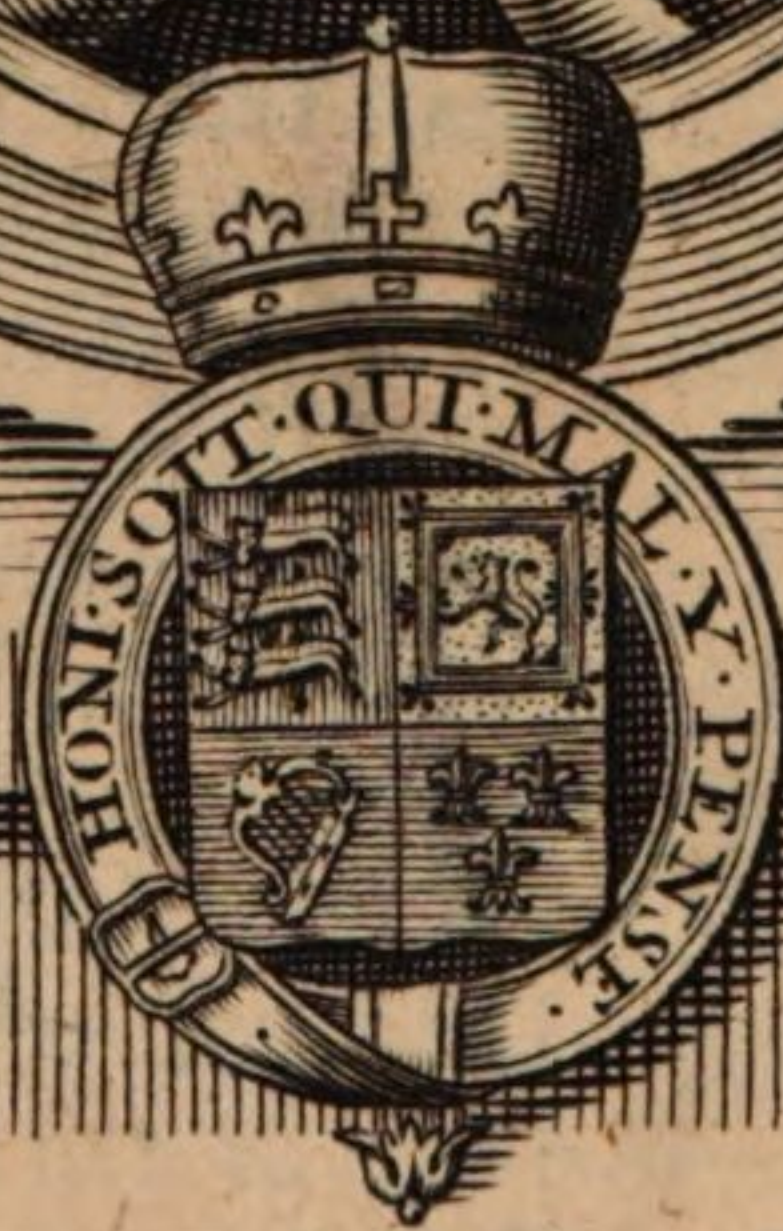


* Frag-
menta
Regalia,
p. 13, 14.

ture was a sufficient Requitall. Queen *Mary's* hereditary Averſion to her upon the account of their Mothers, and the Inveterate Malice of the Popiſh Priests in reſpect of her Religion, had certainly overthrown her, if King *Philip*, who was the greateſt Enemy in her Reign, had not preſerved her Life to be the Scourge of *Spain*, and the Terror of the *Romanists*.

Her Reign was Long and Glorious, ſhe was the Darling of her People, the Dread of her Enemies, and ſo happy in the Choice of her Miniſters, that Succeſs attended all her Enterpriſes. She had the Art of pleaſing her Parliaments, and had little Trouble in doing it; for they were compoſed of ſuch Grave and Diſcreet Perſons, that were Strangers to Faction and Ambition*. Such as came to the Houſe, not to exerciſe their Spleens, but to conſult of the Common Good, and rather to comply than contend with her Maſteſty; ſo that the Queen and they had ever the good Fortune to part in Love, ſhe having firſt her Supplies, and they next what they deſired. She was very ſparing in conſerring Honours, yet had always a way to reward Merit, without proclaiming it. She found the Nation poor, but left it rich, and nothing ſeems to reflect upon her Memory but the Death of *Mary Queen of Scots*, of which ſo much has been ſaid *Pro* and *Con*, that I ſhall add nothing to it, but that they both deſerve to be pitied, the one for her Sufferings, and the other for being the Cauſe of them. But all that has been ſaid in Commendation of this Renowned Queen, was never intended ſo much for a full Character of her and her Councils, as to ſet out the great and viſible Bleſſings of God that attended her; the many Preſervations ſhe had, and that by ſuch Discoveries as both ſaved her Life and ſecured her Government; and the unuſual Happineſs of her whole Reign, which raiſed her to the Eſteem and Envy of that Age, and the Wonder of all Poſterity. It was admired indeed, that a Virgin Queen ſhould rule ſuch a Kingdom for above Forty Four Years, with ſuch conſtant Succeſs, in ſo great Tranquillity at Home, with a vaſt Increate of Wealth, and with ſuch Glory abroad. All which may juſtly be eſteemed to have been the peculiar Rewards of Heaven, Crowning that Reign with ſo much Honour and Triumph, that was begun with the Eſta- bliſhment, and continued with the conſtant Protection and Advancement of the *True Religion*.





JAMES . I

24.

T H E
LIFE *and* REIGN
O F
King JAMES I.

Queen *Elizabeth* being dead, tho' a strict Command was given to keep the Gates of the Palace shut, yet Sir *Robert Carew*, his Father being Chamberlain, found a way out to carry the News to the King of *Scots*; who about nine in the Morning the same day was proclaimed King by the Name of *James I.* The King no sooner received notice of his being proclaimed, but he sends Sir *Roger Aston*, an *Englishman* born, to the Lords of the Council in *England*, to make Provision for his Journey, and his Reception at Court: And now the great ones strive who shall be most obsequious to their new King. His Majesty took his Journey through the North, was magnificently treated in all Places, and the Multitude still admiring a Change, made the Heavens eccho with their loud and repeated Acclamations; which a plain and honest *Scotchman* observing, he said, *By my Saoul this People will spoil a Gude King*, and the King not accustomed to such shouting, and tired with the Croud, restrained them by Proclamation, that he might enjoy his Recreation in Hunting as he pass'd along, without these noisie Interruptions. At *Theobald's*, Secretary *Cecil's* House, he was met by the Lord Chancellour *Egerton*, the Lord *Buckhurst* Treasurer, the Lord *Nottingham* Admiral, all of the deceased Queen's Council, and who were four Men of such incomparable Parts, that the meanest of them were fit to manage the greatest Affairs of any Kingdom. No Order of Men, or Parties omitted paying their Court to him. The Bishops made their Devoirs, to strengthen themselves against the Faction

A. D.

1603.

All Parties
make their
Court.

ction

A. D.
1603.



ction that opposed the Hierarchy, and the Nonconformists complemented him in hopes of his Favour; between whom the King carried it smoothly, in hopes to please them both, not leaving out the *Papists*, whom he also closed with, by taking the Lord *Thomas* and the Lord *Henry Howard* into his Council, who were Son and Brother to the late Duke of *Norfolk*, who suffered for his Mother. On these he also heaped Honours, making the Son Earl of *Suffolk*, and the Brother Earl of *Northampton*, which almost intoxicated the *Popish* Party, with hopes of an Alteration in Religion.

Here the *English* made Court to the *Scots* that were most in Favour, and there the *Scotch* laid the Foundation of their *English* Fortunes; the chief of whom was Sir *George Hume*, who being privy to the Intrigues of the *Gowry's Conspiracy*, was seldom denied any thing he ask'd of the King, for fear he should cackle: For now many of the *English* believed as little of the *Gowry's Conspiracy*, as the *Scots* themselves did; it being so improbable a thing in it self, and attended with so many inconsistent Circumstances, that it was utterly disbelieved, at the time it was said to have been attempted; tho' the next Age swallowed that Story for Truth, which their Ancestors took for a meer Fiction.

Now Ambassadors flock into *England* with Complements of Congratulation to the new King. The first that came was from the *Palsgrave* of the *Rhine*; presently after another from the States of *Holland* and *Zealand*, another from the Arch-Duke of *Austria*, another from the King of *Spain*; from the Seignior of *Venice*, from the Duke of *Florence*, and last of all Monsieur *de Risney* from the *French* King: All Congratulating his Succession to the Crown of *England*. For Entertainment of which Ambassadors, and all other that should come after them, the King made an Officer by the Name of *Master of the Ceremonies*, allowing him two hundred Pounds a Year Fee, and the first that had the Place was Sir *Lewis Lukenor*, a Gentleman of good Parts, and very skilful in the Neighbouring Languages.

Peace between
England and
Spain.

The Constable of *Castile*, Ambassador from *Spain*, so plyed the Business he came upon, that sparing no cost, he procured a Peace so advantageous for *Spain* and so disadvantageous to *England*, that We and all Christendom have since felt the lamentable effects of it. There was not one Courtier of Note, but tasted of *Spain's* Bounty either in Gold or Jewels, and among them

them not any in so large a Proportion as the Countess of *Suffolk*, who shared in her Lord's Interest being then a potent Courtier, and also in the Secretary's, who was reported to be kind to her: Inasmuch that the People said, that the famous Structure of *Audely-end* had its Foundation from *Spanish Gold*. Now hapned so great a Plague in *London*, that the King to shun the Contagion, left the Metropolis and retir'd to the Earl of *Pembroke's* at *Wilton*, in which time broke out a kind of Treason that no body knew what to make of it then, and was left under so dark a Comment that Posterity could never understand it since. 'Tis true, some lost their Lives for it, yet the World was never satisfied of the Justice, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh* (the only Mark of Tyranny in this good King's Reign) was executed many Years after, without all Precedent, and as most Men thought, without any just Cause, and even against the King's Will, who, in many things, was over-aw'd by his Fears and timorous Disposition. But the *Spanish Gold* and *Spanish Faction* betray'd his Life, as they had done the Kingdom's before, by a dishonourable Peace: And, I believe, it was one of the greatest Master-pieces of that Ambassador, to purchase *Rawleigh's* Head; yet had not *Bristol* co-operated, the King would never have consented, and it may be that Lord served his own ends in it, fearing *Rawleigh's* extraordinary Parts might once again have rais'd him to have looked over *Sherborn Castle*, which was once his own, and how unjustly taken from him the World knew, tho' they durst not talk of it then: Tho' some have lately observed that the House of *Bristol* is now extinct in the Male Line; but there are yet some hopeful Branches of the *Rawleigh's*, that may live to deserve the Honour of being related to that great Man of the Sword and Pen; of whose pretended Treason be pleased to take this following Relation.

The Earl of *Southampton*, who had been long buried in *Essex's* Ruins, was now deliver'd from the Tower, and the King looking graciously upon him, it (as they said) displeased the new Baron of *Essington* Sir *Robert Cecil*; and much more the Lord *Cobham*, the Lord *Grey*, and Sir *Walter Rawleigh*; and being also discharged from their Attendance at Court, 'tis said they broke out into a Conspiracy, and associating themselves with two *Romish* Priests, and other discontented Persons,

Sir Walter
Rawleigh's
hard Mea-
sure.

Cobham's
Conspiracy.

A. D.
1603.Wade's
Contri-
vance.

Persons, designed to set up the Lady *Arabella*; to alter Religion, and subvert the Government, and had already divided the best Places among themselves. The Lord *Grey* was to seize upon the King and Prince. Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was to treat with Count *Aremberg*, for procuring Money, and the Lord *Cobham* was to go to the Arch-Duke, and the King of *Spain*, to gain their Assistance. For these pretended Crimes they were arraigned and found Guilty of High Treason at *Winchester*. *George Brook*, the Lord *Cobham's* Brother and the two Priests suffer'd, and the rest were received to Mercy; but this Conspiracy was such a Mixture of Persons, Protestants, Papists, and Atheists, that none knew what to make of it, but 'twas generally accounted a Trick of State to weaken a Party. The greatest Evidence against *Rawleigh* was *Cobham's* Accusation, which he only desir'd might appear *Viva Voce*, and he would yield without farther Defence; but his Enemies knew *Cobham* would not, nor could not accuse him, for they were sensible that Accusation was procured after this manner. *Cobham* was tamper'd with by *Wade*, Lieutenant of the Tower, and *Salisbury's* great Confident, to accuse *Rawleigh*, but he refused it. *Wade* desir'd it under his Hand; that he denied also: At last *Wade* desir'd *Cobham* to set his Hand to a Blank, and he being a weak Man consented to it; to which *Wade* wrote the Accusation, as will appear hereafter; for *Salisbury* urging *Rawleigh* often, if *Cobham* had accused him under his Hand, if he would then confess it; *Rawleigh* reply'd, he knew *Cobham* was a weak Man, and knew not how far he might be wrought upon, but was confident he would not accuse him to his Face, and therefore had no reason to venture his Life upon it. On this Defence he insisted till nine at Night, at last his Fate carried him against his Reason, and he consented that upon producing *Cobham's* Hand he would yield, then immediately that Paper was produced, which, in truth, was his Hand, but the Contents were *Wade's* Contrivance; as will now appear.

That excellent Princess, Queen *Ann*, being desperately sick of a Disease, that her Physicians thought incurable; Sir *Walter Rawleigh* being an excellent Chymist, and Master of all kinds of Learning, undertook and perform'd the Cure; for which he would receive no other Reward, but that his Majesty would send certain Lords to the Tower to examine the Lord *Cobham*,
Whether

Whether he had, at any time, under his hand accused him of Treason. The King, at the Queen's Request, and in Justice he could do no less, sends six Lords, which for the Honour of their Families shall be nameless, to make enquiry of him: Cobham protests he never did, nor could not accuse him: But, said he, that Villain Wade did often sollicite me to do it, but not prevailing, got me by a Trick to write my Name upon a piece of white Paper, and if any Charge appeared against Sir Walter Rawleigh under my hand, it was forged by that Villain Wade, by writing something above my Hand, without my consent or knowledge. These six returning to the King, made one of them their Spokesman, who said, Sir, my Lord Cobham has confirmed all that ever he wrote or said; which was an Equivocation; for 'tis true, he made good whatever he writ, but he wrote nothing to accuse Sir Walter Rawleigh. Thus was the King abused, and Rawleigh trick'd out of his Life and Estate by the Malice of his Enemies.

A. D.

1603.

Cobham
clears
Rawleigh.

This year, tho' a great Plague broke out in London, whereof above 30000 died, yet in the heat of the Contagion, on the 25th of July, being St. James's Day, the King and his Wife Queen Ann were both Crowned at Westminster. A little before this the Prince was installed Knight of the Garter, the Earl of Southampton and the young Earl of Essex were restor'd in Blood, and Honours so profusely scatter'd, that some Men were tempted to accuse the King's Politicks, and thought he weakned his own Interest; for nothing is more destructive to Monarchy than lessening the Nobility by encreasing their Number, for when they decline, the Commons rise, and Anarchy predominates. But the King seemed to be under a necessity to act as he did. The Scots he brought with him wanted Means more than Honour, and the English he found here wanted Honour more than Means, and therefore supplied both their Wants with a liberal Hand. Sir Robert Cecil was made Baron of Essington, and soon after Viscount Cranborn and Earl of Salisbury. Sir Robert Sidney Baron of Penshurst, and not long after Viscount Lisle. Sir William Knolles Baron of Grays. Sir Edward Wotton Baron of Morley. Sir Thomas Edgerton Baron of Elsmere. Sir William Russel Baron of Thornough. Sir Henry Grey Baron of Grooby. Sir John Peter Baron of Writtle. Sir John Harrington Baron of Exton. D'Anvers Baron of Dantsy. Sir Thomas Gerrard Baron of Gerrards Bromely. Sir Robert Spencer Baron of Wormleighton. The Lord Buckhurst Lord

The King
and Queen
Crowned.A Creation
of the No-
bility.

A. D.
1603.



An Embas-
sie into
Spain.

The Eng-
lish slan-
der'd and
acquitted

Lord Treasurer, he made Earl of *Dorset*, and his old Servant Sir *George Hume*, Earl of *Dunbar*. These with *Suffolk* and *Northampton* were of ancient Families, and adorned his Throne: The rest be pleased to take at the times of their Creations.

In requital of the *Spanish* Ambassadors, two stately Embassies are now addressed, one to *Spain*, the other to the Arch-Duke of *Bavaria*, to have that Peace they so dearly purchased, confirmed and sworn to by ours, as formerly by them. The old Lord Admiral was sent to *Spain*, and the Earl of *Hertford* to *Brussels*. The *Spaniards* were astonish'd at the Splendor of this Embassie, and the handfom Gentlemen that made up the Retinue: For the Jesuits had reported that our People were as Ugly as Devils, as a Punishment inflicted upon the Nation, for casting off the Pope's Supremacy; but when they beheld them to have the Countenances of Angels, they believed their Eyes, and said their Confessors were monstrous Lyars. The Ambassador had his Reception in as much State, as his Entertainment with Bounty, the King defraying all Charges, and they were detained longer at their Landing than was usual, to have all things in their way to *Madrid* in such Plenty, that the whole Country might appear like the Land of *Canaan*, which, in truth, was but a barren Wilderness. In their abode at *Madrid* they gave them Roast-Meat, but they beat them with the Spits, by reporting that the *English* stole the Plate that was used at Table, when, in truth, it was the *Spaniards*, who thought to make Hay while the Sun shone, not thinking ever to come to such a Feast again, and therefore would fill their Pockets as well as their Bellies, Food and Coin being equally scarce in that Nation. This Report passed currently, to the infinite Dishonour and Reproach of our Nation, there being at that time the prime Gallantry of the *English*. Sir *Robert Mansel*, who was born to vindicate the Honour of this Nation, as well as his own, coming in late to Supper, took his place at the lower end of the Table, and falling to his Meat, saw a *Spaniard*, as the Dishes emptied, always putting some into his Bosom, and some into his Breeches, till they strutted. Sir *Robert Mansel* sending a private Message to the upper end of the Table, that there might be no Disturbance, steps up, takes the *Spaniard* in his Arms and brings him up to the Grandee's of *Spain*. Then pulls the Plate out of his Bosom, Breeches, and

and every part about him, which so amazed the *Spaniards*, and vindicated the *English*, that not a Syllable more was ever heard of that Matter, but all due Honour was paid to the Nation, and Thanks to him in particular, who with the rest at last returned to *England* in Safety.

A. D.

1603.

A great Difference being betwixt the Episcopal Party *The Puritans* and the Sect called *Puritans*, and both active in attaining their Ends, the King thinking himself unsecure among them, at the Importunity of both appoints a Conference at *Hampton-Court*, where the Bishops Opponents, Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Sparks*, Mr. *Knewstubs*, and Mr. *Chadderton*, desired in the Name of the rest, that the Common Prayer Book might be amended; hotly disputed against the Cross in Baptism; the Ring in Marriage; the Surplice; the Oath *Ex Officio*, and other Circumstantials, which they said offended them, and ought to be removed. The King himself answers most of their Demands, sometimes applying *Lenitives*, other while *Corrosives*. When he saw their Oppositions proceeded rather from Stubbornness in Opinion than Tenderness of Conscience, betwixt Sound Arguments and Royal Authority, He silenc'd their Clamours for the present, and reduced them to Conformity. The King managed this Discourse with so much Learning and Prudence, that the Audience were surprized to hear it, and Arch-Bishop *Whitgift*, a Learned and Pious Man, said, *He was verily perswaded that the King spake by the Spirit of God.*

On the other side, the Jesuits being in hopes to catch something by troubling the Stream, flock'd into *England* in great Numbers, and the King perceiving that their coming so near him, put his Person and Religion into Danger, he issued out a Proclamation, commanding all Priests and Jesuits to depart out of the Kingdom, and if any of them should presume to return again, they should be proceeded against according to Law. This somewhat allayed the Heat and Hopes of the Jesuits, but it made way for more dark and secret Conspiracies. Another Proclamation came out for Uniformity in Religion according to Law, and to reduce those that had not received Satisfaction at the Conference; for it was now a hard Question, whether the Jesuits or the Nonconformists, were greatest Enemies against the Church of *England*. After this, Proclamations came out thick and threefold, against Monopolies, Pro-

A. D.

1604.



Protections, Salt-Peter Men, Purveyors, Cart-Takers, and other Insolent Officers that were grievous to the Subject. The King naturally desired not to be look'd upon, and those Noises and Formalities of the State, which set a Lustre upon other Princes, were burthensom to him. The Parliament drawing on that was summoned to meet upon the 19th of *March*, the King with the Queen and Prince, four days before, rode from the *Tower* to *White-Hall*; and the City and Suburbs being one great Pageant, wherein he must suffer his Ears to imbibe their Oratory, tho' never so nauseous to his Stomach, he endured the Brunt very patiently, tho' afterwards he forbid it upon all Occasions.

At the opening of the Parliament the King was pleased to entertain them with an Incomparable Speech, wherein he so interwove the Rights and Duties of the Monarchy, with the Privileges of the Subject, that all Parties thought it worthy of Commendations, and truly he shewed his Master-piece in that particular, and did not only please and close with his own Subjects, but caused his Wisdom to be admired abroad. The Parliament admiring the King's Abilities, made a Recognition of his Right to the Crown of *England*, to which they obliged themselves, their Heirs and Posterities, and the King as it were triumph'd upon a Throne of the People's Love and Duty. But our inbred Distempers were not long upon the *Lee*, before they began to ferment, the King's Lenity, and the People's Luxury, made way for abundance of Disorders. The Streets swarmed with Quarrels and private Duels, especially betwixt the *English* and *Scots*; many Discontents arose between the Gentry and Commonalty about Inclosures, and between the Protestants and the Papists about Religion; the Papists petition for a Toleration, but not being able to procure it, they contrive a dangerous Plot against the Blood Royal, and all the Nobility and Gentry assembled in Parliament, who, as they had projected, must be all blown up and destroyed, by the Blast of 36 Barrels of Gun-powder, which the Conspirators had placed in a Cellar under the Parliament-House, as was discover'd by a Letter from one of the Contrivers, when the Fire was already in their Hands, as well as the Malice in their Hearts to effect it.

Quarrels
betwixt
the English
and Scots.

Gun-powder
Treason.

The principal Conspirator was *Robert Catesby*, a Gentleman of a plentiful Fortune, who first contrived the Stratagem, and communicated it to *Thomas Piercy*,
Robert

Robert Winter, Thomas Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rook-wood, John Wright, Francis Tresham, Sir Everard Digby, A. D.
1604.

and other Gentlemen of good Estates, who, like combustible Matter, took Fire at the first Motion, and thought to gain themselves eternal Reputations, among the Papists, by effecting it. The Foundation being laid, every Man betakes himself to his Post, being sworn to Secrecy. *Piercy* was to hire the Cellar to lay Wood and Coals in for his Winter Store; *Guido Faux*, a desperate Ruffian, who was to fire the Train, was appointed to bring in the Wood and Coals. The Gun-powder was provided in *Flanders*, brought to *Lambeth* by Night, and covertly laid under the Wood, whilst others were providing Money and Materials to carry on their Design when the Blow was given. The King and Prince they look'd upon as already dead, and *Piercy* undertook to destroy the Duke of *York*; but because they must have one of the Blood Royal to pretend to, they intended to preserve the Lady *Elizabeth*, and make her Queen, that under her Minority they might re-establish Popery. They had designed the Fatal Day to be upon the 5th. of *November*, when the King and both Houses were to meet, and on that Day appointed a great Hunting Match at *Dunsmore Heath* in *Warwickshire*, to be near the Lord *Harrington's* House, where the Lady *Elizabeth* was. Thus imagining their under-ground Treasons were un-discovered by Heaven it self, they stood gaping for their Prey, when behold one more tender hearted than the rest of the Murderers, willing to save the Lord *Monteagle*, writ this Letter to him.

M^R Lord, out of the Love I bear to some of your Friends, A Letter I have a Care of your Preservation, therefore I would to the Lord wish you (as you tender your Life) to forbear your Attendance at this Parliament; for God and Man have concurred to punish the Wickedness of this Time. And think not slightly of this Advertisement; for tho' there be no Appearance of any Stir, yet, I say, they shall receive a terrible Blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurt them. This Council is not to be contemned, because it may do you Good, and can do you no Harm: For the Danger is past as soon as you have burnt this Letter. I hope God will give you Grace to make use of it, to whose Holy Protection I commend you.

The Lord *Monteagle* astonish'd at this Letter, tho' he knew not the meaning of it, communicated the Con-

A. D.
1604.



tents of it to the Earl of *Salisbury*, and others of the King's Privy-Council. *Salisbury* could not unriddle the meaning of it, but concluded the Author was either Fool or Madman from this Expression, *The Danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt*: If the Danger is past as soon as the Letter is burnt, there was no need of any Warning; but he did not comprehend the meaning of it, for the Author only meant as to the Writer and Receiver, if he had Grace to make use of the Warning. The King was Hunting at *Royston*, while they were laying this Snare for him at *Westminster*. As soon as he came to *White-Hall*, the Earl of *Salisbury* shew'd him this Letter. The King considering it, said it was not writ by a Fool or Madman, but imported some Danger, and his Fears exciting his Care, he commanded the Lord *Suffex* to make a strict Search about the Parliament House, who accompanied with the Lord *Monteagle*, entred the Cellar, and finding it cram'd with Wood and Coal, asked *Whinyard* of the Wardrobe, who was House-keeper, to whom that Fuel belonged. He said he had let the Cellar to Mr. *Thomas Piercy*, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners to the King; and close by in a corner of the Cellar stood *Faux*; who being questioned what he did there, said he was *Piercy's* Servant. The Lord *Monteagle*, as soon as he heard *Piercy* named, believed it was he that wrote the Letter to him, upon which there growing further Suspicion, the King and Council ordered the Cellar to be search'd again the same Night by Sir *Thomas Knevet*, one of the Gentlemen of his Privy-Chamber, who with a Retinue coming into the Cellar, met *Faux* at the Door, and seized upon him, who seeing by searching further that all was discover'd, confessed the whole Design, and was only sorry it was prevented, saying, *God would have concealed it, and the Devil discovered it*. In his Pockets they found a Match and a Tinder-box; but upon his Examination he would say no more than *that he was sorry it was not done*. The Conspirators discover'd themselves, for, finding the Gun-powder was seized, they repaired to the Hunting Match at *Dunsmore*, but being pursued by the High Sheriffs of *Warwickshire* and *Worcestershire* to *Littleton's House* at *Halbach*: *Piercy* and *Catesby* sallied out desperately, and fought till they were both slain, and so were *John Wright* and *Christopher Wright*. *Thomas Winter*, *Francis Tresham*, and the rest were taken. *Tresham* died of the Strangury in the Tower. *Thomas Winter*,

The Plot
discover'd.

A. D.
1605.

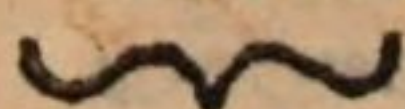


Winter, Guido Faux, Robert Keys, Thomas Bates, Robert A. D.
 Winter, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood and Sir Edward 1605.
 Digby, were Executed. And the King gave the Lord
Monteagle, the first Discoverer, 500*l.* a Year for his
 Life, and 200 *l.* a Year in Fee Farm Rents to him
 and his Heirs for ever.

While the Parliament was sitting, a Rumour took
 breath, that the King was killed at *Okingham*, which
 put the whole Kingdom upon providing to defend
 themselves by Arms, and tho' there was no Colour of
 Truth in the Report, nothing but a Proclamation could
 lay it. The Jesuits had now solicited the King of
Spain to invade *England*, and *Henry Garnet*, Provincial A. D.
 of that Order, being found the principal in that Con- 1607.
 spiracy, and condemned, was executed at the West
 End of *St. Paul's* soon after. Many Endeavours were
 used by the King in Parliament, and otherwise, for an
 Union between the two Kingdoms, but it could not
 be effected, for the *English* thought the *Scots* had too
 great Interest at Court already to be imbodyed into our
 Laws. Now the Lord *Buckhurst* died suddenly as he
 sat at the Council Table, and was succeeded Treasur-
 er by the Earl of *Salisbury*, a Man well instructed by
 his Father the Lord *Burleigh*, a Wise Man and a Cour-
 tier from his Cradle, and tho' Nature was not propi-
 tious to his outward Proportion, being Crook-back'd,
 he supply'd that Defect with extraordinary inward
 Accomplishments: The Earl of *Northampton* was also
 made Privy-Seal, and upon their Shoulders the King
 laid the Weight of all Publick Business, who manag'd
 it so discreetly, that tho' the People complain'd of ma-
 ny Grievances, yet they kept a good Understanding
 between the King and Parliament; and secured the
 People's Obedience, tho' there wanted not some in both
 Houses, that said, *The whole Wealth of England would*
not serve the King's Bounty, and therefore it was in vain to
give him Money that would give it away again; for he had
 made Gold and Silver as plentiful now in *Edinburgh*,
 as it was in *Jerusalem* in the Days of King *Solomon*.

The next Year was fatal to *Henry* the great King of *France*, who in the height of all his Glory was stab'd
 in the Mouth by *Ravaillac* a Popish Priest, of which
 Wound he died immediately, and made King *James*
 issue out a Proclamation to banish all Jesuits and
 Priests out of the Kingdom, to prohibit all Papists from
 coming within ten Miles of the Court, and that all his

A. D.
1610.



Henry
made
Prince of
Wales.

Subjects should take the Oaths of Allegiance, which was begun by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, and follow'd by the rest of the People, to the King's great Satisfaction; which lasted but a while, for they refusing to obey him in his Encroachments upon the People's Liberty, which he began to practise under the Notion of Prerogative, dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation.

Now the great Hopes of *England*, Prince *Henry*, being grown to maturity, and in esteem with all the People, the King first made him a Knight, and afterwards Prince of *Wales*, with all the Pomp and Solemnity that a great King can express, or a meritorious and promising Prince could deserve; for as yet the King could discover nothing in his Actions but the flights of a towering youthful Deportment. But how far the King's Fears might afterwards blind the Eye of his Reason, when he saw him still encrease in the People's Affections, to decline his paternal Kindness, may be the Subject of my Fears, but not of this Narration. St. *James's* was appointed for the Prince's Court, where he was followed and attended by all our young Nobility and Gentry, in as great State and Devotion as the King was by the old ones. Sir *Charles Cornwallis* was sent Ambassador into *Spain* to treat of a Marriage between him and the King of *Spain's* eldest Daughter, which came to nothing. About this time there appeared a Strife between the *English* and the *Scots*, about preferring a Favourite of their own Nation, which the King put an end to for the present, by casting the Rays of his Favour upon a young Gentleman named *Robert Carr*, born about *Edinburgh*, of a comely Person and Courtly Garb. On him the King bestowed the Honour of Knighthood, made him Gentleman of his Bed-Chamber; took the Pains himself to teach him the Latin Tongue, and by his daily Discourses laid a Foundation to capacitate him for a Statesman. Now all Addresses are made to Sir *Robert Carr*, he is the Favourite in Ordinary, no Suit nor Reward but is obtained by his Mediation, nay, the *English* Lords can scarce have a Smile from the King, without this *Scotch* Favourite, and to aggrandize him the more, he is made Treasurer of *Scotland*, created Baron of *Brandspech*, Viscount *Roche-ster*, and soon after Knight of the Garter.

A new Fa-
vourite.

Thus our Juvenile Favourite soon forgot his Father's House, having none about him but *English*, and amongst

A. D.

1612.

mongst them *Overbury* was the Creature he particularly honour'd with his Familiarity. This begat a Strife between the Earls of *Salisbury* and *Suffolk*, who should engross him, each presenting, proffering, and accumulating Favours upon *Overbury's* Kindred. His Father was made Judge in *Wales*, and himself offered an Office; but *Overbury* was naturally of a Proud and Insolent Temper, and being blown up with being the Confident of such a Favourite, whose Beneficence could not be retailed without him, with a kind of Scorn neglected both their Friendships, and yet made use of them. Before this time, that great Engine of State, the Lord Treasurer *Salisbury*, had made an Alliance with the House of *Suffolk*, by marrying his eldest Son, the Lord *Cranborn*, to *Catharine* eldest Daughter of that Family, and that Malice might not become Hereditary, was a great means in marrying the young Earl of *Essex* to the Lady *Frances Howard*, another of those Sisters. The Earl of *Essex* was fourteen years of Age, and the Lady thirteen when they were married, and therefore he was sent to travel, till time might capacitate their Co-union. The Lady was kept at Court by her Mother, where the sower Breath of that Age tainted her Reputation, and being a celebrated Beauty, the Prince of *Wales* made many amorous Glances the Ambassadors of his Respect; but the Lady rather favouring the growing Fortunes of the Viscount *Rocheſter*, the Prince slighted her, as rather done out of Spight to cross *Rocheſter's* Amours, than by any real Inclinations of his own. The Countess of *Essex* had now a hard Game to play, viz. to keep her Husband from enjoying her, and to secure the Viscount's Respects; for dishonest Love is always full of Jealousie. In order to strengthen her Designs, she consults one Mrs. *Turner*, a Doctor of Physick's Widow, whom Prodigality had reduced to Poverty, and that render'd her fit for any Mischief. She introduc'd into their Consultations one *Forman* an Astrologer, and a reputed Conjuror, who supplied the Lady with Charms, Spells and Potions, to cool the Husband's Heat, and enflame the Gallant's Passion.

The Innocent Earl being made sensible of his own Misfortunes, complains to her Father, thro' whose Importunities and Threatnings, she was persuaded to retire into the Country with her Husband, where her Disappointments enraging her Spleen, she could scarce afford to be civil to him, but was always murmuring

The Earl of
Essex un-
happily
married.

His Wife's
Carriage
towards
him.

A. D. 1612. muring and complaining against him, and at length wrote to her Correspondents *Forman* and *Mrs. Turner*,

That she saw little Effect produced by all the Potions she had given her Husband, for he seemed more eager after her than ever, and she knew the Viscount would never love her, if he knew her Husband should enjoy her, whom with difficulty she had put off; but how long she should be able to resist his Violence she knew not, and therefore unless they designed to see her the most miserable Creature in the World, they should speedily assist her, and for their Reward they should make their own Proposals. Now all the Tricks of Sorcery and Womanish Aversion being imployed to debilitate the Earl, he suffered her to steer her own Course, and, next Winter, up she comes to *London*, with all the Adornments Art and Nature could invent, to allure the Viscount's Affections: And her Absence increasing his Passion, they had frequent Meetings. Persons qualified for such Offices are employed, and when Nature grew weary and exhausted, new Spirits were purchased, at any rates, to keep up their lustful Embraces.

The Lord
Sanquir's
Misfortune.

Whilst Fortune thus smiled upon the Viscount *Rochester*, it frowned as hard upon the Lord *Sanquir*, a Baron of the same Nation, and married into a good Family in *England*; who valuing himself upon his Skill in Fencing, and intending to affront and disparage a Fencing-Master in his own School, whose Name was *John Turner*, and he apprehensive of his Design pressed so rudely upon the Baron, that he put one of his Eyes out. The Baron being afterwards in the Court of *France*, and the King understanding he lost his Eye by a common Fencer, said to the Lord *Sanquir*, *Vit t' ill encore? Is the Man still alive that did it?* This Question put the Baron in meditating a Revenge, and some Years after coming into *England*, he hired two of his Country-men, *Gray* and *Carlisle*, to murder him, which they did with a Case of Pistols at his own House in *White-Friars*. One of the Murderers was apprehended upon the Borders of *Scotland*, the other in a Ship bound for *Hamborough*, and the Lord *Sanquir* having absconded, and hearing a Thousand Pound was offered for his Head, he resigned himself to the King's Mercy; but no Intercession could prevail, and their Lives satisfied the Law, without allowing the Baron a noble Death, the King saying, *That hanging was too good for him.*

Rochester
trick'd by
Salisbury.

Rochester had not yet so monopolized the King's Affections, but that *Salisbury* was still a Rub in his way,

so

so that he could not arrive to that Pitch of Grandeur in his time, that he afterwards obtained. One thing among the rest wherein he put the Slur upon him, was in moderating the King's Bounty on this Occasion: The King had given *Rocheſter* five Thousand Pounds, which the Treasurer thought too great a Largeſs, where there was no kind of Merit, and therefore laid the Money in Silver upon Tables in his Galleries in *Salisbury* Houſe, and having invited the King to Dinner, made this Room the Paſſage to his Entertainment. The King, ſurprized at theſe great Heaps of Money, asked for what purpoſe it was aſſigned. The Treasurer told he had Order from his Maſteſty to give ſo much to the Viſcount *Rocheſter*. The King, who either careleſſly thought five Thouſand Pound was no more than the Noiſe ſo much makes in *Scotland*, which is not above five Hundred Pounds, or cunningly knowing the Treasurer's Meaning, ſaid *It was too much for one Man*, and made him be contented with leſs than half of it. Now the King tranſlated his Mother's Corps from *Peterborough* to a magnificent Tomb at *Westminſter*, attended by many Prelates and Noblemen, who paid this laſt Tribute to her Memory.

About the ſame time happened the Death of Prince *Henry*, who was the Darling of Mankind, a Youth of vaſt Hopes and extraordinary Virtues; but was too ſoon Man to be long liv'd, or too good for ſuch a wicked People. The World is always willing to attribute the Death of Princes to unfair Practices, and it was the general Rumour of that Time, that the Prince was poyſoned; and it had been happy if there had not been too much cauſe to give that Suspicion Credit. There is yet a Sermon in Print preached at *St. James's* upon the Diſſolution of his Family, that boldly inſinuates ſuch a thing. Sir *Francis Bacon*, Lord Chancellour of *England*, in his Speech of the Tryal of the Earl of *Somerſet*, had ſome Reflections upon the Intimacy of that Lord with Sir *Thomas Overbury*, which ſeem to point directly that way: And ſome that knew the Bickerings betwixt the Prince and him, while he was but Viſcount *Rocheſter*, eſpecially Sir *James Elphington*, who offer'd to kill him, for miſrepreſenting the Prince's Actions to the King, ſhew it but too plainly; for the Prince being an open hearted Man, and reſenting every Injury done to the Nation, had ſometime ſaid, *That if ever he were King, he would not leave one of that Family to*

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piss against a Wall, and therefore he and the *Howards* could not think themselves secure, till he had paid his debt to Nature, and so his Death was slubber'd over by a Certificate from some Court Physicians, *That his Liver was paler than ordinary, his Gall without any Choler in it, his Spleen, Midriff, and Lungs were very black, and his Stomach in no part offended.* Thus was he anatomiz'd to amuse the World and clear the Suspicion of Poyson, as if no Venoms could have produced these Effects. He died the 6th. of *November*, and was buried at *Westminster* the 7th. of *December*, the Pomp of the Funeral being compleated with the Tears and Lamentations of the People.

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Prince Palatine arrived to Lady Elizabeth.

In *February* following, the Prince Elector Palatine was married to that lovely and vertuous Princess the Lady *Elizabeth*, with all the Pomp and Glory that so much Grandure could expresse, and is fitter for Discourse in a Princes Court, than to fill a Page in a History. The City of *London*, by their Mayor and Aldermen, in their Formalities presented the fair Bride with a Chain of Oriental Pearl, of such a Value as was fit for them to give, and her to receive; the People shewed their Affection in bountifully contributing to the Payment of her Marriage Portion, and now being tired with the Entertainments, and all the Shews and Diversions that could be devised, the Lord Admiral being ready with a Fleet in the *Downs*, for their Convoy, they soon arrived at *Flushing*. The Duke of *Lenox*, the Earl of *Arundel*, Viscount *Lisle*, and the Lord *Harrington*, with divers Ladies and Persons of Quality attended them to *Heidelberg*, and some time after the *English* returned Home, except the Lord *Harrington* that died by the way.

In the Year 1609, the King taking into Consideration the Quiet and Security of *Ireland*, had granted to the City of *London* the present Possession and Plantation of the Province of *Ulster*; whereupon in the Year 1612, they sent thither about 300 Persons of all sorts of Handy Crafts Men, chiefly to inhabit the two Cities of *London-Derry* and *Colerain*, and appointed Alderman *Cockain* the first Governour. Now to advance this or the like Plantation in *Ireland*, King *James* about this time began a New Order of Knights, called *Baronets*, which were to take place next to Barons younger Sons, and appointed certain Laws to make them capable of being admitted. First, that they should maintain

tain 30 Foot Soldiers in *Ireland* for three Years, at the rate of 8 *d.* a Day, and to pay down the Wages for one whole Year, at the passing of their Patent: That they should be Gentlemen of Blood of *three Descents*; and lastly, should have Land of Inheritance in Possession, or immediate Reversion, to the Value of 1000 *l.* a Year; and to keep the Order from *Swarming*, stinted it to the Number of 200, and as the Issue should fail the Order to cease. But he that examines how well the Institution and the Order has been observed, will find it to be here, as it was in the Order of St. *Michael* in *France*, into which at first there were none admitted but Princes, and eminent Persons, but afterwards all sorts of Men, without Distinction, were admitted, and made it a Question, whether the Dignity of the Order did more Grace the Persons, or the Meanness of the Persons disgrace the Order: And indeed when the Laws of an Institution are not in some measure observed, it seems to make a Nullity in the Collation.

The Earl of *Salisbury* dying six Months after the Prince Overbury's of *Wales*, *Rochester* took upon him the whole Administration of the Government, receiving Pacquets and dispatching Answers, without the Knowledge of the King or Council, and all done by the Assistance and Privity of *Overbury*; but when he understood that *Rochester* intended to marry the Lady *Essex*, he dealt freely with him, and told him nothing could be more destructive to both their growing Hopes, than to lay the Foundation upon so much Injustice, as to marry another Man's Wife, while her Husband was living, and therefore passionately desired him to cast his Thoughts upon a more honourable Object, and not upon one whose Disloyalty to her Husband, was branded with perpetual Infamy: But the Viscount bewitched with the Charms of his amorous Mistress, did not only estrange himself from *Overbury*, but denounced Enmity, and also excited the Countess against him; and she mustering up all the Passion and Envy that female Malice could invent, never left him till she had discharged all the Volleys of her Rage upon him. She importunes the Earl of *Northampton* her Uncle to vindicate the Honour of their Family; and he joyning with the Viscount, they agree to take away *Overbury's* Life by Poyson; but that not being to be done in a publick way, they contrive to exasperate the King against him, and procure him to be imprisoned, that they might

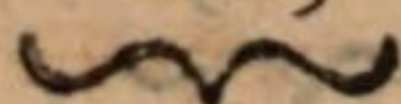
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with greater Privacy effect his Ruin. The King about this time intending to send an Ambassador into *Flanders* to the Arch-Duke, the Viscount recommended Sir *Thomas Overbury* to him for that Service. *Overbury* refused it, but was not so little a Courtier, or void of Reason, as not to see the Danger of disobeying the King's Commands, and therefore acquainting the Viscount with it, who dealt on both sides, promising to mollifie the King's Displeasure, and on the other part aggravates his Offence in refusing the Employment, which incenseth the King against him; so the poor Gentleman was sent to the *Tower* for his Contempt, and to compleat the Tragedy, Sir *William Wade* Lieutenant of the *Tower* was displaced, and Sir *Fervaise Ellowis* put in his room.

The Countess of Essex sues for a Divorce.

Now the Countess employs every Engine to sue out a Divorce from her Husband, and to procure *Overbury's* Death, that had laid such a Stain upon her Honour, that nothing but his Blood could expiate. The Earl of *Northampton* resented his Niece's Grievances, acquaints the King with the Infirmities of her Husband, that since her Marriage she hath not enjoyed the Rights of a Wife, and that there was a great Affection between her and the Viscount *Rocheſter*. The King immediately grants a Commission under the Broad-Seal to try the Cause, who met accordingly; but before they proceeded further, they empanelled a Jury of Twelve discreet Matrons to search the Countess, whether she was a Maid or not, as she pretended to be in her Allegations. The Countess being ashamed and bashful to undergo such an Examination, procured Leave of the Court to appear in a Veil before the Matrons, and by that means had Opportunity to fob a young Girl into her place, who passed in the Opinion of the Jury to be a Virgin, and the good Earl himself to be rid of such a horrid Plague, confessed he had attempted several times to enjoy her, but never did; and upon these Grounds the Judges proceeded to a Divorce, Declaring that Robert Earl of Essex and the Lady Frances Howard, contracted by Shew of Marriage, did cohabit in one House, and lie together in one Bed, *Nudus cum nuda, & solus cum sola*, and that the Lady Frances did shew her self prompt and ready to be known of him, but that the said Earl neither did nor could have Knowledge of her. And that the said Lady Frances by Inspection of her Body was proved to be apt for Carnal Copulation with Man, and yet was a Virgin; therefore we the said Judges deputed in the Cause, first invoking the Name

The Sentence of Divorce pronounced.

Name of Christ, and setting God before our Eyes, do Pronounce, Decree, and Declare, the pretended Marriage to be utterly void, and of no effect. And that the said Lady Frances was, is, and ought to be free and at Liberty from any Bond of such pretended Marriage de facto between them. And we do pronounce that she ought to be Divorced, and so we do Free and Divorce her, leaving them as touching other Marriages, to their own Consciences in the Lord: Which our definitive Sentence and Decree we ratifie and publish. Thomas Wint. Lancel. Elie. Rich. Coven. and Litchfield, John Roff. Bishops. Julius Caesar, Thomas Parry, Daniel Dun, Knights. These Bishops and the rest of the Judges, could not be ignorant what scandalous Reports flew abroad concerning this Lady, and however sweetned by Greatness, yet carried an ill Favour among honest Men, that were not blinded by Interest or deafened by Prejudice, which made the Bishops of Canterbury and London decline sitting, tho' named in the Commission. And all that can be said in Favour of the rest, is, that they might not know, that another Female was imposed upon the Jury instead of the Lady Essex.

Now the Lady bestirs her self to accomplish the Death of Sir Thomas Overbury, and two of her Engines, *Forman* and *Gresham* being dead, she relies wholly upon the Assistance of Mrs. *Turner*, who procured one *Weston*, formerly her Husband's Servant, to be the Tool to effect their wicked Purposes. The Lady procures Sir Thomas *Munson* to recommend him to Sir *Fervaise Ellowis*, and he to Sir Thomas Overbury to wait upon him, by whose means and the Lieutenant's Connivance, several lingering Potions were given him in Broths, Meats and Tarts, nay, his very Salt was mixed with White Mercury, which threw him into extream Torments and Languishing. In the mean while the Lady shines at Court, and is become the King's Favourite as well as *Rocheſter's*, who is now made Earl of *Somerſet*, and shortly after married to his *Quondam* Miſtreſs, with all the State and Magnificence that could fill a Court with Delight, or People with Admiration. Sir Thomas Overbury hearing what he suffered for opposing, was now effected, and still presuming upon *Somerſet's* Friendship, he wrote to him to procure his Liberty as he had often promised. *Somerſet* not willing to have him exclaim, made answer, that the King was now full of great Business, but he would take the first Opportunity to move him for his Release, and make his Indisposition a ground for the King's

Overbury's
Death con-
triving,

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He is poy-
soned, and
how.

King's Mercy to work upon, including in his Letter a *White-Powder*, which he desir'd him to take, assuring him, that though it made him sick at first, it would do him much good in the end. The poor abused Gentleman took his Powder, which having a poysonous Quality, added to his Affliction: But there must be something more violent to do the Feat. Thus he continued languishing under horrid Torments, about the space of four Months, and his Enemies being more impatient that he indured *so long*, than that he suffered *so much*, they finished their Work by an empoysoned *Clyster* compounded by *Franklin*, for in a few days after taking it he died.

The Earl of *Northampton*, who was an Actor in this Tragical Scene, endeavoured, Ungentleman like, to kill him twice, by raising a Report that he died of the *Pox*, and had such strange *Sores* and *Ulcers* in his Body, that stunk so intolerably, that the People not able to endure the noysome Smell, were forced to throw him in a loose Sheet into a Coffin, and bury him privately on *Tower-Hill*, concluding in a Letter to *Somerset*, that *God is gracious in cutting off evil Instruments before their time*; though he little thought he pronounced his own Doom.

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1614.

Northam-
pton dies.

For he being a Papist in Reality, tho' a Protestant in Shew, he did them many Kindnesses contrary to Law, and a Letter of his being intercepted, that was directed to Cardinal *Bellarmino*, which openly declared it; being urged against him, he retired, disposed of his Estate, and died. His plotting *Overbury's* Death was yet a Secret, and made no Noise against him; but when it broke out, Fame loaded his Memory with as great an Odium as his Crimes deserved. *Somerset* also, who for a while after stood the Brunt of all the Tempests rais'd against him, yet his Pride and Covetousness, added to his other Miscarriages such a Number of *Underminers*, that he stood upon a tottering Foundation, without any other Support than the King's Favour, which by Providence was soon remov'd.

A. new Fa-
vourite.

For about this time the King cast his Eye upon a *New Favourite*, whose Name was *George Villiers*, second Son to Sir *George Villiers* of *Leicestershire*, by a second Venter: For the old Man coming to *Coleborton*, in that County, to visit his Kinswoman the Lady *Beaumont*, found a young Gentlewoman of that Name, allied, and yet a Servant to the Lady, upon whom he set his Affections, and married her, by whom he had three Sons

Sons that were all raised to the Degree of Noblemen, and this is the Soil where the Glorious Cedar was planted; who also newly coming from Travel, of a gentle Deportment, and in Garb *Alamode de France*, the King smiled upon him, and brought him near his Person by Degrees, that he might not expose him to the Malice of a Jealous Competitor: But the Courtiers soon perceiving the King's Inclination, began to adore the rising Star, and great Feuds were raised between the two Favourites and their Friends: Which the King being made acquainted with, and willing to reconcile the Clashings between his declining and rising Favourite, employ'd Sir *Humphry May* to tell the Earl of *Somerset*, that *Villiers*, was willing to be his Servant and Creature, and that if he accepted his Offer, he should still remain a great Man, tho' not the only Favourite. The Earl seemed averse to this Proposal. Then Sir *Humphry* told him in plain Terms, that he was sent by the King to advise it, and that *Villiers* would wait upon him immediately, which he performed accordingly, saying, *My Lord, I desire to be your Servant and Creature, to receive my Court Preferment from your Favour, and your Lordship shall find me a very faithful Servant.* My Lord returned this quick and smart Answer, *I will have none of your Service, and you shall have none of my Favour. I will break your Neck if I can, and of that be confident.* However, *Somerset* finding the Pulse of his Conscience always beating thick at the Remembrance of *Overbury's* Death, thought fit to preserve himself, by procuring his Majesty's Pardon, tho' there was nothing yet laid to his Charge but *imbezelling the Jewels of the Crown.* The King grants his Pardon in as ample Form as he could desire it, which was forthwith sent to the Broad Seal; but the Queen having notice of it, and using her Power with the Lord Chancellor, put a stop to the Seal, till the King should come to Town, who was then on his Progress in the West: And then what was muttered in Corners before, rung openly in the Streets; for the Apothecary's Boy that gave Sir *Thomas Overbury* the Clyster, falling sick at *Flushing*, revealed the whole Matter, of which Sir *Ralph Winwood*, Secretary of State, had a full Relation by his Correspondent, and a small Breach being made, he had Enemies enough to enter and overthrow him.

The King being informed of these Transactions, sends for the Judges to him, gave them a strict Charge to examine

A. D.

1614.

A. D.

1615.

Somerſet declines.

A. D.

1615.

The King's
Imprecation.

mine the Matter thoroughly, imprecating a *Curse upon them and their Posterities if they did not endeavour to discover it*; and if he should spare any that were guilty, he wished God's *Curse might light upon him and his Posterity*; so violent the King appeared in the Prosecution of it. Then away he goes to *Royston*, and takes *Somerset* with him. Now the Earl's Ears were continually beaten with fresh Reports, but he thought himself too firm in the King's Favour to be removed; therefore when the Lord Chief Justice *Cook* sent for him, he went to the King with a Complaint, as thinking it a great Presumption; but the King made answer, *Thou must go then, for if Cook sends for me I must go too*. Others say when he came to take his Leave of the King, he embraced and kiss'd him often, wished him to make haste back, shewed an extream Grief to be without him, but as soon as his Back was turned, said, with a Smile, *I shall never see thy Face again*. His Countess was already apprehended, and committed to Custody in *Black-Fryars*. As soon as he came to *London* he was seized on, and committed to the Charge of Doctor *Mountain*, Dean of *Westminster*, and then they went roundly on with the Business, and Tryed, Convicted and Condemned all the Offenders.

The Offenders
Executed.

Weston was the first that suffered by the Hands of Justice, and being tempted at the Gallows to deny his former Confession, his Soul being prepared for Death, resisted the Temptation, and penitentially sealed the Truth of his Confession to his last Breath, and *Hollis*, *Wentworth* and *Lumsden*, who would have perswaded him to pervert Justice, were fined in the Star-Chamber for attempting it. Mrs. *Turner* follow'd next: She had been a Pattern of Pride and Lust, but dying very penitently, I shall not call to mind the Looseness of her Life. Sir *Fervaise Ellowis* was the third, who suffered on *Tower-Hill*, and was much pitied, being drawn in by the Earl of *Northampton*, to connive at what another acted. The fourth that was executed was *Franklin*, a Fellow whose sordid Behaviour at his Death, agreeing with his pernicious Life, is scarce worth the mentioning.

Somerset's
Fall.

The Earl of *Somerset* and his Countess being arraigned and tryed, all the Letters that passed betwixt her and *Forman* were read in open Court, and the *Wax* and *Brazen Puppets* were produced to discover the Folly as well as the Baseness of her Actions: But the Earl and she being both Condemned found the King's Mercy, and

and after some time of Imprisonment in the *Tower* were set at Liberty, and lived in a private and almost obscure Condition: Shewing that no Content or Happiness can be truly established, but on the solid Foundation of Justice: For that Love that made them break through all Opposition, either on her side declining to some new Object, as was commonly reported; or his inclining to Reluctancy, their Loves grew so weak that at last it pined quite away, and they lived long after in the same House as Strangers to one another. She died before him an infamous Death, her Disease being too nauseous for any modest Pen to mention; and of the Earl I will say no more, but that he would have passed for a good Man, if he had not doated on so ill a Woman, whose Lewdness and her Kindred brought him to Ruin.

A. D.

1615.

About this time the Lady *Arabella* died in the *Tower*, and set Men's Tongues and Fears at work, that she was dispatched by the same Methods, so naturally does one evil Action introduce the Belief of another. This Lady was Daughter to *Charles Stuart* younger Brother to King *James's* Father, by *Elizabeth Cavendish*, who was married to Sir *William Seymore*, Son to the Lord *Beauchamp*, and Grandchild to *Edward* Earl of *Hartford*; both at some distance allied to the Crown, which caused all her Trouble; so dangerous is every Appearance that borders upon Sovereign Titles.

A. D.

1616.

In Prince *Henry's* time there had been a Treaty of Marriage betwixt him and a Daughter of *Spain*, which had no effect, and seeing now there was but small hopes in that Country, a Daughter of *Henry* the Great, late King of *France* was aimed at, and to that end the Lord *Hayes*, a Man wholly addicted to fine Clothes, Dress and Courtship was sent Ambassador into *France*, attended with a great Train of young Noblemen, and other Courtiers, whose study was who should be finest, and he was accounted the greatest Wit whose Invention could express something new and unusual in their Clothes, that other of the same Impression might admire, and wiser Men laugh at. Thus accoutred and accomplished he went into *France*, and a Day of Audience being appointed, all the Argument and Dispute betwixt the Lord Ambassador and his Gallant Retinue, was, in what manner they should go to Court. Coaches, like Curtains would eclipse their Glory; riding on Horseback in Boots would make them look like Travellers not Courtiers: Those that had brought rich

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sie into

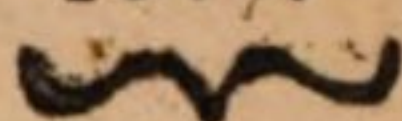
France.

A. D.
1616.



The Arch-
Bishop of
Spalato.

A. D.
1617.



Villiers
dignified.

Trappings for their Horses were willing to have them seen, so after a long and serious Debate, it was concluded for the Foot Cloth, and those that had none must provide them. This Preparation filled all the Windows, Balconies and Streets of *Paris* with a Multitude of Spectators. All Compliments and Ceremonies of State being performed in Mode and Figure, the Lord Ambassador made his Business known by more private Addreses, which in Appearance were well received, but indeed never intended, and so came to nothing. Great Waverings were now discovered in Mens Minds in point of Religion, some went from us to *Rome*, and some came from *Rome* to us. Among the rest, one of Consideration, *Marcus Antonius de Dominis*, Arch-Bishop of *Spalato*, a Man tho' old, corpulent, and unfit for Travel, came into *England*. Here he preaches and writes against the *Church of Rome*, and extolls the *Protestant Religion*, till he came to be Dean of *Windsor* and Master of the *Savoy*, which he enjoyed some Years; and then, whether out of a Humour of Change, or that he was in Expectation of greater Preferment at Home, he returned to *Rome*, where he renounced and reproached the *Protestant Religion*; but all he could do to please them had no effect, for the *Inquisition* laid hold upon him, he died in *Prison*, and after his Death they burnt his Body for a Heretick.

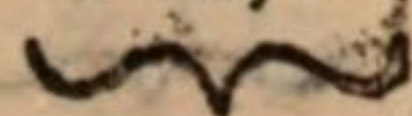
It was now fourteen Years since the King had been in *Scotland*, and thither he takes a Progress this Summer, attended by the new Favourite *Villiers*, on whom he had showred Titles and Preferments, and now we must behold him at some distance, being created *Sir George Villiers*, Baron of *Whaddon*, Viscount *Villiers*, Earl of *Buckingham*, Master of the Horse, and Privy Counsellor, who now reigns sole Monarch in the King's Affections; the King is not well without him, and the Grandees of the Court cannot be happy but by him, so that all Addreses are made to him for every Place, or Office, in the Court or Common-wealth. Now also the King put out a Book that gave Toleration for Sports and Recreations after Evening Prayers on Sundays, enjoining all Ministers to read it to their People, and those that refused to read it were brought into the High-Commission-Court, Imprisoned and Suspended, which gave great Offence to many good People.

The Boy of
Bilson.

About this time appeared a Boy born at *Bilson* in *Staffordshire*, whose Father, Mother, Neighbours and other People thought to be possesed with a Devil, for he had

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1617.



had such strange, sudden and violent Distortions, that all Men judged were preternatural, and being but fifteen Years of Age, could not well be suspected to be an Impostor. The Jesuits visited the Boy very often, prayed by him, and used such other *Charms* and *Exorcisms* as were fit to make them admir'd; giving his Parents good hopes of dispossessing him of that *foul Spirit*, and convince the Country how much the Popish Religion excelled the Protestant, who had not the Power of Casting out *Devils*. The Boy, in his Fits, would rave against an old Woman in the Neighbourhood, intimating by Signs and ghastly Postures, that she had sent a Spirit to torment him, and when he was out of his Fits accused her to be a Witch, and the Author of all his Misery. This old Woman is sent to the Bishop's Chancellor at *Litchfield* to be examined; the Boy is brought thither to confront her, and having his Back towards her, at her coming into the Room, he falls into a bitter Agony, crying out, *Now she comes, now my Tormenter comes*, wreathing, tearing and twisting himself into such horrid Shapes, that at once bred Amazement and Pity in all the Spectators: Which with some other Probabilities, caused the Chancellor to send the Woman to *Stafford Gaol*. At the next *Affize* the Boy and his Parents appear as Witnesses against the Witch. The Boy was placed in Court with his Face to the Bench, eyeing the Judge, and sitting very quietly; and as the Woman was coming in, when the Court thought it was impossible the Boy should be sensible of her appearing, he fell into a greater fit of raging than ever he was possessed with before; and so stupendiously unnatural, that all thought nothing but a *Diabolical Spirit* could work such horrid Effects. This being done so publickly, the Old Woman that had no good Report among her Neighbours, being of a froward Temper, incident to old Age, she was found guilty by the Jury, and condemned to die.

An innocent
Woman con-
demned.

Doctor *Morton*, Bishop of that Diocese, and a Pious Father of the Church of *England*, hearing the Jesuits had been tampering with their *Exorcisms* to undeceive the Boy, and suspecting a Fraud, desired the Judge to Reprieve the Old Woman till the next *Affize*, and he would take the Boy home with him, have him carefully and strictly look'd to, and doubted not before that time to find out the Contrivance. The Judge granted the Bishop's Request, and the Boy was carried to *Eccleshall Castle*, the Bishop's Palace, whither his Fits followed

Bishop Morton gets her
Reprieve.

A. D. 1617. followed him with great Violence; for being put out of his Road, and People hindred from coming to admire him, he grew *Sullen*, and would not eat sometimes in two or three Days together, so that his Belly was almost clung to his Back, and he had a new Swelling about his Throat, that never appeared before. He lay in his Bed, sometimes as it were senseless, sometimes staring with his Eyes, and foaming at the Mouth, sometimes striking those that stood near him, his own careful Mother not excepted. He never spoke but in his Fits, and then a strange kind of Gibberish, at other times he only muttered and made Signs. The Bishop often visited him, sometimes striving to soften him with Gentleness, at other times he handled him roughly, with Chidings and Threatnings, but his Evil Spirit would be mollified by neither. The Bishop one time spoke to him out of the *Greek Testament*, and it brought him into a Fit; at another time he repeated some Verses out of the *Greek Poets*, which his Devil was not so Learned as to distinguish; for that put him into a Fit again, which confirmed the Bishop that he was a pertinacious *Impostor*, but how to conjure it out of him was the Difficulty. Finding that fair Words and Menaces made no Impression on him, he fell to Blows; for, taking him out of his Bed, and having one to help him, the Bishop gave him six smart Lashes with a Rod, at which the Boy was no more concerned than an insensible Stock. They also thrust Needles into his *Toes* and *Fingers*, to bring him out of his Fits, but with all their Persecutions he neither winched nor stirred, so that the Actors were more troubled to execute than he to suffer.

In this Condition growing almost desperate, he would make Signs for Knives to do himself a Mischief, therefore strict Care was taken, and many watchful Eyes set over him to prevent any such Danger. Thus he continued almost a quarter of a Year, at last his Urine grew so black that the Physicians were of Opinion *that Nature had left her usual Operations*, having never found in any Humane Body so much *adust* Matter to give so deep and deadly a Tincture. This struck the good Bishop very near; for he was sensible what Reflections the Jesuits would make, if he should miscarry under his Hands, and therefore used all means possible as well to preserve as discover him; but finding the Boy endure so many Trials with Patience, he resolved if his Water continued black, to sift the Matter no farther: To find out

The Bishop
troubled
for the Boy.

A. D.

1617.

out which, he set a trusty Servant to watch him thro' a hole that looked into the Chamber upon the Bed, which the Boy knew not of. The Bishop and his Family going that morning to Church, all things were very still in the House, and the Boy finding all quiet, no noise about him, he lifts up himself, stares and listens, and at length gets out of his Bed, and in the Straw or Mat under it, takes out an Ink-horn, and makes water in the Chamber-pot through a piece of the Cotton in his Hand, another little piece of the Cotton he put into his *Preputium*, covering it with the Skin, which was for a Reserve if he should be forced to make water before Company, and then hides his Ink-horn and returns to Bed. The Man that was appointed to watch him, seeing all this, discover'd it to the Bishop at his coming home, who came to him presently and ask'd him how he did? The Boy according to his usual manner pointed to his Water, looking ghastly on it, and mutter'd out his own howling tone: The Bishop that now intended to deal roundly with him, said, Sirrah you have Ink in your Bed-straw, which you black your Water with, and your Knavery is found out; and calling in his Man he took out the Ink-horn, where the Boy had hid it, and justified that he saw him make water thro' the Cotton, which with the Bishop's threatening to send him to the House of Correction, struck the Boy into such a Terror, that he rose from the Bed, and fell upon his knees and humbly besought the Bishop to pardon him, and he would discover the whole truth. As he was putting on his Clothes, the Bishop shew'd him the grievousness of his Sin, which had such an effect upon his Mind, that he melted into tears, crying to God for mercy.

*The Impo-
sture dis-
covered.*

Then he confest that a Pedlar with a Pack on his back met him when he was going from School, and perswaded him to go with him to Mr. Gifford's House, assuring him of good Entertainment. When he came thither he was brought to four *Romish Priests* who gave him Money, and many fair Words, promising him great matters if he would follow their Instructions; which he consenting to, they were three days teaching him how to demean himself, and after he was well tutor'd and had practis'd his tricks privately, they sent him home to his Father (who thought he had been lost) to exercise them in a more publick way. He came home in a very distracted manner, to the amazement

*His Con-
fession.*

A. D.

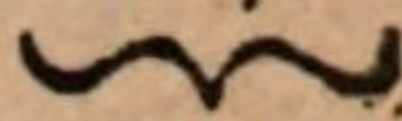
1617.



of his Parents, and in a short time drew much Company to visit him, and his Parents being poor got Money from many charitable People, which encouraged him to persist in that way: But when the Fame of *his being possessed with an Evil Spirit* was sufficiently reported abroad, the Priests came to dispossess him; but he found so much Sweetness in the *Ease and Profit* of that Life, that he would not be disenchanting by them, tho' they charmed him never so cruelly; for they beat him, pinch'd him, and us'd him severely to make him desist. *Thus were the Deceivers deceiv'd.* The Bishop ask'd him why he accus'd the poor old Woman of *Witchcraft*, he answer'd, he Priests told him he must lay the cause of his being possess'd upon some old Woman, and she being known to him for a reputed Scold he fix'd it upon her. Then the Bishop ask'd him how he came to fall into his Fits a little before the Woman appear'd in the Room, both at her Examination and Arraignment, his back being towards her. For the first at *Litchfield*, he said he heard somebody about him mutter *she is here*, which made him cry out, *She comes, she comes.* And for the second at *Stafford*, he heard the People remove, and her Chains gingle as she came, which gave him the sign. Lastly, he ask'd him how he made his *Throat swell*, and he shew'd it was by thrusting his Tongue, being very long, down his Throat, which Trick he found out himself, *the rest were taught him by the Priests.* Thus did the good Bishop preserve an innocent old Woman condemn'd by the Law to die, discover the abominable *Forgeries* of the Priests, and convert a *wicked Boy*, whom afterward he bound Apprentice, and proved a *good Man*.

A Voyage
to Ameri-
ca.

The Brave and Learned Sir *Walter Rawleigh* having been kept twelve years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, where he compiled his incomparable History of the old World, a Design so vast, that no other Man of less Parts and Abilities both of Body and Mind could have accomplish'd; and now desiring Leave of the King to visit the new World in *America*, the King looking upon him as a Man whose Skill in Navigation might redound to the Advantage of *England*, gave him Liberty, and a Commission under the Great Seal of *England* to equip and set out Men and Ships for that Service. His Reputation and Merit brought many Gentlemen of Quality to venture their Estates, and Persons, in the Design, and being gallantly furnish'd with all things necessary



cessary either for Peace or War, they set out, and met with no difficulties till they came to *Cape Vert* in *Africa*, but there and at *Bravo*, met with many violent Storms, which was a great hinderance to their Voyage, for they were forced to leave their Cables, Anchors and Water Casks behind them, when they were driven from the Isle of *Bravo*, so that by length of Time, heat of Climate, and want of Water, a great Sickness fell among them, and swept away many of their best Men, both for Sea and Land Service. But with much Patience and Hardship getting sight of the Coast of *Guiana*, they came to Anchor in the River *Caliana*, where they Landed their sick Men, set up Barges and Shalops that were brought out of *England* in Quarters, wash'd their Ships, took in fresh Water, and being fed and assisted by the *Indians* that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* had formerly known, who in this general Contagion having grappled long with Sickness, and not yet able to move otherwise than by being carried in a Chair, gave order to five small Ships to sail into the River *Arenoqua* (having Captain *Kemish* for their Commander) to the Mine he had told Sir *Walter* of in *England*. In these five Ships *The chief* were five Companies of Foot, under the Command of *Command-ers*. Captain *Parker*, Captain *North*, Captain *Walter Rawleigh*, Sir *Walter's* eldest Son, Captain *Thornhurst* and Captain *Chidley*, Gentlemen of great Valour and infinite Patience, in suffering Hunger, Heat and Labour. As they passed up the River the *Spaniards* began the War, and shot at their Ships with their great Guns and Muskets; however, the *English* landed their Forces without much Loss, near the Town call'd *St. Thomas*, which with little Difficulty they made themselves Masters of. in the Assault Captain *Walter Rawleigh*, the Admiral's Son was kill'd, to the great Grief of the Assailants. The other five Ships staid with Sir *Walter Rawleigh* at *Trinidado*, having no other Port capable to receive them nearer *Guiana*. But that which spoil'd Sir *Walter's* Design, was, that the King unwilling to disoblige his dear Brother of *Spain*, gave Count *Gundamor* an Account of *The Voyage* this Expedition from the very beginning of it, and by *spoiled, and* that means the King of *Spain* had time to give Notice for his Subjects to provide against him at *Guiana*, before Sir *Walter Rawleigh* was got out of the River of *Thames*. But the *Spaniards* at *St. Thomas*, their Supplies not being come, were not strong enough to defend both the Town and the Passages to the Mines, they quitted it;

A. D.

1617.

it, and fortified the way to the Mines; but the Passages leading to the Mines that *Kemish* had in his Eye, being, as *Sir Walter* expresses it, *Aspera* and *Fragosa*, and *Kemish* finding the River so low that he could not come near the Mine by a Mile, and also that the Ascents were guarded with Musketeers firing upon them, he thought the Enterprize too hazardous, and therefore returned.

Kemish
kills him-
self.

A. D.

1618.

Rawleigh
apprehend-
ed.

Sir Walter Rawleigh, with the News of his Son's Death, and *Kemish's* Return without effecting the Work, was perplexed to the very Soul, telling *Kemish* he had undone him, and wounded his Credit with the King past recovery; but he must think (he told him) to bear the weight of the King's Anger as well as himself. *Kemish*, much troubled in his Mind, retir'd to his Cabin and shot himself, and the Bullet only cracking the Rib, which was too slow for his Fury, he desperately thrust a Knife in after it up to the Haft, and with him the Glory of the Voyage expir'd: For the Design being thus broken, their Ships being Leaky, Victuals failing, and missing the Golden Showers they gaped after, some of the Men began to mutiny, some would go home, others would stay. Some would go for *Italy*, some for *France*, few into *England*, fearing the *Spanish* Power more at home than they did in the *Indies*: At last they arriv'd at *Kingsale* in *Ireland*, and from thence came to *Plymouth*, where suspecting danger, *Rawleigh* attempted to make his Escape in a Bark to *Rochel*, but being apprehended by his Kinsman *Sir Lewis Stukely*, he was brought to *London* and recommitted to the *Tower*. No sooner was he there, but all his Transactions in this Voyage are put upon the Rack, and stretched by his Adversaries to his disadvantage.

And *Gundamor*, the *Spanish* Lieger, did so aggravate this Fact to the King against him, that it seemed nothing would give Satisfaction but *Rawleigh's* Head, without which he doubted there would follow a Breach of the League between the two Nations. *Rawleigh* excused it, by saying he was urged to it by the *Spaniards* first Assaulting him; besides, he could not come to the Mine without winning this Town: But the *Spanish* Match being on foot, *Gundamor* was too powerful an Adversary for him, and the King preferring the Publick Peace before the Life of one Man already condemn'd, gave way to have the Sentence of his former Condemnation executed upon him. In order to it, he was brought

brought to the King's Bench Bar, not to be newly Arraigned or Indicted, for he was *Mortuus in Lege*, but only that the former Sentence might be averred against him, so he was carried back to the Gate-House, and from thence the next day to the *Palace-yard* in *Westminster*, where a Scaffold being erected, he lost his Head, after fourteen Years Reprieve from the former Sentence: At which stroke such abundance of Blood issued from his Veins, that shewed he had a sufficient Stock to have continu'd many years, being now above Sixty, if it had not been taken away by Violence. This was the end of the Great Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, great in Favour with Queen *Elizabeth*, and, next to *Drake*, the great Scourge and Hate of the *Spaniards*. He had many things to be commended in his Life, but none more than his Christian Constancy in his Death, which he underwent with such an undaunted Resolution, that one might perceive he had a sure and certain Hope of a joyful Resurrection, which utterly obliterated the Scandal of Atheism, that the Malice of his Enemies had sometimes cast upon him.

A. D.
1618.

Sir Walter
Rawleigh
beheaded.

The King now hearing that the States of *Holland* were determined to entertain one *Vorstius* to be Divinity Professor in *Leyden*, whose Opinions seem'd contrary to those King *James* had imbibed, he earnestly solicited the States, both by his own Letters, and by his Lieger Sir *Ralph Winwood*, by no means to admit the said *Vorstius* into that Employment, lest his Doctrines should spread themselves into his Dominions. The Ambassador pressing the King's Desires, the States answer in Justification of *Vorstius*, That he was chosen according to ancient Custom, by the Curators of *Leyden*, and whereas he was afterward charged by some Persons that had nothing to do in that Affair, to be unsound in Doctrine; the Curators thought fit, with *Vorstius's* Consent, that both at *Leyden*, and at the *Hague*, he should appear and answer his Accusers, which he did, and none came to charge him. But not long after six Ministers undertook to prove that *Conradus Vorstius* had published False Doctrine, who being heard in a full Assembly of the States of *Holland* and *West-Friesland*, they could find no Reason to displace him. And they did assuredly believe, that if his Majesty of Great Britain were well informed of the true Circumstances of this Business, he would, according to his high Wisdom and Prudence, conceive favourably of them; they proceeding in this Affair with all Reverence, Care and Respect to his Majesty's serious Admonition. Dated at the *Hague*, October 1. 1611. The

A Contest
between the
Remon-
strants and
Anti-re-
monstrants.

A. D.
1618.

Vorstius's
Books
burnt.

The Armi-
nian Party
crush'd.

The King, by this Answer, perceiving that the States were so well opinioned of *Vorstius*, that they would not comply with his Request, he caused his Books to be burnt in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, and in both the Universities, and writes to the States again, *That if they did not displace him, he would publickly protest against them.* (Dated at *Theobald's* Octob. 6. 1611.) Sir *Ralph Winwood* represented this to the States, and finding them cold and backward in proceeding any farther against *Vorstius*, he remonstrates very smartly against them, to which the King seeing them make only dilatory Answers, he at last exhorts them to call a National Council to put an end to those Controversies. The *Arminians*, now call'd *Remonstrants*, knowing they should be born down with Noise and Numbers, rather than with the Power of Truth, or Strength of Argument, opposed the calling a Council, and 'twas said that *Barnevelt*, the chief of the Remonstrants, now *Arminius* was dead, had secretly levied Soldiers in *Utrecht* to defend themselves against *Maurice* Prince of *Orange*, who sided with the contrary Party, on Notice whereof the Prince with 500 Foot marches to *Utrecht*, which struck such a Terror into the new levied Companies, that at the first word of Command they laid down their Arms and submitted. After this *Barnevelt*, *Hogenberts*, *Leydenberg* and *Grotius*, the four Chiefs of the *Arminian* Party, were seiz'd, and committed to several Prisons. *Leydenberg*, to prevent their Mercy, stab'd himself in Prison. *Hogenberts* and *Grotius* were condemned to perpetual Imprisonment; but *Grotius*, after some time, made an Escape in a Trunk, which his Wife pretended to the Soldiers of the Castle, was full of *Arminian* Books, which she would send away that they might not trouble her Husband's Head. *Barnevelt* was beheaded at the *Hague*, which they thought was the surest way to silence that Learned Mouth. He lived to see a National Synod, which others call'd a Conventicle, at *Dort*, whither King *James* sent Dr. *Carlton*, Dr. *Hall*, Dr. *Davenant*, Dr. *Ward*, and Mr. *Belcanquel*, a Scotchman, Batchelor in Divinity, where they met with Divines from the *Palatinate*, *Hessia*, *Geneva*, *Bern*, *Embsden*, *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland* and other Provinces, who generally agreed to condemn the Doctrines of *Arminius*, concerning Election and Reprobation, and the Universality of Christ's Death, and Man's Redemption by it: But herein the King lost his Aim, for this Censure made those

those deep Points be more narrowly and diligently enquired into, and the condemned Opinions sprouted and gathered strength by being topt by a Faction combined against them; whom Eccho censured in this Distich.

A. D.
1618.

*Dordrecti Synodus? Nodus. Chorus integer? aeger
Conventus? Ventus, Sessio? Stramen. Amen.*

Soon after appeared a mighty Blazing-Star in *Libra*, which employ'd variety of Conjectures about its prognostication: Some making it signifie the Death of Queen *Ann*, who died of a Dropsie at *Hampton-Court* immediately after its Appearance, and was Interr'd at *Westminster*, with the Character of a Virtuous Queen. *Henry* Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been confined to the *Tower* ever since the Powder Plot, was now set at Liberty, who hearing that the great Favourite *Buckingham* was carried about in a Coach and Six, he rode to *Bath* in a Coach drawn by Eight Horses, which exercised the Wits, but rose no higher than a little Murmur, for in the late Queen's Time there were no Coaches, and the first had but two Horses, the rest crept in by degrees. Every new thing which the People disaffected they stumble at: So when *Buckingham* came to be carried in a Chair, the Clamour and Noise was so extravagant about it, that the Mob would rail on him in the Streets, abhorring that Men should be brought to a servile Condition like Horses; but when time had made them common, the Wonder ceased, and they were used by the meanest Pimp or Lemman, to carry on their private Intrigues with Security. This Year, on *Munday* the 3d of *May*, one *Mr. Williams* a Barrister of the *Middle-Temple*, was Arraigned at the King's Bench Bar for Libelling, and for writing Books against the King, and upon *Wednesday* following was Hang'd and Quarter'd at *Charing-Cross*. On *July* the 17th, an Action of another nature was perform'd, not unworthy relating, which was this: One *Bernard Calvert* of *Andover* rode from *St. George's Church* in *Southwark* days to *Dover*, from thence went over in a Barge to *Calais* in *Riding*. *France*, and from thence returned back to *St. George's Church* the same day: Setting out about three a Clock in the Morning, and returned about eight a Clock in the Evening fresh and lusty.

The Count *Palatine* being now strengthened with the Alliance of the King of Great Britain, upon a War break-

A. D.

1619.

The Palsgrave's
Misfortunes.

Gundamor's
wicked
Policy.

breaking out between the *Bohemians* and the Emperor, was thought a fit Man to be King of *Bohemia*, and accordingly was elected by the States of that Kingdom: But he was no sooner invested with the Crown, but the Emperor assaulted him with great Forces in *Prague*; and not only drove him with his Wife and Children from thence, but took from him also his own Patrimony, the *Palatinate*: So that tho' he was now a King, he was forced to fly to the States of the *Low-Countries* for a Place of Residence. King *James*, tho' he never approved of the *Palsgrave's* taking upon him the Kingdom, yet pitying his Distress, and out of care of his Daughter, he sent Sir *Richard Weston* on an Embassie to the Emperor, to solícite the Restoration of the *Palatinate*; but he returning without Success, he sent another, hoping to retrieve his Son-in-Law's lost Fortune, by way of Treaty; but in that, and in every thing else the House of *Austria* out-witted him, so that the poor Prince *Palatine* gained nothing by his Alliance with *England*, but the hard Fate to be abandoned by those whose Honour and Interest it was to support him. The King had then a Conference with Count *Gundamor* what course might be best taken to procure the Restoration of his Son-in-Law; who made him Answer, There could be no better way than to make a Marriage between his Son the Prince of *Wales* and the *Infanta* of *Spain*, which he knew was never intended for him; but would serve to tye up the King's Hands from assisting the *Palsgrave*; so that King *James's* whole Conduct in the Business of the *Palatinate* was but one continued Infatuation on his part. Many Authors have undertook to transmit the History of this Affair to the World, but in exactness the Learned *Spanheim* has out-done them all, and yet as favourably to King *James* as was possible. The Parliament of *England* was zealous to restore the *Palatine* Family by force of Arms, and had offered great Supplies for that purpose, yet King *James* was so lull'd asleep with the Insinuations of *Gundamor*, that he could be brought to no other Methods but those of Treaty. While he was sending one Embassie after another to *Vienna* and *Brussels*, the poor King of *Bohemia* seeing how little was to be expected from them, ventured to try his Fortune once more in the *Palatinate*, and he, with the Assistance of Count *Mansfeld* and the Duke of *Brunswick*, beat the Imperialists in several Reounters, and repossess'd himself of several Towns.

But

But when he was in a fair way to be Master of the whole, he was obliged to retire, and disband his Army, meerly to please King *James*, who was posselt of this wild Notion, *That to lay down his Arms was the only way to get good Terms from the Emperor.* Upon which a Treaty was set on foot at *Brussels*, where King *James* consented, by way of Preliminary, that his Son-in-Law, should not only wave the Title of King of *Bohemia*, but that of Elector *Palatine*, which had not hitherto been questioned, and which the poor Prince was forced to comply with.

This Treaty, after a great many other Mortifications put upon the *Palatine* Family, and upon King *James* himself, was, by a contrivance of the Emperor, transfer'd to *Ratisbon*, and came to nothing at last, as all other Treaties had done. But while the Imperialists were thus amusing King *James* with Terms of Accommodation, and that the King of *Bohemia* had disarm'd himself to please his Father-in-Law, *Heidelbergh* and all the other places he had recover'd before, together with the rest of the *Palatinate*, were all seiz'd by the Emperor, except only *Frankendale*, which continu'd to make a vigorous Defence. It would look like a Dream to imagine that King *James* should oblige his Son-in-Law to quit this place also, the only one left him of his whole Country, and that has the only effectual way to get back all the rest; yet it is true he did so, and that at the very time that the Emperor had actually transfer'd the Electoral Dignity from the *Palatine* Family to the House of *Bavaria*.

For *Frankendale* being a Town then of great strength, and the *Spaniards* lying expos'd to the daily Excursions of the Garrison, they found a way to trick King *James* out of it in this manner. *Gundamor* represents to him, that it being the only place left in the *Palatinate*, it could not hold out much longer, and that there was but one way to save it for his Son-in-Law, which was to put it into the hands of the Governour of *Flanders* for some time, till things might be brought to an Accommodation by the Treaty then on foot; and if there should happen any Interruption in it, then the Town should be rendred back to King *James*, for the use of his Son-in-Law, in the same Condition, together with a free passage for 1500 Foot and 200 Horse to take possession of it, with six Months Provision. King *James* being willing to do any thing rather than break with the

A. D.
1619.

K. James
trickt by
the Spaniards.

A. D.

1619.

Spanish
Sincerity.

the Spaniard, agreed to this strange Proposition, and Frankendale was deliver'd up to the Governour of Flanders for fifteen Months, under these Conditions. But the Treaty being once more broke off, and the time elapsed, when King James demanded that Frankendale should be restored, it was told him, *That he might have the Town, but by the Terms of Agreement he was to have a passage for his Troops through the Spanish Low-Countries; but that there was no Article, that he should have a passage thro' any other places that were in their possession in Germany.* Thus King James was once more egregiously imposed upon, for there was no way to come at the Town, but thro' parts of Germany that were in the hands of Spain, and so the Spaniards continu'd Masters of Frankendale.

It would be too long to give the Detail of King James's Conduct of this Affair, which was all of a Piece. The Author sums up all the Ills that attended it in this, *That thereby the Protestant Religion was intirely root-ed out of Bohemia, the Electoral Dignity transferr'd from the Palatine Family, the Palatinate it self lost, the Liberty of Germany overthrown; and which he mentions with a sensible Regret, The famous Library of Heidelburgh was carried to Rome, to the irreparable prejudice of Learning.* So that Gundamor had good reason to say in one of his Letters to the Duke of Lerma, Printed in the History of that Duke's Life, *That he had lull'd King James so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the crys of his Daughter, nor her Children, nor the repeated Solicitations of his Parliament and Subjects on their behalf, should be able to awaken him.*

Gundo-
mar's con-
tinued De-
lusions.

King James seeing all was lost in Bohemia and the Palatinate, was yet so sweetned with Gundamor's windy Promises, that he prosecutes the Spanish Match with Vigour, in which he was encouraged by Digby, Arundel, Worcester, and especially by Buckingham and Gundamor, to whom the King's Ears were always open to his Disadvantage; which being told of, by Sir Robert Naunton, his Secretary, a Gentleman of known Honesty and Integrity, the Seals were taken from him, and Conway succeeded him. The King took great delight in Gundamor's Company, for he was full of Conceits, Jests and witty Sayings, and would sometimes speak false Latin on purpose to please the King, telling him, *That his Majesty spoke Latin like a Pedant, but I, says he, speak Latin like a Gentleman;* and once dismissing one of his Agents in the King's Presence, that was go-
ing

ing to *Spain*, he bid him commend him to the *Sun*, for he had not seen him here in many days: And by these Arts so wound himself into the King's good Opinion, and into a Belief that the Treaties in agitation would have effect, that he not only ruined the *Palatine* Family, but made a fair stroke against the *English* Monarchy, by wheedling the King into that inglorious Council of sending the Prince into *Spain*, for a Match that was either never designed him, or too late; and it was more owing to *Philip III's* Generosity than to King *James's* Politicks, that he ever returned alive to *England*.

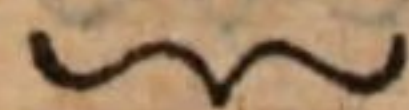
A. D.
1620.

The Earl was now made Marquess of *Buckingham*, Additional to his Mastership of the Horse was added the Office of Prefer- Lord Admiral of *England*, and lying in the King's Bos- ments to som, every Man paid Tribute to his Smiles. His Mo- Bucking- ther was made Countess of *Buckingham*, her eldest Son ham. made first a Knight, and afterwards Viscount *Purbeck*, her other Son was created Earl of *Anglesey*, and now happy is he that can get a Kinswoman, it is the next way to get a thriving Office, or some new swelling Title. The King that never much cared for Women, had his Court swarm'd with the Marquesses Kindred, so that little Ones danc'd and frisk'd up and down the Privy Lodgings like Fairies in a Barn, and it was no small stock of Sap that must maintain all these Suckers. Sir *Henry Mountague*, Lord Chief Justice, who was reported to give 20000*l.* for the Office of Lord Treasurer, before the Year expir'd had it taken from him, and it was conferred upon Sir *Lionel Cranfield*, who, by being bred up in the Custom-house, and knowing the secret Contrivances of those Offices, knew best how to supply by Projects, what a wanton and gripping Court had consumed in Riot and Prodigality. But the great step to this Office, was *Cranfield's* marrying one of the Marquesses kindred, which soon raised him to be Earl of *Middlesex*; and the Lord Chief Justice, in lieu of his Money, was made President of the Privy Council, Viscount *Mandeville*, Earl of *Manchester*, and after *Worcester's* decease, Lord Privy Seal, to lick himself whole again. The Marquess of *Buckingham*, in appearance made all these Removes and Advancements, but in truth all the Affairs in Church and State were transacted privately by his Mother, for most Addresses were made first to her, and so convey'd to be finish'd by her Son, who minded his Pleasure more than his Profit, which made *Gundamor*, among his o- ther

His Mother,
rules all.

A. D.

1620.



Buckingham married.

Another Parliament.

thier witty Stories, write into *Spain*, That there was never more hope of England's returning to Popery than now; for there were more Prayers and Offerings made here to the Mother than to the Son. The Marquess was a general Lover, and treated all Womankind accordingly, only to gratifie his own unlawful ends, and then dismiss them for the next celebrated Beauty. This Humour he thought to have practis'd upon the Earl of *Rutland's* only Daughter, who was Mistress of all her Father's great Fortunes. He tempts her, carries her to his Lodgings in *White-hall*, keeps her there some time, and then returns her back to her Father; but the stout old Earl of *Rutland* sends him this threatning Message, That he was too much a Gentleman to suffer such an Indignity, and therefore if he did not forthwith repair his Daughter's Honour by marrying her, no Greatness should protect him from Justice. *Buckingham*, who perhaps made use of this Stratagem to get the Father's good Will, she being the greatest Match in the Kingdom, had no reason to dislike the Proposal, and therefore quickly salved up the Wound by consummating the Marriage. This young Lady was bred a Papist by her Mother, but was converted by Dr. *White* to be a zealous Protestant; which thwarting the old Countess of *Buckingham's* Humour, who was a biggotted Romanist, she with the help of the Jesuits caused her to apostatize.

Tho' the King having ill Success with the last Parliament that *Somerset* undertook for, had resolved to lay them aside for ever, looking upon them as Incroachers upon his Prerogative; who made Kings less than they were, and Subjects greater than they should be; yet finding the People grow clamorous for want of one; and zealous for regaining the *Palatinate*, he thought they would only insist upon that, and liberally open their Purses, which he might make use of, and induce the King of *Spain* to be more active in the Treaty on foot. The King had received no Supply from his Parliament in ten years, this put him upon the necessity of raising Money by indirect means, as by granting Patents and Monopolies to such as preyed upon, and extorted great Sums from the People, which the King endeavours to excuse to the Parliament at their meeting, and in the mean time sent the Lord *Digby* Ambassador to the Emperor to press a positive Answer, whether the *Palatinate* might be recovered by Peace, before the King proceeded to actual War: And now expecting the Emperor's

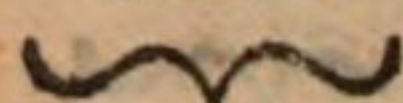
A. D.
1621.

peror's Answer, the Parliament go on with their Work, receiving Petitions from several Persons imprisoned and ruined by the violent Extortions of greedy Patentees and Monopolizers, as were active in promoting Illegal Exactions, that the King's Necessities and ill advised Council drove him to. The chief Procurer of these Grievances were Sir *Giles Mompeyson* and Sir *Francis Mitchel*. *Mompesson* had Fortune enough to have maintained him genteely in the Country, but at Court wanted this Novelty for his better Support. To him *Mitchel* is made a Compartner, a poor little sneaking Suburb Justice, that lived by the Sins of his neighbouring Females, who was brought to Court and Knighted, and corroborated by these Letters to grate the Bones and suck the Marrow of the needy Commons; which being ript up in Parliament; *Mompesson* made his Escape, and Sir *Francis Mitchel* was censured: *Patentees punished.* First to be degraded with all the debasing Ceremonies that Justice could invent, and after was made to ride through the City with his Face to the Horse's Tail, with a Paper on his Breast and Back, declaring his heinous Crime, and suffering the Scorn and Contempt of the Rabble in his Passage; besides, being squeezed by Fine and Imprisonment, to make him incapable of doing further Mischief. The same Punishment fell upon *Mompesson's* Purse, though he obscur'd his Person, and upon other lesser Confederates, which put an end to this Grievance.

Not long after comes the great Lord Chancellor *Bacon* to a Censure for the most extravagant and ridiculous Follies that ever Wise Man was guilty of. His Crimes were Bribery and Extortion, which were proved and aggravated against him by so many Circumstances, that he that in some things was thought a Man of the greatest Parts in *England*, and mounted above Pity, now fell miserably below it, and his eloquent Tongue that used to charm his Auditors with excellent Harangues, was now forced to stoop to humble Supplications: And throwing himself and his Cause at his Judge's Feet, before his Sentence pass'd, humbly beg'd the Lords in Parliament, that his Penitent Submission might be his Sentence, the loss of the great Seal his Punishment, and that their Lordships would recommend him to the King's Grace and Pardon for all that was past. Thus his great Spirit was lower'd, and Humiliation might have raised him up again, if the weight of *The Lord Chancellor his Censured.*

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his Offences had not kept him down. He lost his Peerage and Seal, and the Beam was wavering whether he should carry the Title of Viscount St. *Albans* to his Grave, and that was all he had, for his Honour died before him. To heighten his Misery, many were crush'd to pieces by his Fall, by the Debts he had contracted, and tho' he had a Pension from the King, he wanted to his last; living obscurely in his Lodgings at *Grays-Inn*, where the remembrance of his former Plenty and Greatness lay so hard upon his Ingenious, and therefore melancholy Temper, that he pined and consumed away. He was of a middle Stature, his Presence Grave and Comely; of a quick and high flying Wit, striving in some things rather to be admir'd than understood, and yet when he pleased to condescend, none more intelligible. In short, he was a great Master in all kinds of Learning, and the World is so much obliged to his Discoveries in Natural Philosophy, that his Name will be celebrated with Honour to perpetuity. His Wit was lively to the last; for *Gundamor* meeting him the Lent before his Censure, and hearing of his Miscarriages, thought to upbraid him with his *Spanish* Sarcasms and Scoffs, saying, *My Lord, I wish you a good Easter; and you, my Lord,* reply'd the Chancellor, *a good Pass-over;* for he could neither endure his *English* Buffoonry, nor his *Spanish* Treaty, tho' he was too wise to oppose them publickly.

The King's
Affairs
go ill.

At the beginning of Winter the Lord *Digby* returns from soliciting the Emperor and the Duke of *Bavaria*, to the Restoration of the *Palatinate*, which the King commanded him to acquaint the Parliament with, and how necessary it was that the King should obtain that by War, that he could not procure by Peace; but tho' the King by his Ministers, encouraged the Parliament to a War; yet they found him more inclin'd to Peace, both in regard of *Gundamor's* Power with him, his Indulgence to *Papists*, and his Fondness of the *Spanish* Match, which was dis-relish'd by all *England*, except the *Papists* and the *Spanish* Faction; and therefore the Parliament were drawing up a Remonstrance to the King, to persuade him to enter upon a War for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, and succour the distressed Protestants abroad, who were groaning under the Tyranny and Oppression of the Emperor and the *French* King. But when this Remonstrance was brought to perfection, the King had a Copy of it before the House had

time

time to send their Members with it; in which something so highly displeased him, that he wrote the following Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, Sir Thomas Richardson.

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Mr. Speaker,

WE have heard by divers Reports, to our great Grief, that The King's some Fiery and Popular Spirits, in the House of Commons, have publicly argued and debated matters far above the Parliament's Reach and Capacities, tending highly to our dishonour and breach of the Royal Prerogative. These are therefore to command you, in our Name to make known to the House, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our Government, or deep matters of State, nor with our Son's Match with the Daughter of Spain, nor to touch the Honour of that King, or any other our Friends or Confederates. And whereas we hear they have sent a Message to Sir Edwin Sands, to know the Cause of his Restraint, you shall resolve them in our Name, that it was not for any Misdemeanor in Parliament; but to put them out of doubt of any Question of that nature, that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our Name, that we think our selves very free and able to punish any Man's Misdemeanors in Parliament, as well during their sitting as afterward: Which we mean not to spare hereafter, upon occasion of any Man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministred unto us. And if they have already touched any of those points, which we have here forbidden, in any Petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is our Pleasure that you tell them, that except they reform it before it come to our hand, we will not deign the hearing of it. Dated at New-Market Decemb. 3. 1621.

When the House had duly consider'd the Reasons they had to draw up their Remonstrance, which, in effect, was to preserve the Kingdom from Ruin, they send their Petition to the King, and their Remonstrance with it, wherein they declare, That the Honour and Safety of the King and his Posterity. The Welfare of Religion and State of the Kingdom, are at no time unfit for a Parliamentary Consideration; not that they took upon themselves the power of determining, but as Loyal Subjects to remonstrate such things to his Majesty, which they were not assured could otherwise come so fully and clearly to his knowledge. And whereas his Majesty seems to restrain them from intermeddling with Matters of Government that have their motion in the Courts of Justice; and seems to abridge them of the Ancient Liberty of Parliament,

The Parli-
aments
Reply.

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*The King's
Rejoinder.*

ment, of freedom of Speech; They were now forced to pray his Majesty to allow it, and take away the Doubts and Scruples, which his Letter to the Speaker had brought upon them. After this the House finding it a great Discouragement to Business, while there was so great a difference between the King and them, That the King thought their Actions an Incroachment upon his Prerogative, and they think the King's Expressions an Infringement of their Liberties, they resolved to go over all Business, till they had an Answer to their Petitions: Which the King hearing of, was exceedingly vexed, and entertained the twelve Members that were sent to him very roughly. Some say he called for twelve Chairs for them, saying, *Here are twelve Kings come to me*; but after he had considered their desires in their last Petition, he returns them Answer, *That their first Petition was unworthy of Answer, that their giving Advice in his Son's Match, and urging him to a War, was intrenching upon his Prerogative.* He tells them, *That he wonders they should make so unjust a Comment upon the words in his Letter to the Speaker, as if he meant to restrain them from their Ancient Privileges and Liberties in Parliament; for tho' he cannot allow the Style, calling it their Ancient and Undoubted Right and Inheritance, but could rather have wish'd they had said, That their Privileges were deriv'd from the Grace and Permission of his Ancestors and himself, (for most of them grow from Precedents, which rather shews a Toleration than an Inheritance) yet he gave them his Royal Assurance, that as long as they contained themselves within the Limits of their Duty, he would be as careful to maintain their Liberties and Privileges as ever any of his Predecessors did, nay, as he was to preserve his own Royal Prerogative.* But the House of Commons finding the King's Letters laid Blocks in the way to their Liberties; and for all the King's Subtilties, that Religion was unsecure, if the Spanish Match proceeded, they resolved, whatsoever befel them, to leave some Prints and Footsteps of their Parliamentary Rights and Privileges to their Posterities, as their Ancestors had done to them, and therefore registred the following Protestation in their Journal Book, 19th of Decemb. 1621.

*The Parlia-
ments Pro-
testation.*

The Commons now assembled in Parliament, being justly occasioned thereunto, concerning sundry Liberties, Franchises and Privileges of Parliament, among others here mention'd, do make this Protestation following: That the Liberties, Franchises, Privileges and Jurisdictions of Parliaments, are the Ancient and Undoubted Birth-right and Inheritance of the

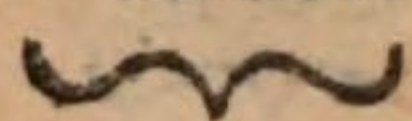
the Subjects of England, and that the Arduous and Urgent Affairs concerning the King, State and Defence of the Realm, and of the Church of England, and the Maintenance and making Laws and Redress of Mischiefs and Grievances, which daily happen within this Realm, are proper Subjects, and matter of Council and Debate in Parliament. That in handling and proceeding in those Businessses, every Member of Parliament hath, and of Right ought to have, Freedom of Speech, to Propound, Treat, Reason, and bring the same to Conclusion. That the Commons in Parliament have likewise Liberty and Freedom to treat of these Matters, in such order as in their Judgments shall seem fittest. That every Member of the said House hath like Freedom, from all Impeachment, Imprisonment and Molestation (other than by Censure of the House it self) for or concerning any speaking, reasoning or declaring of any Matter or Matters, touching the Parliament, or Parliament Business: And that if any of the said Members be complained of, and questioned for any thing done or said in Parliament, the same is to be shewed to the King, by the Advice and Assent of all the Commons assembled in Parliament, before the King give credit to any private Information.

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The King was again alarm'd by this Protestation, *The Parliament dissolved.* and he that naturally lov'd Peace both at Home and Abroad, had a War raised in his own Breast; for it he should connive at this Protestation, it would be an Argument against him to Posterity; and since he would not break the Treaty with Spain, nor comply with his Subjects, he dissolved the Parliament by Proclamation, and let every Man's Tongue run at Riot against him for doing it. They said that *Great Britain* was grown less than *Little England*, which had lost strength by changing Sexes; and the Story of *David Riccio*, written by *Buchanan*, had died in every English Opinion, if it had not had a Resurrection by these Controversies with his Parliament. And as these troubles bred disturbance at Home, so they begot disparagement Abroad; for now they undervalue the King's Power, as much as before they did his Courage, and in their Comedies represented Messengers bringing News in great haste that the *Palatinate* was now like to be lost, for the *Danes*, the *French*, the *Dutch* and the *English*, would each of them send 40000 to make up a formidable Army in *Germany*: And one being appointed to ask of what each 40000 must consist, the Messenger answer'd, the *Danes* would send 40000 Pickled Herrings, the *Dutch* 40000 Butter-Boxes, the

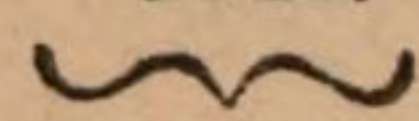
Scandalous representations.

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French 40000 Compliments, and the *English* 40000 Ambassadors. In one place they pictured King *James* with a Scabbard and never a Sword in it, in another place with a Sword that no body could draw out, tho' several Men stood pulling at it. At *Brussels* they pictured him with his Pockets hanging out, and not a Penny in them, nor in his Purse, which they turn'd upside down; every one of these Pictures had several Motto's expressing their Malice: Such Scorns and Contempts were put upon the King, and, in him, upon the whole Nation.

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1622.



An Embas-
sie into
Spain.

The Parliament being dissolved, the Lord *Digby* is sent Extraordinary Ambassador into *Spain*. He landed at *St. Andero*, a poor Maritime Town in *Biscay*, where the People generally go all bare foot. There his Lordship had the Patience to stay a Fortnight in expectation of the *Spanish* Court Civilities, but in truth was so flighted by tedious and impertinent Delays, and at last by mean and sordid Accommodations, that it was a wonder how he could bear it, and that the *Spaniards* were not ashamed to offer it; especially since the King treated the Papists at home, with so much Indulgence, that *Gundamor* boasted he had released 4000 Recusants by his own Mediation, and that the King might do some publick Act in their Favour, he commands *Dr. Williams* Bishop of *Lincoln*, and then Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*, to issue out Writs to the Judges in every Circuit, to enlarge all Papists that were imprisoned for Recusancy, which was done accordingly. This Bishop succeeded the Lord *Verulam*, and for some time continu'd in favour with the Marquess of *Buckingham*, and the Countess his Mother, whose Creature he was, and who, 'twas said, could mould him into any shape to serve their turns; but afterwards growing a little restiff, they laid him aside. He had a comely Presence, and that animated with a great Mind, made him appear very proud to the vulgar Eye, tho' really as he was a Man of extraordinary Parts, so he was of a bountiful Mind to all Men in Want, and a great Patron to support, where Merit wanted a Supply. Now the Reverend Prelate Doctor *Abbot* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, had the Misfortune, as he was shooting at a Deer, his Arrow glancing, to kill a Keeper, which was so great an Affliction to him, that he retir'd to the Alms-house he had built at *Guildford* in *Surrey*, to mortifie himself for that sad Accident. Some were of opinion that it disabled him from exerci-

An unhap-
py Acci-
dent.

exercising his Episcopal Office, but the King granting a Commission to enquire into the Fact, he found Friends that restored him from his Alms-House to his Palace, and he conferr'd a comfortable Subsistence upon the Widow and Children of the Man that was killed by him.

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*The Prince's
Voyage into
Spain.*

The King receiving so many Delays and Dissatisfactions from his Agents in *Spain* and *Rome*, about the Conclusion of the Treaty of Marriage, at last he determined to send the Prince himself into *Spain*, to finish it. Accordingly he and the Marquess of *Buckingham* went privately from Court to *Dover*, attended only by Sir *Richard Graham*, Master of the Marquess's Horse, where they were to meet Sir *Francis Cottington*, who was thought fit to be the Prince's Secretary, and *Endymion Porter*, who was then taken from the Marquess's Bed-Chamber, to wait upon the Prince, because he understood the Language, and had been brought up in *Spain* from his youth. The Prince and *Buckingham* had false Beards for Disguises, and went by the Names of *Jack* and *Tom Smith*. From *Dover* they went to *Paris*, where the Prince spent one day to view the City and Court, hiding himself as much as he could under a great Peruque. After Dinner they saw the King in the Gallery, and towards the Evening had a full view of the Queen and the Princess *Henrietta Maria*, whose Eyes inflamed his Heart, and left an Impression upon his Mind, which could not be removed by the fairest Objects in *Spain*. In *March* they arrived at *Madrid*. The Prince and the Marquess came thither one day before *Cottington*, to make less noise in Appearances. They lighted at the Earl of *Bristol*'s House in the Evening, the Marquess carried in the Portmanteau, but his Master staid without, till he had prepared a way for Privacy. In the Evening *Buckingham* and *Bristol* went to Court, and had private Audience of the King, who sent his grand Favourite *Olivarez* back with them, to congratulate the Prince's coming: He let the Prince know how happy his Master was in the Enjoyment of him there, and that the Obligation was so great, that he deserved to have the Infanta thrown into his Arms; All this while kneeling, kissing his Hands, and embracing his Thigh. From him he went to *Buckingham*, telling him, That now the Prince of England was in *Spain*, his Master and he would divide the World betwixt them. After he was gone, about ten a Clock at Night, the King of

*His Arri-
val at
Madrid.*

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His Enter-
tainment.

Spain came in a close Coach to visit the Prince, who having notice of his coming, met him in the way, and there they spent some time in *Caresses* and *Embraces*, that are incidents to the Interviews of great Princes.

The next day after dinner, the King came in Person, with his Favourite *Olivarez*, and divers others of the Nobility, to conduct the Prince from the Town to the Court, having Horses and an Equipage fit for such a Grandeur. Thus mounted, they rode thro' the Streets in as much State as at a Coronation, the Prince riding on the King's right Hand. The Queen and the *Infanta*, from a Window in the Court, saw them, and when they dismounted, the *Infanta* retir'd, and the Queen went to her Chamber, in expectation of a Visit. When the King and Prince enter'd her Chamber, she rose to meet them, making an Obeisance to the Prince, which she returned with a profound reverential Bow. After some Compliments, they sat down on three Royal Seats, the Queen in the middle, the Prince on her Right Hand, and the King on the other, and in this State discoursed about half an Hour, and then retired. The Queen brought the Prince to the utmost extent of her Chamber, and the King to a Chamber provided for him, where he left him to his own Attendants, and some great *Spanish Grandees*, as Principal Officers of his Household, *Gundamor* being always one about him. All that the *Spanish* Court could do, was heightened into Gallantry, and Civilities to the Prince, yet he had not the Sight of the *Infanta*, but at an undiscerning Distance, and as she came from Church. But when all these splendid Ceremonies were a little over, the Prince began to mind what he came about, and desired a more intimate Access to his Mistress, which *Olivarez* promised from day to day, but still delayed; but at length when unperformed Promises were heightened into Shame, he plainly confessed that it was agreed by the King and Council, *That he might not see her as a Lover, till the Dispensation came from Rome*, but had sometimes Access to her as a Prince in a Publick way, the King of *Spain* being always present, and the Earl of *Bristol* Interpreter. Now the *English* Nobility flock into *Spain*, and the Marquess of *Buckingham's* new Title of Duke came to him also, that he might be in the highest Rank among the *Spanish Grandees*, and the Prince was so encircled with a splendid Retinue of his own People, that it might be said, *There was an English*

The Eng-
lish flock
into Spain.

Court

Court in the King of Spain's Palace. Among other Honours they pretended to do the Prince, few omitted the grand Civility of *tempting him to forsake the Protestant Religion, and to turn Papist*, to which they added Promises of Assistance, if his own Subjects should Rebel upon that Consideration. The *Pope* also wrote a sweetning Letter to the Prince to that purpose, and to oblige him to a Change, hastens the *Dispensation* into *Spain*, that the Nuptials might be consummated to his Satisfaction. And now the Articles of Marriage being ratified and sworn to on all sides, the Match is look'd upon as finished. Preparations were making in *Spain* to waft the *Infanta* into *England*, and here all hands were at work to prepare for her Reception, and building a *New Chapel* at *St. James's* for the Exercise of her Religion; but time came too swift upon the *Spaniards*; they were willing that the *Infanta* should winter in *Spain*, but knew not well how to delay the Prince any longer: And as they were in this Plunge, ruminating upon some new *Remora*, *Pope Gregory* the Fifteenth died, that granted the Dispensation, and furnishes them with a pretence that the Dispensation was invalid; yet with a reserve to keep up our Prince's Spirit, that it should be no hinderance to the Match, for the new Pope would do it presently; and the King of *Spain* assured the Prince, that if he would stay till *Christmas*, the Marriage should then be really celerated. These delays coming one upon the neck of another, and the Duke of *Buckingham* having now taken some Disgust in *Spain* at *Olivarez*, sends home such a dreadful Account of the *Spanish* Procrastinations, that the King wrote to "*Buckingham* to bring his Son back with all speed, and if his Son's youthful Follies should tie him to a longer Expectation, he charges him upon his Allegiance to come away and leave him there.

New Delays.

This Letter the Duke shewed to the Prince, and it wrought so effectually upon him, that he took up a sudden Resolution to return into *England*; of which the *Grandeess* in *Spain* having notice, they were exceedingly troubled, for their Design was to detain the Prince there all Winter, not only hoping to turn him to their Religion, but to marry him to the *Infanta*, that she being with Child before the Spring, they might keep her there till she was delivered, that so the Child might be bred up and naturaliz'd a *Spaniard*, both in Affection and Religion, which this sudden Resolution hindering, it

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some-

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*The Prince
takes his
leave.*

something startled them. *Buckingham* departed instantly to the *English* Fleet at the Port of *St. Andero*, without taking any solemn leave; but the Prince staid and did it with all the Formalities imaginable, making and receiving great Presents, and mutually swearing to perform the Marriage, within ten days after the Dispensation from the new *Pope* should arrive in *Spain*. Then the King expressing extraordinary Respects to the Prince, and he repaying his noble Expressions with the like Civilities, they embraced each other and parted: The King leaving the Prince to be attended to the Seaside by a numerous Train of *Spanish* Courtiers. The Prince making the best of his way, arrived safely at *Portsmouth*, upon the 5th of *October* following, and the next day came to *London*, where the People's Joy elevated above Bonfire Expressions, shewed that Love is the best Foundation of Security and Happiness.

*Arrives in
England.*

The King was then at *Royston*, to whom the Prince and the Duke of *Buckingham* went Post, and gave him a fair and plausible Narration of their Proceedings, laying the load upon the *Spanish* delays, and the Earl of *Bristol's* Miscarriages; which the King as a good Father to his Son, and Friend to his Favourite, took for current Payment, without any farther Examination. Now the Prince having settled his thoughts upon another Object, the first thing they did was to procure an absolute Command from the King to the Earl of *Bristol*, to suspend the Delivery of the Proxy till *Christmas*, tho' the Dispensation should come sooner, and being resolved to affront the King of *Spain* for his Delays, in *Bristol's* Letter he had Instructions to demand the Restitution of the *Palatinate* and *Electoral* Dignity; for saith the King's Letter, *It would be very strange in me to receive one Daughter in Joy, and leave another in Sighs and Tears.* *Bristol's* Power of deferring the Espousals till *Christmas*, was to be kept within his own Breast, and not divulged till the Dispensation should come and discover it. When the Dispensation came, which was about the beginning of *December*, Bonfires were made for Joy through the whole Kingdom of *Spain*. The 9th of the Month was prefix'd for the *Wedding* Day, a *Tarrais* being erected betwixt the Court and the next Church, almost a quarter of a Mile in length, covered with *Tapstry* for the greater Magnificence, and all things appointed in the highest State for so great a Solemnity. Presents were provided in the Court of *Spain* for our King and Prince: The *In-*
fant's

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fanta's Family which she was to take into *England* with her was settled: She had long practis'd the *English* Tongue, and her Voyage into *England* was resolv'd upon, to be about the beginning of *March*: When all of a sudden, King *James's* Commands, like a Frost, nipt all this Budding Glory, for *Bristol* had now a positive Order to declare to the King of *Spain*, That without the *Restitution of the Palatinate and the Electoral Dignity*, the *Treaty should proceed no farther*. And this was the end of a seven Years Treaty.

The Match
broke off.

The Duke of *Buckingham* by a long Converse having made himself Favourite to the Prince, as well as to the King, perswaded the Prince to look back to the Beauty he had seen in *France*; but the Treaty with *Spain* must first be dissolved, and since nothing but a Parliament can do it, one was summon'd to meet the 12th of *February*, when the Grief that the sudden Death of the Duke of *Richmond* gave the King, put it off till the 19th of *February* following: There the King in a long Speech us'd his utmost Endeavours to sweeten the Parliament into a good Opinion of all his Actions, and especially of his unfeigned Desires to comply with them in every thing, for the Good of the Kingdom, and his utter Aversion against infringing their Privileges; but what related to the breaking off the *Spanish* Match he left to the Duke of *Buckingham* to give them Satisfaction in it. On the 24th of this Month, the Duke of *Buckingham* made a long Relation of all the Transactions in *Spain*, to both Houses of Parliament, and acquitted himself so well, in relation to his own Actions, that the Parliament who formerly looked upon him with a sour Eye, for tempting the Prince to so dangerous a Journey; when they found what excellent Effects it had produced, they forgot the old Murmurings that were buzz'd against him, and could scarce contain from acknowledging him the *Preserver of the Nation*. His Discovery is cry'd up every where, and who but the Duke of *Buckingham* is become the Darling of the Multitude: But when the Earl of *Bristol* came over, and told a quite contrary Story, That he had carried the Prince into *Spain* on purpose that he might be seduc'd to the *Popish* Religion; no wonder the People that were but Men, and could then see no further into that matter than he was pleas'd to shew them, changed their Opinion; however the Parliament that had the general Good in their Eye, wisely pass'd over all Reflections upon particular Persons, and ha-

War against
the Empe-
ror and
Spain a-
ving greed on.

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ving the Treaty of Marriage with *Spain* put into their hands, they crushed the Cockatrice in the Head, by advising the King to break the Treaty, and proclaim open War against the King of *Spain*, *Protesting to assist the King in regaining the Palatinate, with their Lives and Fortunes.* But the King fearing, that when the War was begun, there would not be wherewithal to maintain it, thanked the Parliament for their Advice, and told them he would consider better of it. The Parliament seeing the King began to flag, were resolved to keep up his Spirits, and therefore came so close to him in proposing the beginning a War, that he had no room to make an Evasion, but was forc'd to close with them in Warring upon the Emperor and the King of *Spain*, according to their Advices; upon which it was resolved to send 6000 Men to join with the Forces of the States of *Holland*, that weakning the *Spaniard* in the *Low-Countries*, they might have a freer Access into *Germany*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*.

Buckingham
ham accus-
sed,

The Dissolution of the Treaties with the Emperor and *Spain*, gave such an Alarm to the Marquess of *Inniosa*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, that he sent to the King to let him know, "That the Duke of *Buckingham* intended to "destroy him, or at least to confine him to a Country "House in some Park, during his Life: The Prince being now of Age to take the Government upon him. This sudden Concussion, was enough to have shaken an old tottering and timorous Building into Ruin, without thinking of his Mother's or Prince *Henry's* Fate, but the Violence of it did not operate, but was check'd by the Duke's protesting his Innocency: For the King at the next interview saying to him, *Ab! Stenny, Stenny,* (which was the familiar Name he call'd him by) *wilt thou kill me?* The Duke being under a great Surprise, at length recovering himself, with many Asseverations, asserted his Loyalty and Integrity, and the King being willing to believe him, the noise was quickly over; and *Bristol* that came over to justify himself and charge the Duke, as soon as he landed was committed to the *Tower*, where finding himself unable to grapple with the Duke, gained his Liberty by a Submission, and retired to a Country Privacy.

The Lords being now at leisure, began to consider how necessary it was they should join with the Commons, in petitioning the King to curb the Growth of Popery, and take down the Pride of the Papists; but both Hou-

ses being ready to deliver it, they were prevented by the King's Speech, wherein he promised to grant more than they desired; yet the Parliament follow'd the Chace, and put out divers of the Nobility and Gentry that were popishly affected, and had earthed themselves in places of great Trust and Power in the Kingdom, as if they designed to undermine the Nation. These Proceedings crushed them for the present, yet they immediately got heart again, and spread as much as ever, by another Project that was now in Agitation. For the King after the Breach with Spain, sent the Lord Kensington, newly made Earl of Holland, privately to France, to feel that King's Pulse, in relation to Marriage between the Prince and the Lady Henrietta Maria, younger Daughter to Henry the Great. He continued there a Month before he moved a word in that matter, and as soon as he proposed it to the French King he was so fond of the Match, that he told the Earl of Holland, *He had rather have the Prince of England to be his Brother, than any other Man in the World*, and was so ready to comply, that he seemed very indifferent in making Terms for the Papists in England; but when he saw King James was as fond of the Marriage as himself, and the Jesuits had tamper'd with him, he got several Immunities for the Papists here, by seeming to stand off, as may be seen by the Marriage Articles.

A. D.

1623.

Proceed-
ings a-
gainst the
Papists.

The Duke of Buckingham being now swell'd to the highest Pitch of Grandeur, took up a resolution to crush his Kinsman the Earl of Middlesex, Lord Treasurer, and to throw him out of the Place he had put him into, which he might easily do, for as Middlesex wanted Innocency to justifie himself, so he wanted Humility that others might have done it for him, which made him fall unpitied. His Case being examined in Parliament he was found Guilty of such high Misdemeanors, that they had thoughts (but for the Precedent sake) to have degraded him, and tho' they went not so far as to take away the Titles of Honour from his Posterity, who had not offended, yet they made him utterly incapable of sitting in the House of Lords, and his Fine was so great that 'twas reported the Duke of Buckingham had Chelsey House from him for his share on't.

The Lord
Treasurer
Censured.

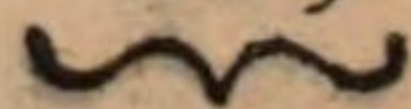
This Spring four Regiments of Foot, 1500 in a Regiment, were transpoted into Holland, under the Command of the Earl of Oxford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Essex and the Lord Willoughby, since Earl of Lindsey; and while the English, the great Supporters of the Dutch, were fighting for them in their very doors, there came News

A. D.

1624.

out

A. D.
1623.



Dutch
Cruelties
at Amboyna.

out of the *East-Indies* of such a horrid and barbarous nature, that no Time nor Age could parallel. The *Dutch*, grasping at the whole Spicery Trade in this Eastern World, having worm'd out the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*, endeavoured to do the like by their best Friends the *English*, that they might engross the whole to themselves, which causing many Bickerings between them, at length they came to Terms of Agreement, and the *English* thinking themselves secure, planted their Factories among them; where after about two years that they had reap'd the fruit of their dangers and hazards, the *Dutch* began to attempt their utter Extirpation, not by a Massacre, for that had been a merciful Mischief, but by such horrid, savage and cruel Tortures, as if they had suck'd their Malice from *Indian Tygers*. *Amboyna* was the bloody Stage where they acted this black and dismal Tragedy. For, pretending the chief Agent Captain *Gabriel Towerson*, and the rest of the *English* Factory, had conspired to seize the Castle and expel the *Dutch* out of the Island, they seized upon them, and having no Witnesses against them but their Racks, they extended their Sinews, drew them out at full length, disjointed all the Limbs of their Bodies; and by their Water Racks making them suck in Water with their Breaths, they swell'd their Bodies to a huge Proportion, till their Skins were ready to crack, and their Eyes to start out of their Heads: And those whose Innocency and Courage could not be compelled by those Torments, to accuse themselves of Crimes they were no way Guilty of, They burned the Soles of their Feet with Candles, till the moisture which dropt from their Feet extinguished the Flame, and with these fiery Instruments made such holes in their sides, that they might see their Entrails, tho' the Monsters would not see their Innocence, but persevered in their Devilish Cruelty: which being horrible to express, what was it for those poor *English* Men to suffer? Having thus wearied out the Innocent Men with Tortures, and they being willing to die quickly, confess'd and gave under their hands whatsoever their barbarous Tormentors dictated to them, and concluded their Cruelties by cutting off some of their Heads. Ten of the *English* lost their Lives, there being not twenty of them in all, and the rest with rack'd, swell'd, burnt and macerated Bodies, were sent to the *English* Plantations; so the whole Factory was destroy'd, and the *Dutch* seized that Trade into their hands, which they have kept ever since.

The Duke
accused a-
gain.

The Duke of *Buckingham* had hitherto subdued all that had the ill luck, or courage, to contend with him;

but

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1624.

but *Padro Macestria*, a *Spanish* Jesuit, boldly attack'd him a second time, tells him, *He would prove him a Traytor, and being better born than himself, would justifie it with his Sword*; and immediately sends King James notice, that under Confession he had found, that he was to be killed by *Buckingham*, but whether by Poyson, Pistol or Dagger, he could not tell. Hereupon the King grew very melancholy, and being further led into a Belief of that Calumny, by a Paper privately put into his hand by *Inniosa* the *Spanish* Ambassador, wherein were Articles against the Prince, the Duke, and malicious Surmises against the Parliament; and so far did this Contrivance prevail upon the King, that he grew more sullen and thoughtful, and would entertain the Prince and Duke with no Discourse, but Riddles and broken Sentences, that like flashes of Lightning from a black Cloud, shewed a Storm was gathering within. Immediately the Prince and the Duke conclude all was not right, and upon enquiry found that the *Spanish* Secretary, and *Macestria* the Jesuit, had been with the King, and that some of the Ambassador's Family had made their brags, *That they had nettled the Duke, and that a train would take fire speedily to blow up the Parliament*. The King amidst these great Anxieties prepares to go to *Windsor*, thinking perhaps to leave his Cares and Fears behind him. In the end of *April*, being *Saturday* in the Afternoon, he takes Coach and his Son along with him, but makes some slight pretence to leave *Buckingham* behind, as he was putting his Foot into the Coach: At which tears burst from him, and he humbly requested his Majesty To tell him his Offence, that he might confess it, or clear himself: To which the King reply'd only (with a sigh) *The King That he was the unhappiest Wretch living, to be forsaken of those that were dearest to him*: Which Expressions drew tears on both sides, but the King drove away for *Windsor* and left the disconsolate Duke behind him.

Now the Lord Keeper *Williams*, who had done the Duke many considerable Services, and was made Lord Keeper by his Interest, hearing the Duke was in disfavour, goes to him then, all in Sorrow, at *Wallingford House*, and with much a-do gains Admittance to him. After solemn Protestation of the great Concern he had for him, and his earnest Desires to serve him, he begs his Grace to make haste to *Windsor*, and shew himself to his Majesty before Supper was over; to carry himself with all the winning Addresses imaginable, and to keep Night and Day close to his Person. For the danger

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The Lord
Keeper de-
tects the
Scandal.

was, lest any one should get the King's Ear, and persuade him to dissolve the Parliament, and upon the Dissolution of it, get his Grace thrown into the *Tower*, and then God knows what might follow. Then acquainting him with a dark knowledge of the Contrivance against him, bids the Duke lose no time and lock up the Secret in his Breast. The Duke returning him hearty thanks, posts away to *Windsor*, and comes there unexpected. To be sure he acquainted the Prince with the occasion of his coming: So that his Highness was early next morning at the Lord's House, before they sat, to speak with the *Keeper*. And taking him aside into a Lobby, he thanks him for the Advice he had given *Buckingham*: And, says he, you that have gone so far, may receive greater thanks of us both, if you will lay open this black Contrivance, which has lost him the good Opinion of my Father, and I my self am in little better Circumstances. Sir, says the Keeper, let my Soul suffer for Falshood if I know any more than that some in the Spanish Ambassador's House have been preparing Mischief, and about four days since have infused it into his Majesty. Well, my Lord, says the Prince, if that be the Shop where the Plot is Forging, no Counsellor in the Kingdom knows better how to discover the whole. I might have been, says the Lord Keeper, but your Highness and my Lord Duke have made it a Crime to send to that House, and 'tis now about a Month since I have forbidden the Servants of that House to come at me. But, says the Prince, I will make that Passage open to you again without offence, and enterprize any way to bring us out of this Wood, whercin we are lost. Only before we part, tell me how you came to know or imagine that the Spanish Agents have charged *Buckingham* to my Father, with high Misdemeanors, that I may compare it with other parts of my Intelligence? The Keeper having acquainted the Prince with that Intrigue, resolved to go through with it, and sift the matter to the bottom; which he knew he could never do, unless he had an opportunity of pumping *Don Francisco Carondelet*, the Spanish Ambassador's Secretary, who, by the Duke's order, had been forbid the Keeper's House above a Month since. If he should send for him, he thought it would look a little suspicious, and then the Secretary would be much upon the reserve, and not open himself so freely. As the Keeper was musing upon this difficulty, he hit upon this lucky thought; He orders his Pursuivant Captain *Toothby*, to seize an English Priest that lodged in *Drury-lane*, whom

whom *Francisco* loved entirely: And the poor Secretary as soon as he heard of his Friend's Misfortunes, tho' he had been banished the *Keepers* House long since, he saw it was no time, in a matter of such Consequence, to be over modest, or stand upon Punctilio's; so he sent an humble request to the Lord *Keeper*, to be admitted to him that day, *Tho' he should never see his face again.* With a seeming unwillingness it was granted, and when the time appointed came, at first sight of his Lordship, he breaks out abruptly, *That nothing but a matter as dear to him as his life, should have forced him to break a Rule, to offend his Lordship with his Presence:* And then in a very passionate manner begs his Friend's Enlargement. And would you have me, says the *Keeper*, run such a hazard to set a Priest at Liberty, a Dead Man by our Statutes, when the Eye of the Parliament is so vigilant upon the Breach of Justice, especially in this kind. My Lord, says *Francisco*, Let not the Dread of this Parliament trouble you, for I can tell you, if you have not heard it, that it is upon expiring. By this means the *Keeper* got into the out-works of the Project, and plaid so artificially with the Secretary, that he soon took the main Fortreiss, which when he had done, he put it down into Writing, and the next Morning presented it to the Prince at St. James's, who immediately posts to *Windsor*, and shews the Paper to *Buckingham*; upon which they both desired immediate admittance to his Majesty, which being granted, they present the Writing to him. The King read it all deliberately, and often stopping would say, *'Tis well, Very well,* and an enlivening Spirit danced in his Eyes.

Then he embraced his Son and the Duke, protesting, *That he was very sorry that a parcel of Traytors should ever make him jealous of them, but now that all was right again.* And that you may know, says his Majesty, how little you shall pay me for a Reconciliation, I ask no more but tell me who was your Argus that made this discovery. The Prince was silent, and the Duke vowed he knew not. Well, says the King, I have a good Nostril, and will answer my own Question? My *Keeper* had the main finger in it. Sir, says the Prince, I was precluded by my Promise not to reveal him: But I never promised to tell a Lye for him: Your Majesty has hit the Man. And God do him Good for it, says the King, I need not tell you both what you owe him for this service. So by this Discovery the *Keeper* did not only do a signal service to the Prince and Duke, but likewise to his Majesty; who 'tis ten

*The King is
reconciled.*

D. A.

1624.



The King
falls sick.

to one, had quarrell'd out-right with his Parliament, had he not been thus convinced of his groundless fears.

Not long after the King fell sick of a Quartan Ague, the common Messenger of Death to Aged People, and the Countess of *Buckingham*, in the absence of his Physicians having given him a Potion to drink, and laying a Plaster to his side, and the King growing worse after it, raised loud Discourses that ill practices were used against him, tho' the Duke, who recommended these Medicines to the King, purged himself from Suspicion, by proving he received both the Potion and the Plaster from Dr. *Remington* of *Dunmow* in *Essex*, who had often cured Agues; yet it was called a Daring and Unjustifiable Action. Some of the King's Physicians muttered at it, others made a great noise and were forced to fly for it; and tho' the Duke's Power at first utterly silenced the Clamours, yet they left such Impressions upon him, that his Innocency could never wear them out. But of this more in the next Reign.

The King's indisposition still increasing, he retired to *Theobald's*, and the Lord Keeper *Williams* having notice that they feared his Sickneſs was mortal, he repaired thither, and presenting himself before the King, endeavoured to divert him, and bring him to a chearful discourse, but all in vain. So he continued by his Bed side till Midnight, but the King found no comfort. Next morning, after a Consultation of Physicians he saw no hopes of his life, and therefore ask'd leave of the Prince to acquaint his Father with his weak Condition, and put him in mind of his Mortality and Immortality. And having the Prince's Consent, he went into his Majesty's Chamber, and kneeling down told him, *He knew he should neither displease him, nor discourage him, if he brought Isaiah's Message to Hezekiah to set his House in order; for he thought his days to come would be but few in this World.* *I am satisfy'd,* replies the King, *and I pray you to assist me in preparing to go hence, and be with Christ, whose mercies I pray for, and hope to find them.* From this time the Keeper watched with his Majesty continually, and never so much as put off his Clothes to go to Bed, till after his Royal Master's Death; which was visible enough in his looks on *Sunday* night. His whole business was night and day (except when the Physicians composed his Majesty to rest) to pray, read, and discourse about Repentance, Faith, Remission of Sins, Resurrection and Eternal Life. This was the Preparation on

Wednesday

A. D.

1625.



Wednesday, for the Blessed Sacrament on *Thursday*. Upon *Friday* his Majesty grew sensibly weaker; so that now the Keeper stirred very little out of the Chamber, and that not only to comfort the departing King, but likewise to keep off some of the *Romish* Church, that were hankering about the Chamber door, whom, as a Privy Counsellor, he commanded to keep at greater distance. Being rid of these, he was now continually in prayer while the King linger'd on; and at last his Soul departing, the Keeper closed his Eyes with his own hands. *He dies.*

James, King of *Scotland*, only Son and Heir of *Henry Stuart*, late King of *Scotland*, and of *Queen Mary* his Wife, *Dowager* of *France*, and Daughter and Heir of *James V.* King of *Scotland*, was born in *Edinburgh* Castle the 19th. of *June* 1566, and was Proclaimed King of *England*, *France* and *Ireland* at *London* the 24th. of *March*, 1602, being then 36 years of Age, and on the 25th. of *July* following 1603, was Crowned with *Queen Ann* his Wife, at *Westminster* by *John Whitgift* Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*. He Married *Ann* Daughter of *Frederick II.* King of *Denmark* and *Norway*, and Sister to *Christian IV.* then King of *Denmark* 1618. She was born at *Scanderbergh* the 12th. of *December* 1574, and at the Age of 16 years was Married by Proxy at *Groningburgh* in *Denmark* the 20th. of *August* 1590. He had Issue by her, *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall* and Earl of *Chester*, born on *February* 19. 1593, who died without Issue at *St. James's*, and was buried at *Westminster*, *December* 1612. *Robert Stuart*, his second Son died very young. *Charles*, Duke of *Albany*, Marquess of *Ormond*, Earl of *Ross* and Lord of *Admanoch*, born the 27th. of *Feb.* 1600, and was Created Duke of *York* the 6th. of *Jan.* 1604, and Prince of *Wales* and Earl of *Chester* the 4th. of *November* 1616. *Lady Elizabeth* born the 19th. of *August* 1596, was Married to *Frederick* Elector *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and had many Children. *Margaret* born the 24th. of *December*, in *Scotland* 1598, and died young. *Mary* born in *England*, died an Infant, and was buried at *Westminster*. *Sophia* born at *Greenwich*, died the next day after she was born, and was buried at *Westminster*. And here I think it will be no impertinent digression, to observe how the Surname of the Kings of *England* have been changed. From *William I.* to King *Henry II.* it is very uncertain whether they had any Surname or no: But that King brought in the *French* Surname of *Plantagenet*, which

His Issue.

A. D.

1625.



continued to all the succeeding *Kings*, till King *Henry VII.* who brought in the *Welsh* name of *Tudor*, and that lasted till King *James VI.* of *Scotland* brought in the *Scotish* name of *Stuart*.

His Personage and Character.

King *James* was of a middle Stature, a well compacted Body, of an Auburn Hair, and if he had any predominate Humour to temper his Choler, it was Sanguine. His Beard grew scattering on his Chin, and very thin; and tho' his Clothes were seldom fashioned in the common Mode, yet in the whole, he was not Uncomely. Of bodily Exercises he took most delight in Hunting, and yet some thought he used it rather as a Retirement for the importunity of State Affairs, than for any great pleasure he took in it. Its said, he had such an odd fashion in riding, that it could not be so properly said he rid, as that his Horse carried him; for he made but little use of his Bridle, and would say, *A Horse never Stumbled but when he was Reined*. He was of an admirable pregnancy of Wit, and that improved by continual Study from his Childhood; by which he acquired such a Promptness and Elegancy in expressing his mind, that his Extemporary Speeches were little inferior to his Premeditated Writings. Many, no doubt, might have read as much or more than he, but never any better digested it into a profound Judgment, which made his Conjectures little less than Oracles. He was excellently skilled in all the Liberal Arts, but excell'd in Divinity, as appeared at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, and the Learned Writings he left to Posterity. In that part of Politicks which relates to Monarchy, which he used to call *King Craft*, he was a great Master. He knew how to catch the Inclinations of his People at the first rebound, and would never suffer them to mount higher than he could reach them, nor grow so strong but he could either alter or divert them. He was so Wise, and had so great a command of his Passions, that he could simulate without being known to be a Dissembler; be free and open hearted in Discourse, and yet not disclose his Secrets. In a Calm he would provide for a Storm, and was never found to commit the fault (*Non Putâram*) of not thinking; and had he been as much a Soldier as a Wise Man and a Scholar, he had not given the Antimonarchists so much Advantage to traduce him. Of all the moral Vertues he was eminent for his Chastity, in which the Poet seems to include all Vertues.

Nulli fas casto scecleratum insistere limen.

For

For in his whole Reign, tho' many of his Courtiers were extravagantly vicious in that kind, yet we meet not with one single Mistress of his Enriching, nor Bastard of his Begetting. 'Tis true, there were some Heats between him and his Parliament about the *Prerogative*, and it happened then as it does in all Feuds; things were carried to the utmost extremity, the King peradventure *Ask'd too much*, where others seemed to refuse him *Every thing*: For considering, says Naunton, * *The great debt left on the King, and into what incumbrances the House it self had then drawn him, his Majesty was not well used*: Tho', says he, *I lay not the blame on the whole suffrage of the House, wherein he had many Friends; for I dare avouch had the House been freed of half a dozen Popular and Discontented Persons, who with the Fellow that burnt the Temple at Ephesus, would be talked of tho' but for doing mischief, I am confident the King had obtained that which in reason, and at his first accession he ought to have received freely, and without any Condition.* In short King James was a Loyal Husband to his Wife, an Indulgent Father to his Children, a Bountiful Master to his Servants, and a Just Prince to his Subjects. He died of a Quartan Ague, and tho' some write that he was poysoned, yet there was no reason to believe it, for being dead, and his body opened, no sign at all appeared that he was so ill treated. His inward Parts were all sound and his Spleen only affected, which might be cause enough to cast him into an Ague, the high way, especially in ancient Bodies, to a Natural Death; which happened to him at Theobald's on the 27th of March, 1625, in the 59th. year of his Age, when he had reigned over England 22 years compleat. His Body for the greater State was conveyed from Theobald's to Somerset House (then, to oblige Queen Ann, called Denmark House) by Torch Light, where it rested from the 23d. of April to the 7th. of May, and then was buried at Westminster with great Solemnity.

* Frag-
menta
Regalia.

THE
LIFE *and* REIGN.

OF

King CHARLES I.

A. D.
1625.



King James I. dying on the 27th. of *March* in the Forenoon: The same day in the Afternoon *Charles* Prince of *Wales*, his only surviving Son, was Proclaimed King of *Great Britain, France and Ireland*, with the general Acclamation of all sorts of people, as being a Prince of admirable Endowments both of Mind and Body. In the Evening, the same day, King *Charles* came from *Theobald's* to *St. James's*, where he continued all the Privy Counsellors that had served his Father in their respective places, for which especial Favour, the next day in Council the Lord Keeper, in the name of all the rest, gave his Majesty their humble thanks for his good Opinion of them, and advised his Majesty to solemnize his Father's *Funeral*, and take care for the Queens coming over before the sitting of the *Parliament*. Accordingly on the 23d. of *April*, the Body and Herse of King *James*, was brought from *Theobald's* to *Somerset House*, by the Nobility and principal Officers of the Crown, and there lay in State till the 17th. of *May*, the day appointed for his Burial, which was Solemnized in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chapel, at *Westminster*, where the King himself was chief Mourner, supported by the Earls of *Arundel* and *Pembroke*, and his Train carried up by twelve Peers of the Realm.

K. James
Buried.

The Articles of Marriage between the Prince of *Wales*, and *Henrietta Maria* Daughter of *France*, being signed in King *James's* life time, the Duke of *Buckingham* was now sent into *France* to conduct the Queen hither, and in all places through which she passed, all Honours were paid her by the *French King's* Order. The Navy
Royal



CHARLES I.

25.

A. D.
1625.

Royal of *England* attended her at *Bulloign*, and in 24 hours landed her at *Dover*. On the 22d. of *June*, the King came thither to her, and Conducted her to *Canterbury*, where in the Evening the Marriage was consummated. Soon after, their Majesties came to *London*, where great Preparations were made for their Reception, but omitted, because the Plague increased both in City and Suburbs; tho' that affliction or any thing else intervening, could divert the King from considering the Interest of the Publick; for having summoned the Parliament to meet on the 28th of *June*, at the opening thereof he spoke to them after this manner,

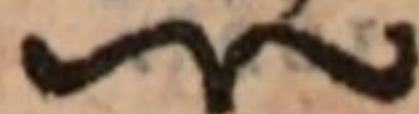
My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘**Y**OU are not ignorant, that at your earnest en-
 ‘ treaty, my Father of happy Memory, first took
 ‘ up Arms for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*; for which
 ‘ purpose by your assistance, he began to form a confide-
 ‘ rable Army, and fitted out a good Navy; but Death
 ‘ intervening between him and the Atchievement, the
 ‘ War with the Crown is devolved upon me; to the
 ‘ Prosecution whereof, as I am obliged both in Nature
 ‘ and Honour, so I question not but the same necessity
 ‘ continuing, you will cherish the Action with the like
 ‘ Affection, and further it with a ready Contribution.
 ‘ True it is that you furnished my Father with Affecti-
 ‘ onate Supplies, but they held no proportion with the
 ‘ charge of so great an Enterprize. Those your Donatives
 ‘ are all disbursd to a Penny, and I am forced to Sum-
 ‘ mon you hither to tell you, that neither the Army nor
 ‘ the Fleet can set out without farther Aid. Consider, I
 ‘ pray you, that the Eyes of all *Europe* are fixt upon me,
 ‘ to whom I shall appear ridiculous, as tho’ I were un-
 ‘ able to outgo Muster and Ostentation, if you now de-
 ‘ sert me. Consider, it is my first Attempt, wherein if I
 ‘ sustain a foil, it will blemish all my future Honour. If
 ‘ mine cannot, let your own Reputations move you to
 ‘ deliver me fairly out of this War, wherewith you have
 ‘ incumbred me, (let it never be said whereinto you have
 ‘ betrayed me.) I desire therefore your speedy Supply.
 ‘ The Sun, you know, is entering into its declining
 ‘ point, so it will be soon too late to set forth, when it
 ‘ will be rather not too soon to return. Again, I must
 ‘ mind you of the Mortality regnant in this City, and
 ‘ should it, which without breach of Privilege it may,
 ‘ Arrest any Member of either House, it would soon put
 ‘ a Period to your Consultations, and the Session, so that

*The King's
 Speech to
 the Parlia-
 ment.*

A. D.

1625.



‘ your own Periclitation necessitates an early Resoluti-
 ‘ on. In Sum, three of the best Rhetoricians, Honour,
 ‘ Opportunity and Safety, all plead, you see, for Expe-
 ‘ dition. Perhaps it may be expected that I should say
 ‘ something concerning my Religion, as also the Tenor
 ‘ of my future Government; but as I hope I have not
 ‘ been guilty of any thing which may justly start the least
 ‘ question in either, so I desire you would repose in this
 ‘ Assurance, that I will in neither vary from those Prin-
 ‘ ciples, wherein I have been instituted at the Feet of
 ‘ that Eminent *Gamaliel* my late Father.

The Par-
 liament ad-
 journed to
 Oxford.

This Speech was very well resented, and tho’ it did not produce so great a Supply as the Exigence of Affairs required; yet the Commons gave two Subsidies and the Clergy three, without any Condition, and in the Grant of the Laity, the *Papists* were to pay double Taxes. The King accepted the Supply very graciously, as an earnest of his Peoples Respect in reference to greater Sums which were to follow; but the Plague still increasing in *London*, the Parliament adjourned to *Oxford*, where being assembled, both Houses by the King’s appointment, attended him in the Hall at *Christ-Church*, whom he again acquainted with his Wants for setting out a Fleet, and that the Eyes of the Confederates were all upon it. The Commons returning to their House had several Debates upon the substance of the King’s Speech, and the State of the Nation, all tending to the Arraignment of the Government. Some urged, that our Necessities arose from Improvidence, that the King was guided by evil Counsellors; and tho’ a former Parliament engaged the King in a War, yet if things were managed by contrary Designs, and the Money misapplied; this Parliament was not obliged to support the Courts Extravagancies, nor grant Supplies before their Grievances were removed. They had also Jealousies of the Growth of Popery, and therefore framed a Petition against Recusants, to which the King gave them a satisfactory Answer; but which did not produce answerable effects, for when the Supply was again debated in the House, great Divisions rose among them; all the Discourse was upon Misgovernment, and charged the Duke of *Buckingham* as the Author of all Miscarriages: Whom, the very Parliament before, in King *James’s* Reign, extoll’d as the Honour of the *English* Nation, and sole preserver of his Country;

Country; nay, no Honour was thought large enough to requite his Merits. So mutable were the Humors then in vogue. To defame him now they draw up a Remonstrance designed on purpose to discredit him, and remove him from the King's Councils, and out of his Favours, wherein the Expressions were so sharp, and the Stile so unusual for Subjects to their Sovereign, that the King determined rather to dissolve the Parliament than admit of it: Which was done accordingly. Soon after this, a Proclamation was issued out to put the Laws in Execution against *Popish* Recusants, commanding the Return of Noblemen's Children and others, that were sent to be educated in *Popish* Schools and Seminaries beyond Sea, and all the King's Subjects that were in Foreign Service, were enjoined to return speedily to their Native Countries, to be employed in the King's Service. Now the War with *Spain*, for the Recovery of the *Palatinate*, which was resolved on in the last year of his Father's Reign, was vigorously prosecuted. The Duke of *Buckingham* and the Earl of *Holland* were sent Ambassadors to the *United Provinces*, where they met the Ambassadors of *France* and *Denmark*, and concluded a League with them, for restoring the Liberties of *Germany*: Upon which the King of *Denmark* took up Arms, but was unsuccessful, which he imputed to the King's not performing what he promised, and that was occasioned by the *Parliament's* failing to supply him with Money, and for the same reason the Fleet which should have put to Sea in the beginning of Summer, to attempt something on the Coasts of *Spain*, could not set out till *October* following: In which Expedition the Viscount *Wimbleton* was General of the Land Forces, and the Earl of *Essex* was Vice Admiral of the Navy.

The Fleet, with the Addition of some *Dutch* Vessels, consisted of 80 Sail of stout Ships, which being dispersed by a Storm, met again at the Southward Cape, where they entred into Consultation what they should attempt. The Earl of *Essex*, out of a great desire to equal the Glory which his Father gain'd at *Cadiz*, proposed attacking the *Spanish* Fleet which lay in that Harbour; but there was so many difficulties in the Enterprize, and so long a time spent in the Debate, that *Spain* was alarmed, and had prepared for their Defence, so that when it was concluded they should sail to *Cadiz*, they landed their Men there with great Danger and Opposition. The first place they attempted was *Punta* Castle,

*The Par-
liament Dis-
solved.*

A. D.
1625.


Puntal
Castle
taken.

Castle, under the protection of which the *Spanish* Ships rode. 20 *English* and 5 *Dutch* Ships were ordered to Assault it, but after they had spent 2000 Shot against it, to little or no purpose, they were forced to give it over. This not succeeding, *Wimbleton* sent Sir *John Burroughs* with a choice Regiment of Foot to attack the Fort on the Land side, who working a great Party of the *Spaniards* in sight of the Castle, the Governour resigned it with 15 Barrels of Powder, and 8 Pieces of Ordnance. While this was doing the *Spaniards* hauled most of their best Ships under *Port Royal*, so that Sir *Samuel Argale*, who was sent to burn their Ships, was disappointed of his purpose. From thence they Sailed to the Southward Cape, where they waited 20 days in expectation of the Plate Fleet, but by the Inclemency of the Air, and the Intemperance of the Soldiers and Seamen, so great a Contagion happened in the Fleet, that they had scarce Men enough to hand their Sails, which forced the Admiral to return four days before the Plate Fleet came in. This ill success displeased the King, but tho' many were blam'd, none were punished for their ill Conduct.

Money raised by Privy
Seals.

The War being now very chargeable, since the King could not be supplied in a Parliamentary way, he was advised by his Council to take other methods, and borrow Money by Letters of Privy Seals, sent to several of the ablest Persons in all parts of the Kingdom, in each of which Letters the King promised, in the Name of himself and his Successors, to repay it in 18 months after it was paid to the Collectors, who were required to pay it into the Exchequer, and to return the names of such as delayed or refused to pay the Sums required of them. This way of raising Money, as it was generally thought to be Illegal, so was it accounted Impolitick, unless it had been resolved not to call a Parliament so soon after it, for if the King had made a Peace with *Spain*, he might have freed himself from the necessity of calling Parliaments, till by the Justice and Lenity of his Government, the Parliament might have no occasion to work upon his Necessities. The King however was resolved to try, or rather tempt his Fortune in another Parliament, which was Summoned to meet at *Westminster* on the 6th. of *February* 1625, but first the Solemnities of his Coronation were to be celebrated on the 2d. of *February*. Where the Pomp and triumphant Riding through the City was omitted, because
the

the Plague was not quite decreased. This Solemnity being over the Parliament began, in which he had no better success than in his first; for they began where they left at *Oxford*, with matters of Religion and publick Grievances: In which it was strange to see how Men afflicted themselves to find out Calamities and Mischiefs, all which themselves must rectifie without being beholding to the King, or proving there was any Truth in the Surmises and Allegations they made such a noise about: Nay, so much were the times degenerated from the Peaceableness of the former, that the People, under pretences of Reformation, with some petulant Discourses of Liberty, extended their enquiries even into the Chamber, and private Actions of the King himself. They sent Committees to the Signet Office to search for Originals of his Letters, for Reprieving some Priests condemned at *York*: And when Sir *Richard Weston*, Chancellor of the Exchequer, brought a Message to them for a Supply, acquainting them that the Fleet was returned, Victuals spent, the Men in great necessity, ready to mutiny for want of Pay, and that the Land Forces which guarded the Coasts were in want both of Victuals and Cloaths; yet they could not be prevailed upon, but one *Clement Coke*, among many other Invectives, said, *It was better to die by a Foreign Enemy, than to be destroyed at Home.*

*Complaints
of Grievances.*

This high flying humour of the House of Commons, and the Liberty they took in speaking, occasioned variety of Discourses to their prejudice; while those that thought the Court by long Ease and Plenty were grown too Exorbitant, believed this freedom of Speech was absolutely necessary. At this time, whether it were out of a general Envy against the Duke, for his sudden rise to Greatness, or a particular disgust of some that thought they merited as well as he, a greater share than they had had in the King's Favour; the Tide run so high in both Houses, especially in the House of Commons, that nothing would be granted to the King at a lower price than his ruin. The King shewed a great displeasure at those proceedings, and sent Sir *Richard Weston* to demand satisfaction, in which they not answering his expectation, by so sudden an Inquisition as he required, he called the Lords and them together, and by the Lord Keeper *Coventry* acquainted them with his mind.

1626.

*The Lord
Keeper's
Speech.*

MR Lords, and you the Knights, Citizens and Bur-
gesses of the House of Commons, his Majesty's Com-
mand hath Summoned you hither, and the same Command
hath put me upon signifying his mind to you. His Majesty
would have You know, that never any King loved his Peo-
ple better, or was more sincerely affected to the right use of
Parliaments, or more ready to redress their Grievances than
Himself, provided it be in a regular and decent way: But
he would also have you know, that as he loves his People, so
he regards his own Honour, and cannot but be concerned at
the Seditious Words spoken in your House by Dr. Turner and
Mr. Coke, which were so far from being Censured that
others have been encouraged to the like rudeness, by their
Impunity. He also complains that you have searched his
Signet Office, and examined the Letters of his Secre-
tary of State, leaving him nothing free from your dis-
covery; a thing not formerly practised. As concerning the
Duke, whom you persecute with so much asperity, I am com-
manded to tell you, that his Majesty knows no Man better,
he as Acted nothing in his Publick Employments without
his special Warrant: That he has discharg'd his Trust both
at Home and abroad, with abundance of Care and Fidelity,
and therefore it is his Majesty's Express Command, that you
absolutely desist from such Un-Parliamentary Disquisitions,
and resign the reformation of what is amiss, to his Majesty's
Care, Wisdom and Justice, and go forward with a Supply,
as you have promised, proportionable to the Kingdoms Ne-
cessities; and that you return your final Answer by Friday
next, or else he must and will entertain thoughts of your
Dismission.

*The Parli-
aments An-
swer.*

This Speech caused great Emotion in the House of
Commons, and thereupon they framed a Remonstrance,
acknowledging great satisfaction in his Majesty's kind
Expressions to his Parliament, and that they would
take Mr. Coke's Speech into further Consideration; but
for Examining his Secretaries Letter, and searching the
Signet Office, they had done nothing but what was
Warranted by former Precedents: And as touching the
Duke, they humbly besought his Majesty to be inform-
ed, that it had been the constant Practice of Parlia-
ments, to complain of any Person of what degree so-
ever, and what they should do in relation to him,
should redound to the Honour of the Crown and Safety
of the Kingdom, and that if other things might be
granted which relate to his Service, and were now
under Consultation, they were resolved to supply him
in

in such a manner, as might evidence the Truth of their Intentions, and make him safe at Home and formidable Abroad. To which the King briefly answered, that he would have them in the first place consult about matters of the greatest Importance, and they should have time enough for other matters afterwards; but all this put no stop to the Proceedings against the Duke, to which the Earl of *Bristol* contributed in the House of Lords.

A. D.

1626.

*The King's
Reply.*

This alarmed the Duke of *Buckingham* to begin first with him, and, at his request, the King commands the Attorney General, to summon the Earl of *Bristol*, as a Delinquent to the Bar of the House of Lords: Who appearing upon Summons, the King's Attorney acquainted the Peers, that he came to accuse him of High Treason, and Exhibited 11 Articles against him; but before they were Read, the Earl said, *My Lords, I am a Free man and a Peer of the Realm Unattainted, I have something to say of Consequence to his Majesty's Service, and I beseech your Lordships give me leave to speak:* Which having obtained, he said, *I accuse that Man the Duke of Buckingham of High Treason*, and immediately deliver'd in 12 Articles against him. The House called the Articles to be read, committed the Earl to the Custody of the Black Rod, and ordered, that the King's Charge against him, should be proceeded upon before that of the Earl against the Duke, which the King took very well. The Articles on both sides laboured with one Design, which was to render each other suspected in matters of Loyalty and Religion, and made good sport for their Enemies and all the World besides; for neither of them amounted to Treason, and there being no Proceedings upon them, I think it unnecessary to discover their Passions by reciting them. But the Commons being resolved to add load to the Duke, sent up some of their Members, Sir *Dudley Diggs*, Sir *John Elliot*, Mr. *Selden*, Mr. *Glanvil*, Mr. *Pym*, Mr. *Wansfort*, Mr. *Herbert*, and Mr. *Sherland*, with 13 Articles of High Crimes and Misdemeanors against him: Containing several Encroachments on the Royal Favour, and some Miscarriages which at another time, and in another Man might have been connived at. Nevertheless, he put in his answer to them with so much Modesty and Humility, that many who expected a more proud and disdainful Defence, were converted into a good Opinion of him; and seeing there was nothing

*Buckingham and
Bristol accuse each
other.*

*The Duke's
defence.*

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1626.



*Ill News
out of Ger-
many.*

in them, but what was transacted under the Reign of King *James*, and so not legally cognizable at this time, he claimed the benefit of the Pardon in the 21st. of K. *James*, and the present King's Coronation Pardon. This was so contrary to the expectation of the Commons, that on the 14th. of *June*, they drew up a Declaration of the same Complexion with their Impeachment, and with great struggling it was preferred before the Subsidy Bill, then ready to be read : At which the King was so dissatisfied that he dissolved the Parliament.

Now sad News came out of *Germany*. The K. of *Denmark*, who had taken up Arms in behalf of the Elector *Palatine*, and the Protestant Princes of *Germany*, notwithstanding the Aid of 6000 Men sent from *England*, was totally overthrown by Count *Tilly*, and reduced to such distress, that if not presently succoured, he was ruined for ever. The *Sound* was in danger of being lost, the *English* Garrison at *Strood* straitly besieged, and our *Eastland Trade* and Staple at *Hamborough* almost given up for gone. The King was much perplexed at this Defeat, and the more because of his Unability to send him more Recruits. In this strait, he was advised by his Council, that since the Commons in Parliament at their last Sessions had passed a Bill of Subsidies, and that the Parliament was dissolved before the Bill passed into an Act ; he might require those Subsidies of the People by way of Loan, till the next Parliament should either enable him to make payment of it, or confirm the Levying of it by a subsequent Act. In pursuance of this Advice, Commissions were issued out under the Great Seal, to divers Commissioners in all parts, for Levying this Money ; yet many, and some of good Quality, refused, and were committed to divers Prisons. This was followed by the unfortunate undertaking of the Duke of *Buckingham* at the Isle of *Rhé*, and the extream necessities of the *Rockellers*, who soliciting the King for Supplies, he was so affected with their Calamities, that he promised them all the Assistance he could, and to enable himself to perform his Promise, he borrowed 120000 *l*. of the City of *London*, and 30000 *l*. of the *East-India* Company, besides what he got by Privy Seals, to which was added Levying Money by Excise ; but the Execution of that Project was suspended by the King, who was never guilty of any Illegal Action by the Impulse of his own Nature ; or the persuasion of others, but meerly out of his extream necessities ; and therefore being

being but too sensible of the Clamours, and Discontents of his People, occasioned by these Illegal Exactions, he resolved to summon a Parliament, in hopes a good understanding between them might contribute to a general Quiet. But as it was the great unhappiness of *Charles I.* to come to the Crown under many disadvantages, so the Seeds of Discontent which were sown in his Father's time, took deeper root, and acquired new growth through the ill Management of his Ministers, *rather than any wilful Errors of his own.* In the former Reign there arose two opposite Parties in the Church, which now became more than ever exasperated against each other, the one headed by Arch-Bishop *Abbot*, and the other by *Dr. Laud*, Bishop of *London*. *Abbot* was not for stretching the Act of Uniformity, beyond what was absolutely necessary for the Peace of the Church; or the Prerogative of the Crown any further, than conduced to the Good of the State, and being not rightly turn'd for a Court, could not stoop to the humour of the times; but by an unseasonable stiffness, gave occasion to his Enemies to represent him as not well inclin'd to the Prerogative, or too much inclined to a Popular Interest, and therefore not fit to be employ'd in matters of Government. On the other hand Bishop *Laud*, as he was a man of greater Learning, and yet greater Natural Parts, seeing into the Designs of the Antimonarchical and Factious Parties, went more willingly into every thing that tended to advance the Honour of the Crown, or the Interest of the Church, as by Law established, and to preserve the People in Obedience: And seeing the King's pressing Occasions for Money, and the Backwardness of the Parliament to supply them, possibly he might connive at these unwarrantable methods of raising Money, till the King and Parliament might come to a better understanding, without encroaching upon one anothers Rights and Privileges: Now *Dr. Sibthorp*, Vicar of *Brackly*, in an Assize Sermon at *Northampton*, as *Dr. Manwaring* at *White-Hall*, having asserted, *That the King's Royal Word and Command, in imposing Loans and Taxes without consent of the Parliament, did oblige the Subjects Consciences, upon pain of Damnation:* *Sibthorp's* Sermon with a Dedication to the King, was sent to Arch-Bishop *Abbot* to be licenced, which he refused, and gave his Reasons in Writing, which Bishop *Laud* Answered, and with his own hand licenced both *Sibthorp's* and *Manwaring's* Sermons, and

*A Faction
in the
Church.*

*Divinity
made to
stoop to
Policy.*

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ces revi-
ved.The Petiti-
on of Right
Granted.

so by thinking to assist the *King's* necessities, enflamed the reckoning, and procured him abundance of Enemies.

On the 17th. of *March* the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, to whom the *King* made a healing Speech, with which the Parliament seemed so well affected, that the Commons freely granted him five Subsidies, whereof when Secretary *Coke* informed the *King* he ask'd him by how many *Votes* it was carried? He replied, *By One*: At which perceiving the *King's* Countenance to change: *Sir*, said he, *your Majesty has the greater cause to rejoyce, for the House was so Unanimous therein, that the whole made but One Voice*: At which the *King* was so exceedingly pleased, that he bid the Secretary tell them, *He would deny them nothing of their Liberties which any of his Predecessors had granted them*; but whilst a Bill was preparing for these Subsidies, they considered the Publick Grievances of the Kingdom, one of which was Imprisoning Men without assigning any cause in the Warrant for their Commitment, as had been done by Men that refused to pay the Loans, which was exclaimed against, as Illegal and Vexatious to the Subject. Besides, for want of Pay, Soldiers were Billeted in Private Houses, and for Offences were Tryed by Martial Law, which were instanced as other Grievances. *Magna Charta* and six other Explanatory Statutes, were express against Illegal Levies and Imprisonments; however, tho' these Statutes were in Force, yet whether the Parliament thought them antiquated and therefore less regarded, or for what other reason I know not, they drew up that memorable Law called *The Petition of Right*, and presented it to the *King* to which he gave the *Royal Assent* in full Parliament, to the great satisfaction of the People. And now there was thought such a blessed Harmony between the *King* and Parliament, that nothing could hinder the Nation from all the Happiness it could be capable of; but this Concession instead of cooling the preternatural heat, enflamed many of the House of Commons to press a little further, so that they framed a Remonstrance of several Miscarriages in Government, and in the Conclusion said, 'The excessive
' Power of the Duke of *Buckingham* is the cause of all
' the Evils and Dangers therein mentioned, and there-
' fore humbly submit it to his Majesty's Wisdom, whe-
' ther it can be safe for himself, or for his Kingdom, that
' so great Power by Sea and Land as rests in him, should
' be trusted in the hands of any one Subject whatsoever.

This

This Remonstrance was presented to the King with the Bill of Subsidies in the Banqueting House at *White-Hall*, who when he heard it read, told them he little expected such a Remonstrance from them, after he had so graciously pass'd the *Petition of Right*, and for the Grievances mentioned in them he would consider of them as they deserved. The King had Levied the Duties of Tonnage and Poundage ever since the first of his Reign, which since the Passing the late *Petition of Right*, the House of Commons say was illegal and were preparing a Remonstrance against it; but the King unwilling to hear of more Remonstrances in such a strain, resolved to frustrate that design by Proroguing the Parliament from the 26th. of *June*, till the 20th. of *October*, and calling both Houses together delivered his mind to them as followeth.

The Parli-
ament Pro-
rogued.

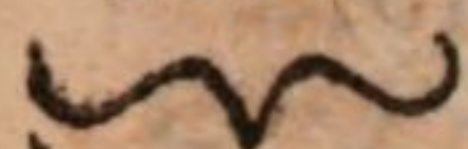
My Lords and Gentlemen,

IT may seem strange that I come to put an end to this Session, and therefore before I give my Assent to the Bills, I will give you the reason of it, tho' I must Avow I owe an account of my Actions to none but God alone. Not long ago the House of Commons gave me a Remonstrance, how acceptable any Man may judge; for I am sure no wise Man can justifie it. Now since I am certainly informed that a second Remonstrance is preparing for me, to take away my Revenue of Tonnage and Poundage, one of the chief Maintenances of the Crown, by alledging that I have given away my Right to it by answering your Petition. This is so prejudicial to me that I am forced to end this Session some few hours before I meant it, being unwilling to receive a Remonstrance to which I must give a harsh Answer. The Profession of both Houses while they were forming the *Petition of Right*, was, That they would not intrench upon my Prerogative, saying, They had neither Intention nor Power to hurt it; but since I cannot but see that you are endeavouring to take away Tonnage and Poundage, which I cannot want, and was then not intended to be ask'd by you, and I am sure never intended to be granted by me, I put an end to this Session.

While the Parliament was sitting, the Duke of *Buckingham* not discouraged at their Remonstrance, or other Designs against him, was active in making Preparations for the Relief of *Rochel*, both by Sea and Land, and being at *Portsmouth* ready to embark, on the 23d. of *August* was in his own Lodging stab'd by one *Felton* with a long knife, which he bought for

The D. of
Bucking-
ham mur-
dered.

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that wicked purpose, and flying, left it in his Bowels, which the Duke pulling out, enlarged the Orifice, and the Blood and Spirits issued out so fast that he died immediately. None for the present knew the Person that Committed the barbarous Murder, but *Felton* having no power to run far, shelter'd himself among the Servants in the Kitchen; hither the Uproar followed, crying, *Where is the Villain?* which *Felton* mistaking for *there is the Villain*, he started and said, *I am he*, whom they seized, and with much ado preserved him alive from the fury of the Servants. Not long after he was examined, and ' Confess'd his Name was *John Felton*, formerly a Lieutenant to a Foot Company under Sir *James Ramsey*: that he had endeavoured in the late Expedition to be made a Captain, but was put by; but without any disfavour from the Duke, from whom he had found respect: But said that the late Remonstrance of Parliament had rendred the Duke so odious, that he thought it an Act of Justice to kill him, and if he had miss'd an opportunity on shoar, he resolv'd to go a Volunteer and do it in his Voyage: That he came to Town but that morning, and that no Soul living was accessary to this bloody fact but himself. After this *Felton* being Try'd and Condemn'd at the King's Bench Bar, was hanged at *Tyburn*, and his Body was afterwards sent to *Portsmouth*, and without the Town was Hang'd in Chains, till it was consumed. Before his Execution, being made sensible of his horrid Crime, he confess'd without the Mercy of Christ it was Damnable, laying the Guilt directly upon the Parliament's Remonstrance, as his only motive to this barbarous Enterprize, and manifested great sorrow and contrition for it. But that which encouraged this miserable and wretched Man to commit so foul a Crime, had likewise influenced the unthinking multitude to that degree of prejudice and passion, that they generally rejoiced at the Duke's death, as one of the greatest Enemies of their Country.

Felton
hang'd in
Chains.

The Duke
of Bucking-
ham's Cha-
rtacter.

But those that knew him and observed his Actions, deliver him to Posterity, As one of the most generous and Accomplish'd Persons of the Age. His outward Form was a great Master-piece of Nature, exact in every part; nor was his Mind without its Adornments, being of a very Affable and Courteous Disposition, and tho' he was advanced to as great a height as a Subject could be capable of, yet he was never a stranger to those excellent Qualities.

Qualities. In short, he was a true and faithful Friend, and Bountiful to his Kindred and Servants, which was then accounted a Crime in him, tho' all the World thinks the contrary in others. He had less studied Books than Men, and if he had lived a few more years, and had weather'd the Temptations of Greatness, he might have lived to have been as great a Pillar of this State, as any that ever went before him; and perhaps found, as well as deserved a milder Fate. His Bowels were interred at Portsmouth, and his Body was brought to York House, from whence after some time it was Entombed at Westminster in King Edward's Chapel, and a stately Monument erected over his Grave by his Executors. This sad Accident made little or no stop to the Proceedings of the Fleet for the relief of *Rochel*, which at length put to Sea under the Command of the Earl of *Lindsey*, but before he could get thither, the Haven was so strongly barred and fortified, that it was impossible for his Ships to force their way in, tho' it was often gallantly attempted: so that the *Rockellers* despairing of holding out, made their submission to the King and set open the Gates to receive him.

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In *January* the Parliament Assembled, and the Grand Committees made great Complaints of the Growth of Popery and *Arminianism*, while the House was no less Active in enquiring into the Miscarriages in Civil Affairs, concerning which divers Petitions were presented, importing, that many Merchants Goods were seiz'd, and Informations prefer'd against them in the Star-Chamber, for refusing to pay the Custom of Tonnage and Poundage: against the Tenor of the *Petition of Right*, and one of these Merchants named *Rolls*, being a Member of Parliament, it was adjudged a breach of Privilege, for which the Customers were summoned to the House to answer it. Then the King interpos'd, and acquainted the House that what they did was out of zeal to his Service, adding, that he did not commisionate them to take it as of Right, but out of a firm Opinion that the House of Commons (as they had often promised) would confirm it by Bill, which he desired they would dispatch and put an end to that Dispute. But this gave no satisfaction, for the Debates in the House run higher, and they resolved to proceed to a Remonstrance against Levying the Subsidies of Tonnage and Poundage, as not being granted by Act of Parliament, and therefore *Illegal*: On which they were so earnest

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1629.

Feuds be-
twixt the
King and
Parlia-
ment.

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The Speaker held by violence in his Chair.

on the 2d. of *March*, that fearing they should be dissolved before they had finished it: They locked the doors of the House, gave the Keys to Sir *Miles Hubbert* to keep, and refused to admit the Usher of the Black Rod, whom the King had sent with a Message to them: Whereat he was so offended that he sent for the Captain and his Guard of Pensioners to force an Entrance. In the mean time the Heads of a Remonstrance were offered to Sir *John Finch* the Speaker, to be put to the Question; which he refusing, because the King had given him order to adjourn to the 10th. of *March*, and to put no Question, nor admit of any Debate, Mr. *Denzil Hollis* and Sir *Peter Higman* held him in the Chair till one of their Members had read the Protestation; and then they rose before the Pensioners and Guards came, having first adjourned the House to the 10th. of *March*.

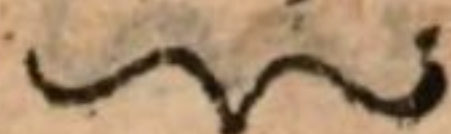
The King, tho' of a Mild and Gentle Disposition, was highly provoked at the disorderly and tumultuous behaviour of many of the Members of the *House of Commons*, who strained all things beyond their natural tendency, when with the Exercise of a little Moderation they might have obtained of the King whatsoever they desired. Being thus incensed he had sent for several Members of the House of Commons, six days before he came to the House of Lords, to appear at the Council Table, viz. *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; Sir *John Elliot*, Sir *Peter Hayman*, Sir *Miles Hubbert*, *John Selden*, *William Coriton*, *Benjamin Valentine*, *William Scroud*, and *Walter Long*, Esquires, who were the principal Authors of all the late disorders; at which time *Hollis*, *Elliot*, *Coriton*, and *Valentine* appearing, and refusing to answer out of Parliament for what was said or done in Parliament, they were Committed to the Tower, the rest not appearing at that time, were afterward Apprehended and Committed to several Prisons; but lest those Distemper'd Minds, whose imprudent Zeal had caused so much disquiet, should disperse their Contagion in their several Countries, and alienate Good Subjects from their Duty and Respects to the King, he published a Declaration through the Kingdom, wherein he set forth his Reasons for dissolving the Parliament.

The Members prosecuted.

May the Seventh, the Attorney General preferred an Information in the Star Chamber against Sir *John Elliot*, and the rest of the Imprisoned Members, but the King wav'd the Prosecution in that Court to bring it

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it into the King's Bench, where the Prisoners on the first day of the Term mov'd to be admitted to Bail, which the Judges consented to, provided they would find Sureties for their *Good Behaviour*: To which Mr. *Selden* answer'd, *That they had Sureties ready for their Bail, but not for their Good Behaviour, for that was meerly an Act of Discretion*, which they could not consent to, without giving offence to the Parliament, where the matters surmised were acted. To this the Judges reply'd, *That the return did not mention any thing done in Parliament, and the Surety of Good Behaviour is a prevention of Danger to the Common Weal, and an Act of Government and Jurisdiction, and not of Law, and would be no Inconvenience to the Prisoners, for the same Bail would suffice, and all should be Written in one piece of Parchment*; but they refused to give it, and were remanded to Prison. The same Term an Information was exhibited in the King's Bench against *Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine*, for words spoken in the foregoing Parliament, which in the Information were said to be 'False, and Malicious, Seditious as well against the King as against his Ministers, Peers, Prelates, Justiciaries, and the rest of his good Subjects, tending to deprive the King, overturn the Government, and bring in Tumults and Confusion into his Dominions, and withdraw the affections of his People from him. Then the words were exprest at large, and at the end of the Information it was alledg'd, 'That Sir *John Finch* the Speaker, endeavouring to go out of the Chair, according to the King's Command to adjourn the House, they assaulted and evilly treated him, and being out of the Chair they assaulted him in the House, and violently thrust him into the Chair again. To this Information the Gentlemen put in a Plea, *For as much as these offences are supposed to have been done in Parliament, they ought not to be punished in this Court, or any other, unless in Parliament*. Upon which the Court assign'd a day to joyn in Demurrer that Term, and on the first day of the next to be argued at the Bar.

Against Mr. *Long* particularly an Information was prefer'd in the Star Chamber, for that he being High Sheriff of the County of *Wilts*, and had taken his Oath according to Law, to abide within his Bailywick, did, contrary thereunto, suffer himself to be chosen Citizen of *Bath*, to serve in the last Parliament, and did attend at *Westminster* in Parliament, without his Majesty's Licence,

The Members sentenc'd.

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cenſe. And after hearing Council upon his *Demurrer* and *Plea*, the whole Court agreed in a Sentence againſt him, in theſe or the like Words: For the aforeſaid Offences, ' In breaking his Oath, neglecting his Truſt ' and Contempt of his Maſteſty, it is adjudged that he ' ſhall be committed to the *Tower* during his Maſteſty's ' Pleaſure, and pay a Fine of 2000 Marks to his Maſteſty, ' and make a Submission and Acknowledgment of his ' Offence in the Court of Star-Chamber, and to his Maſteſty before his Enlargement. The ſame Term Sir *John Elliot's* Counſel, and thoſe for the reſt argued againſt the Information and the Jurisdiction of the Court: but the Judges hearing both Parties, unanimoſly agreed, that the Priſoners *ought to answer*, and they not putting in any Plea, the laſt day of the Term Judgment was granted againſt them upon a *Nihil Dicit*; and they were Sentenc'd by the Court, *To be Imprisoned during the King's Pleasure: None of them to be delivered out of Prison, till security be given in Court for their Good Behaviour, and Submission and Acknowledgment made of the Offence.* Sir *John Elliot* fined to pay the K. 2000 l. Mr. *Hollis* 1000 Marks, and Mr. *Valentine* 500 l. In like manner all the reſt of the Gentlemen were proceeded againſt, Fines impos'd upon them, which were paid, and the Offenders ſet at Liberty.

Arguments
used in the
Debates.

Many Weighty and Learned Arguments were made in the Caſe of theſe Gentlemen, before Judgment was given, both by the King's Learned Council and their own, who objected all that was material in the matter, ſome of which I take leave to mention briefly, for the better underſtanding the matter in Queſtion.

Obj. Firſt it was Objected, that this was a matter relating to the Privilege of Parliament.

Anſ. In the 8th. of *Eliz.* it was the Opinion of *Dyer*, *Catline*, *Welsh*, *Brown* and *Southcot*, Juſtices, that Offences committed in Parliament are puniſhable out of Parliament, and *Plowden* in the time of Queen *Mary* was fined for words ſpoken in Parliament againſt the Queen's Dignity, and in the 6th. of *Henry VI.* a Judgment given in a Writ of Annuity in *Ireland*, the ſaid Judgment was reverſed in Parliament there. Upon which a Writ of Error was brought in this Court, and the Judgment was reverſed.

Obj. This is an Inferiour Court, and cannot meddle with matters done in Parliament.

Anſ. The Court meddles not with the Judgments of Parliaments, for what is done in Parliament by the Conſent

sent of the whole House, shall not be questioned elsewhere; but particular Offences criminally committed in that House, are punishable here; for if particular Members of a Superior Court offend, they are punishable in an Inferiour Court: As if a Judge commit a Capital Offence in this Court, he may be Arraigned for it at *Newgate*.

Obj. The Parliament Law differs from the Law by which this Court Judgeth in several Cases. As for instance, by the Statute no Man ought to be chosen a Burgeſs for any Town in which he does not Inhabit; but in that the usage of Parliament is contrary.

Ans. The Reply to that was, that they were Judges of Acts of Parliament, and if Information be brought upon the said Statute against such a Burgeſs, the Statute is a good Warrant for this Court to give Judgment against him.

This Year the Queen being frightened, miscarried of a Son, which added to the King's Trouble at Home, tho' Abroad matters succeeded well; for the *French* King being engaged in a *Transalpine* Expedition at *Susa*, for the relief of *Casal*, was so intent upon that War that he was inclinable to make a Peace with *England*, which, by the mediation of the States of *Venice* was obtained upon good Conditions. In the Month of *July* there happened a great Riot in *Fleet-street*, upon the Rescue of one Captain *Bellingham*, which was attempted by some Students in the Temple, wherein some were hurt, and others carried to Prison; but this drew together many of the Gentlemen to rescue the Prisoner, who made a Barricado at *St. Dunstan's Church*, and beat back the Sheriffs Officers and released their Friends; of which the Lord Mayor receiving Information, he and the Sheriffs with a Company of the *Trained Bands* came down to keep the Peace, and disperse them, who were now increased to the number of 500, with Swords and Pistols. The *Ld. Mayor* made Proclamation commanding them to depart, but since he could not prevail, he gave private orders to the Soldiers to fire upon them with Powder only, but the Gentlemen provoked at this, shot Bullets, and fiercely attacked the *Train'd Bands*, killing 5 out-right, and wounding near 100, yet the City Soldiers where so often reinforced, that in the end the Gentlemen were subdued, and one *Ashurst* and *Stamford*, two Captains, with some others, were taken and committed: About a fortnight after they were both

An Insur-
rection in
*Fleet-
Street.*

A. D. 1629. Arraigned at *Guild-Hall*, and being found Guilty of Murder, were condemned and executed at *Tyburn*. *Stamford* was a Relation and Servant to the late D. of *Buckingham*, and great Intercession was made for him; but the K. would not pardon him, saying *he had murder'd a Watchman before, and was pardoned; now he had killed another, and he would take order he should not kill a third.*

A. D. 1630. On the 29th of *May*, this year 1630, God blessed the King with a Son, who on the 27th of *June* was baptized and named *Charles*, the *French King* and the *Prince Elector*, represented by the *Duke of Lenox* and the *Marquess of Hamilton*, being God-fathers; and the *French Queen* represented by the *Dutchess of Richmond*, God-mother. This Ceremony being over, the King hearing there would be a *Diet* this Summer at *Ratisbon*, he sent *Sir Robert Anstruther* his Ambassador to the Emperor, taking that opportunity when the Estates of the Empire were assembled, to treat of his Brother's Restitution to the *Palatinate*. *Sir Robert* went with a handsome Retinue, and was well received, but all the Answer he could get was, 'That the present Affairs of

Prince
Charles
born.

Aid given
to the King
of Sweden.

'Germany, which called them together, were of that importance as would not admit of Foreign Debates; but when leisure served, his Master should have Satisfaction. This cold answer from the Emperor, and the King of Sweden's success in Germany, inclined our King to send him Aids, and to raise Money to equip 6000 Soldiers, by the advice of his Attorney General, revives the old sleeping Statute, that required every Man of Forty Pound a year to take the Order of Knighthood. Accordingly Writs are issued out for that purpose, which being returned, and other Writs by *Destringas* against those which did not appear, there was brought a hundred thousand Pounds into the Exchequer; but this Money not answering the King's occasions, Mr. *Walter Mountague* was sent into France to negotiate the Payment of the moyety of the Queen's Portion, being 400000 Crowns which was behind, and therein was so successful, that the Debt was satisfied without any De-falcation, and these Sums set out the Marquess of *Hamilton* with 6000 Men to assist the King of Sweden, who had made a considerable impression upon the Emperor's Territories.

A. D.
1631.

Lord Aud-
ley Exe-
cuted.

On the 25th of *April*, this year 1631, *Mervin Touchet*, Lord *Audley*, was Indicted and Arraigned for a Rape and Sodomy, before his Peers in *Westminster-Hall*, where divers

divers unnatural and Beastly Enormities being proved against him, he was sentenc'd to be hang'd, but by the King's Clemency it was changed into Beheading, which was executed upon him on *Tower-Hill*. The same Month Sir *Giles Allington* of *Cambridgeshire* was Fined 1200 *l.* for marrying his Niece, the Daughter of one Mr. *Dalton*, to give 20000 *l.* security not to cohabit longer with her, and both to do Penance at *St. Paul's Cross*, and at great *St. Mary's Church* in *Cambridge*, on a day appointed by the High Commission Court. *Leighton* a *Scotchman*, who had writ and published a Book called *Sions Plea*, in which he bitterly inveigh'd against the Queen, and encouraged the People to kill the Bishops, was Sentenc'd to be Whip'd and Stigmatiz'd, to have his Ears cropt, and his Nose slit; which was inflicted upon him. In September 1632, Duke *Hamilton* returns ingloriously out of *Germany*, his Men by Famine, Plague and the Accidents of War, being reduced to so small a number that they were not worth his Care.

A. D.
1631.A. D.
1632.

The King of *Sweden* had many Consultations with the *Palsgrave*, and the *English* Ambassador, about the Affairs of the *Palatinate*, in which the *French* Ambassador, and *de Pauch* the Ambassador of the United Provinces, so effectually employ'd their Mediations, that they had almost brought things to a good Conclusion; but on a sudden all was again rendred desperate by the Death of the King of *Sweden*, which happened at the memorable Battel of *Lutzen*: Which the *Palsgrave* then in a hopeful way of Recovery from a fit of sickness, having notice of, his resentments threw him into a Relapse, and he died on the 29th. of the same Month.

The Pal^{ce}
grave di-
eth.

Now a Cloud begins to gather in *Scotland*, which threatn'd the Ruin of three flourishing Kingdoms, on this occasion. In the Minority of King *James* the Lands of Cathedral Churches and Religious Houses, which had been settled on the Crown by Act of Parliament, were shared among the Lords and Great Men of that Kingdom, by the Connivance of the Earl of *Murray* and other Regents to make them sure to their Faction; and the King endeavouring to recover them by Legal Process, and make some addition to the Revenues of the Crown, Augmentation to the Church, and far more Ease and Benefit to the Common People, these Usurpers chose rather to expose their Country to the danger of publick Ruin, than to part with any of that Power which they exercised over their Vassals, for so they cal-

The cause of
the troubles
in Scot-
land.

A. D.
1632.



The Use of
the Liturgy
Voted in
Scotland.

The Book of
Sports recei-
ved.

led their Tenants, and therefore opposed the King in every thing relating to the Church Affairs. And whereas King *James* designing to bring the *Kirk* of *Scotland*, to an Uniformity with the Church of *England*, had so far proceeded in it, as to settle Episcopacy among them, naming 13 new Bishops, for so many Episcopal Sees as had been anciently in that Church; and had procured an Act to be pass'd at *Aberdeen*, Anno 1616, for composing a *Liturgy* and a Book of Canons, and at an Assembly held at *Perth*, Anno 1618, had obtained an Order for decent Postures in the Service of God, and the religious Observation of Festivals; and would have proceeded further, had not the cause of the *Palatinate* and his breach with *Spain* diverted him: His Son thought himself obliged to finish so good a Work, but deferred it till he went into *Scotland* to be Crowned, which was done at *Edinburgh* on the 18th. of *May* 1632, and then he proposed to the Parliament the Introduction of a *Publick Liturgy*, in which he found a stronger opposition in the Parliament than he had reason to expect, but carried it at last by a great Majority of Voices in that Assembly. After which his Majesty to lead the way to a happy Uniformity between both *Kingdoms*, commanded that the *English Liturgy*, with its usual Ceremonies, should be used in his own Royal Chapel at *Edinburgh*. But the Presbyterian Scots made such a horrible Representation of this Fact to the Common People, telling them, *The Service Book was Popery, and the K's design was to Subject their Kirk to the Superstitious Ceremonies of the Church of England*, that they all resolved to oppose it, and so did the Lords and Gentry, for fear of losing the Lands they unjustly possess'd: which at length kindled a fire in *Scotland*, which also laid hold on *England*, till the Discontented of both Nations work'd themselves into a Rebellion.

Now, as if the Destinies had conspired against the King and the Peace of the Realm, his Majesty was persuaded to renew his Father's Declaration about *Sports upon the Lord's Day*, which was published in the 16th year of his Reign, and solely intended to free the Consciences of his Subjects from that servile Jewish Yoke, which some Divines, about that time endeavoured to introduce, by maintaining the indispensable Morality of the Fourth Commandment. This Book gave great Offence through all *England*, and the more because several Ministers for refusing to read it in their Churches were suspended

pended *ab Officio & Beneficio*, some deprived and more molested with vexatious Prosecutions in the *High Commission* Court. The truth is, the ill reception it had in his Father's time, in common Prudence ought to have stifled it in this Reign; however in time it died of it self, and it had been much better if it had never lived to raise the Noise that was made about it.

A. D.
1633.

The Merchants of *London*, and other parts, complaining their Trade was obstructed for want of good Convoys to secure their Ships against the *Turks*, and other Pirates that infested our Coasts, the King being willing to protect such beneficial Subjects, but having no Money to equip a Fleet, *Noy* Attorney General, having found a Precedent for raising a Naval Levy upon the Subject, by the K.'s Authority only, he unhappily puts that Project into the K.'s head, and backs it by this Reason, *viz.* When a K. of England wants Money to support his own Necessities, or to enlarge his Dominions, he ought to be beholding to his People in Parliament for it; but when the Kingdom is in imminent danger, he may raise Money to prevent by his own Authority, without hazarding its ruin by attending tedious Formalities in raising it otherwise. This Advice was pursued; Writs were sent to all the Port Towns and Maritime Counties in the Kingdom, to set out a certain number of Ships, with Men, Ammunition and Provision; by which the King was quickly provided of a good Fleet, tho' not great enough for the end designed: And these Writs occasion'd sending out the like in 1636. This year was unfortunate to the *Swedes* in *Germany*: General *Arnhem* was forced to retire out of *Bohemia* into *Saxony*, the City of *Ratisbon* was regained by the Imperialists, General *Allringer* was slain near *Landshut*, and the whole Army routed by the King of *Hungary*. In *Ireland*, the *Ld. Deputy Wentworth*, seeing Popery increase for want of Protestant Ministers, and that occasioned by the poor maintenance, on which the generality of the Clergy subsisted, he by the Mediation of Arch-Bishop *Land*, procured the King to restore all the Impropriations that were then in the Crown, to the Church; which, tho' a great Diminution to the King's Revenue, he freely consented to it, being insensible of his Loss, where it redounded to the Propagation of the Protestant Religion. It was now the year 1635, when the K. sent out a gallant Fleet which was fitted out by the Aid of Ship-Money, under the Command of the E. of *Lindsey* Admiral, and the E. of *Essex* Vice-Admiral, who secured the Trade of England

A. D.
1634.Ship Money
advanced.A. D.
1635.

by

A. D.

1635.

The very
old Man

by scowring the Seas of Pirates, and render'd the King's Power formidable to his Neighbours. In September the E. of *Arundel* brought up to London, out of *Shropshire* one *Thomas Par*, as the wonder of his time, who was 160 years of Age, and, in all probability, had survived some years longer, had he not been incommoded by the fatigue of so tedious a Journey, and the change of his wonted course of Dyet.

A new Ld.
Treasurer.

Charles, Prince Elector *Palatine*, comes into England to visit his Uncle, and to consult with him about his Restoration to the *Palatinate*, and a while after his Brother *Pr. Rupert* came also. Since the death of the Lord Treasurer *Sir Richard Weston*, E. of *Portland*, the Treasury was managed by Commissioners, and the K. finding the Inconvenience of it, gave that Office to *Dr. Juxton*, Bishop of *London*, which was an excellent Choice, for whereas most of the Treasurers of later times had rather served themselves in that Office, than the King, raising themselves and Families to great Estates, he thought fit to chuse this Churchman, who having no Family to raise, nor Wife and Children to provide for, might better manage the Treasury to his advantage, than others had done formerly; and so it proved, for by his care the K. began to be Rich, and he was of so well tempered a disposition, that he pleased the whole Nation.

A. D.

1636.

The Judges
opinion a-
bout Ship
money.

This year the King's Naval Preparations were very great, the Fleet consisting of 60 Sail of stout Ships, under the Command of the Earl of *Northumberland*, now made Lord High Admiral of *England*, and as this Navy was greater than the year before, so the Charge of it was much increased, and therefore the last years Writs being only sent to the Maritime Counties, they were now issued out to all the Counties and Places in *England*; and because some refused to pay their Proportions, the King wrote to the Judges for their Opinions in it, who were obliged by their Oaths to direct him in matter of Law, and accordingly they returned this Answer, *May it please your most excellent Majesty, we have, according to your Majesty's Command, severally every Man by himself, and all of us together, taken into serious Consideration, the Case and Question signed by your Majesty, and inclosed in your Letter, and we are of Opinion that when the Good and Safety of the Kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole Kingdom in danger, your Majesty may, by Writ under your Great Seal of England, command all the Subjects of this your Kingdom, at their Charge, to Provide and Furnish such number of Ships with*

with Men, Victuals, Munition, and for such time as your Majesty shall think fit, for the defence and Safe-guard of the Kingdom, from such Peril and Danger: And that by Law your Majesty may compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal and refractoriness. And we are also of Opinion, that in such Case your Majesty is sole Judge both of the Danger, and when, and how it is to be prevented and avoided.

A. D.

1636



John Bramston.

John Finch.

Humphrey Davenport.

John Denham.

Richard Hutton.

William Jones.

George Crook.

Thomas Trevor.

George Vernon.

Robert Berkley.

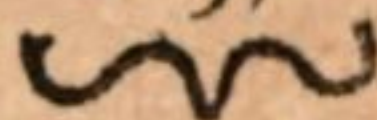
Francis Crawly.

Richard Weston.

Upon these Opinions the King thought he had a sufficient Warrant to proceed against the Defaulters, the chief of which was Mr. *Hambden* of *Buckinghamshire*, who being Summoned required Oyer of the Ship Writs, which being read, he Demurred in Law, and demanded the Opinion of all the Judges upon their Legality. This great Case came to be argued in the *Chequer Chamber*, where the major part of the Judges delivered their Opinions in favour of the Writs, and accordingly the Barons gave Judgment against Mr. *Hambden*; but Mr. *Hambden* perceiving that two of the Judges, viz. *Crook*. and *Hutton* were of the contrary Opinion; he in vain held up the Contest till a Higher Power interposed.

A. D.

1637.



On the 14th. of *January*, Mr. *William Pryn* an Utter Barrister of *Lincolns-Inn*, *John Bastwick* Dr. of *Physick*, and *Henry Burton* a Clergyman, were Censured in the *Star Chamber*: Mr. *Pryn*'s Offence was for Writing and Dispersing Libels against the established Discipline of the Church of *England*; Mr. *Bastwick*'s, was for inveighing against the Proceedings of the High Commission Court against him, before which he had been accused for Writing a Book called *Flagellum Pontificis & Episcoporum Latialum*, and other things which the Court called Libels; That of Mr. *Burton* was for publishing of a Sermon which he preached on the 5th of *November* before, wherein he charged the Prelates for introducing several Innovations into Divine Worship, which was also called a Libel. For these offences the Judgment of the Court was, That they should lose their Ears in the Palace yard at *Westminster*, each of them to pay 5000 l. to the K. and be Imprisoned during life, in three remote Places. All which was thought by sober Men to be too great and scandalous severities, to be inflicted upon Gentle-

Mr. Pryn,
Bakwick
and Bur-
ton Cen-
sured

men

A. D.
1637.

Bp. Willi-
ams's
Troubles.

Bp. Laud
and he mi-
staken in
one ano-
ther.

men of the chiefest and most reputable Functions in the Kingdom, and was a certain Prognostick that that Court was not long lived.

Dr. *Williams*, Bp. of *Lincoln*, and not long since Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, falling first into *Buckingham's* displeasure, and consequently into the *King's*; had afterwards Spies set upon him to effect his ruin, at which the Bp. admiring, he ask'd the E. of *Holland* from whence the displeasure of the Court should proceed? To which the E. replied freely, *That he must expect worse than being dismiss'd the Council, because he was such a Champion for the Petition of Right; and that there was no room at the Table for them that liked it.* The Bp. still declining in Favour was surrounded by a multitude of lesser troubles, and several would needs be pecking at him, tho' it were but to ingratiate themselves at Court. Besides, Bp. *Laud* look'd upon Bp. *Williams* as a Man that gave encouragement to the Puritans, and, that fate loose to the Discipline of the Church of *England*; and Bp. *Williams* thought he drove on too furiously. For *Laud* was a stiff and rigid Asserter of our Churches Discipline, and would not yield in the least Punctilio's by any means, for his Maxim was, *There is no end of yielding.* *Williams* was a Man too that loved the Beauty and Decency of the Church as much as any Man, but was of a more complying temper, and his Policy was, *To let necessity govern in matters of less weight, and to bend his private inclinations in such things to the prevalency of the times.* *Laud* was for Compulsion, and the Authority of the Magistrate against the Puritans; and *Williams* thought Insinuations and Compliances would work the best effect upon them. In short, *Laud* was a Man fit for Primitive Times, but *Williams* to comply with the Weakness of his own; and thus being men both very active in their way, and their Notions of things quite different, it is no wonder they were at variance, and utterly mistaken in one another, while both drove at the same end, the Unity and Peace of the Established Church.

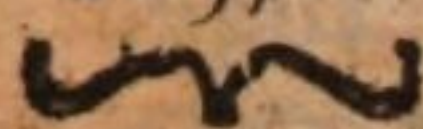
Williams, since his retirement from Court, lived very hospitably at his Palace at *Bugden* in *Lincolnshire*, under variety of troubles, and being often visited by Sir *John Lamb*, Dr. *Sibthorp*, with *Allen* and *Burden* two Proctors: Once at dinner there was much discourse about Nonconformists, and the Bp. knowing these to be all busie men in the prosecution of them, he advis'd them to abate their Severity; for he knew the K. would treat them

them more mildly for time to come, being a considerable Party that much influenced Parliamentary Affairs; adding further, *That the K. Communicated this to him with his own Mouth.* A few years after, *Lamb*, upon some difference with the Bp. informed against him for *revealing the K.'s Secrets*, whereupon an Information was exhibited in the Star Chamber. I will not pretend to abstract the whole Proceedings in so nice a Case, where leaving out any one little Circumstance, may give the whole matter another face than what it really has. He therefore that has so much leisure and curiosity, may have recourse to the Reverend Dr. *Hacket*, Mr. *Rushworth*, and the late Ingenious Abstractor Mr. *Philips*, and I doubt not but he will conclude, that some of our *English* Historians have grossly abused that Reverend Prelate, and that he had very hard measure to be Fined in that Court 10000 l. to the King, to suffer Imprisonment during his Majesty's pleasure, and be suspended by the High Commission Court from all his Dignities, Offices and Functions.

Bp. Williams Censured.

At the same time, there was a great Commotion at *Edinburgh* in *Scotland*, upon Reading the Common Prayer in the great Church, where were present both the Arch-Bps, many of the Privy-Council, and others of the best Quality in *Edinburgh*, besides a great Concourse of ordinary People. Among this Multitude there appear'd no sign of Trouble; but no sooner was the Common Prayer Book opened by the Dean of *Edinburgh*, but a number of the meaner sort with Clapping their hands, and Out-crys, made a great Uproar, and one of them called *Janot Gaddis*, flung a little folding stool whereon she sate at the Dean's head, saying, *Out thou false Thief, dost thou say the Mass at my Lug?* Which was followed with so great a noise and confusion, that none could either hear or be heard. Upon which the Bishop of *Edinburgh* stept into the Pulpit, in hopes to appease the Tumult, by telling them the place was sacred, and ought not to be prophaned by such Lewd and Scandalous Riots; but the Mob was the more enraged, throwing Cudgels, Stools, and any thing that came in their way at his head. Hereupon the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrew's*, Ld. Chancellor, called down the Provost and Bayliffs of the City from their Seats to their assistance, who, with some difficulty, put the unruly People out of the Church and shut the doors. This done, the Dean proceeded in reading the Book, the Multitude in the mean while rapping at the Doors, and pelting the Windows with stones to disturb

Tumults in Scotland.

A. D.
1637.

*The Kirk
establish
their own
Authority.*

*Their way of
promoting
the Cove-
nant.*

disturb the Exercise, but notwithstanding all their Clamours their Service was ended, but not the People's Rage, who waiting the Arch-Bishop's retiring to his Lodging, assaulted him with so much violence, that had he not been rescued by a strong hand, in all probability they had murder'd him. These Tumults and Outrages the Multitude continu'd in every Church, where the Service Book was attempted to be read, upon which the Lords of the Council put out three Proclamations for representing such Disorders, for the time to come, but little obedience was yielded to them; for whereas the first Tumult was raised by the Scum and basest of the People, and was decried by all the Better Sort: The others, that succeeded it, were the Acts of the most substantial Citizens except the Magistrates, who were now grown so Insolent, that they sent Commissioners to the Council Table, requiring the Ministers that were silenc'd for refusing to read the Common-Prayer, might be immediately restored. This was followed by two Petitions to the Council; the first in the name of the *Men, Women, Children and Servants of Edinburgh*, against the *Service Book, and the Book of Canons*, and the second in the name of divers *Noblemen, Gentry, Ministers and Burgeses*, for the same purpose, in direct violation of the King's Authority; and now they begin to invest themselves with *Sovereign Authority*, erecting four principal *Tables or Councils in Edinburgh*, whose Acts were put in practice with strict Obedience over all the Kingdom; the first Act of these Tables was drawing up a *Covenant*, wherein they swore the mutual Defence of one another, against all Persons whatsoever, the King not excepted.

This Covenant was first taken by the *Tables*, and afterwards imposed upon all sorts of People, wherein great *Violence and Menaces* were used in many Places, with *Beating, Tearing of Clothes, drawing Blood and exposing Men to Thousands of Injuries and Reproaches*, at *Edinburgh, St. Andrew's, Aberdeen, Glasco, Lanerick, and many other Places*. All those Professors in Colleges, and Ministers, who out of Conscience to God and Loyalty to the King, did either dissuade others, or could not be perswaded to take it themselves, were put out of their Places by violence, according to this new way of Reformation. The King much displeased at these Proceedings, and their Refusal of that satisfaction which he offered to redress their Grievances, resolved to effect that by Power, which he could not accomplish by Perswasions; but the

the Marquess of *Hamilton*, who was then very prevalent with him, diverted that course by offering his Service to accommodate the Differences: The King, in his Nature always enclined to Lenity, was quickly induced to condescend to this motion, and sent him into *Scotland* in Quality of *High Commissioner*, with large Powers to settle the Peace of that Kingdom. The Marquess at his coming to the K's Palace at *Holy Rood House*, quickly fell upon the main business with the Rioters, to whom he made two Propositions.

A. D.

1637.

First, *What they expected from him to satisfy their Complaints, and next what might be expected from them for their returning to Obedience, and Renouncing and Delivering up their late Covenant*: To which after some time they made Answer: *That they requested a General Assembly of the Church, and then a Parliament, in which two Judicatures they would represent and discuss their Grievances*. To the second they said, *They could not acknowledge that they had ever parted from their Obedience; and for their Covenant, they would rather renounce their Baptism, then abate one Word or Syllable of it*.

The Mar-
quess's
Propositions,
and the
Presbyters
answer.

The Marquess was troubled at this Answer, and thought that the best Expedient to reclaim the People, was to publish a *Proclamation*, which he brought with him, for restoring to the City of *Edinburgh* the sitting of the Session and all Courts of Justice, as a thing that would be very acceptable to the *Judges, Advocates*, and to all Dependents upon the Law, but especially to the City of *Edinburgh*, which complained much of being impoverished by their Absence: Which being done, and the first sitting of the Session appointed to be held on the 3d. of *July*, it gave a general satisfaction; but the heads of the Faction would not receive it as satisfactory, unless *Sir Robert Spotswood*, President of the Session, and *Sir John Hays* Master of the Rolls, were removed from their places, tho' in the end they could find nothing to object against them. Now the Session being settled, the Marquess caused the King's Proclamation to be read at *Edinburgh Cross*; wherein the King took notice that many Disorders had lately happen'd upon the Introduction of the Service Book, Book of Canons, and High Commission Court, which had caused many to fear Innovations in Religion and Law, and therefore assured his Good Subjects, *That he was resolved to maintain the true Protestant Religion, and not hereafter press the use of the Canons and Service Book, nor any thing of that nature, but in*

The King's
Proclama-
tion.

A. D.
1637.

*The Presby-
ters Pro-
testation.*

such a fair and Legal way as shall manifest he never intends Innovation in Religion or Laws. This Proclamation being read, the Confederate Mutineers arraign'd it in a Protestation which they read publickly, importing, That what the King granted them was not sufficient, because it did not wholly abolish the Service Book, nor the High Commission.

The Marques disapproving these proceedings, went immediately to the King, whom he found at Greenwich, and to whom he related all the particular Transactions. The King was offended at their Insolencies, but was perswaded to try a little further, and if it was possible reduce them by fair means; therefore he sent the Marques back with new Instructions, and gave him Order to call a General Assembly, and after that a Parliament; but in his absence the Faction was grown to such an Exorbitant height, that they rejected all his Proposals, and invested themselves with the power of calling an Assembly, by a Book published for that purpose; which gave the Marques the Trouble of another Journey to the King, at which time further Concessions were made to accommodate the Differences; but all to no purpose, for at the Marques's return he found them more insolent than ever. Hereupon he was resolved to try the last Remedy, and published a Proclamation at the Market place to this effect: *That the King did Annul and Rescind all Acts and Proclamations that had been made concerning the Service Book, Book of Canons and High Commission, and the use of them, and that the Marques the King's Commissioner, had a Warrant from him to Summon a free General Assembly to be holden at Glascow the 21st. of November, and a Parliament at Edinborough, the 15th. of May.* And now all sober Men thought, that Malice it self could invent no Pretence to keep the People from being satisfied; but the Lords, Ministers, and others of the Tables made a Protestation against it, and gave a Copy of it to the King's Herald, at the same time the Proclamation was read, which imported, *That what the King granted in this Proclamation, did not free them from their just Fears and Apprehensions, and was not sufficient to Cure the Wounds of the Church and State; and concluded with an Appeal from the Lords of the Council, to the next General Assembly; exhorting all to subscribe their Confession and Covenant.*

*The King's
condescen-
sions.*

*The Assem-
bly met.*

The Marques and the Lords of the Council saw by this Protestation, that the Confederate Presbyterians, endeavour'd all they could to blast the K's good Intentions; and wonder'd extremely at their Appeal from the Council

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Council to the Assembly, which by an Act of the 8th. Parliament of K. James was made High Treason. Several other extrajudicial Acts they made against the Bps. and in the Choice of their Members of the Assembly; but the Marquess had yet a deeper Resentment of their Behaviour in another Case, for the K. having nominated Six Lds. of the *Privy Counsel* to be *Assessors* to him, his Commissioner in that Assembly, they absolutely refused to admit them, or allow their Suffrages, affirming, *That if the King himself were present he should have but one Voice, and that no Negative one neither.* The Marquess concluding from these practices that no good was to be hoped for by continuing this Assembly, he went among them, and said, *You are now about settling the Lawfulness of this Judicature, and the competency of it against Bishops, neither of which I can allow. I am glad I have seen this Assembly met, which was supposed his Majesty never intended; and therefore for the further clearing his intentions, let this Paper, which I deliver to the Clerk to be read, bear Witness.* The Paper was the same in substance with the Declaration for discharging the Service Book. After this the Assembly was dissolved by Proclamation, which was no sooner published, but it was encountered with a Protestation of the Confederates, declaring, *That it is Lawful for them to sit still, and continue the Assembly, and that they would still adhere to all their former Protestations:* and in pursuance of this resolve they declare six former General Councils to be Null, Deprived all the Bishops, some of which they Excommunicated, and shortly after abolished Episcopacy it self, as inconsistent with the Laws of that Church.

The Mar-
quess's
Speech.

The Scots
Protestati-
on.

All things now tending to a Rupture, the Marquess ask'd and obtain'd leave of the King to return into England, and he was no sooner gone but the Confederates drew up a Declaration, address'd to all good Christians in England, wherein were so many undutiful Reflections upon the King's Government, that it was suppressed by Authority: And the K. published a Declaration to satisfy all his faithful Subjects of the Seditious Practices of the *Scottish Presbyterians*, who under pretext of Religion, designed the Subversion of his Royal Authority. This was read in all Parish Churches. *Mary de Medicis* Widow of *Henry IV. K. of France* and Mother to the Q. came now into England, and was honourably entertained in the K's Palace at St. James's; but she perceiving the King was like to be involved in Troubles,

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to reduce his Subjects of *Scotland* to obedience, after some Months stay returned into *Holland*.

The Scot's
prepare for
War.

The *Scots* having run all things into desperation, are now making vigorous Preparations for War. They seiz'd the Castles of *Edinburgh*, *Dunbarton* and all other Places of strength in the Kingdom. They took the King's Arms and Ammunition of *Dalkeith*, and chose *Alexander Lesly*, an old experienc'd Officer to be Captain General of their Armies: The Marquess of *Argyle* took care of the Frontiers against *Ireland*, the Earl of *Montross* had the charge of *Aberdeen*, and Collonel *Monro* was sent to the Borders of *England* to keep quiet there while their Forces were raising.

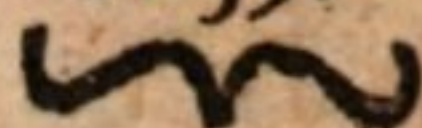
The King likewise made Preparations, and having got his Army together, gave the Command thereof in chief to the E. of *Arundel* as General, to whom the E. of *Essex* was Lieutenant General, and the E. of *Holland* was General of the Horse. The rest of the Officers were Persons of the best Quality, and the Army in general consisted of the Flower of the Nobility, Gentry, and Commonalty of the Kingdom. With this Army the K. encamp't within 2 miles of *Berwick* on the 28th. of *May*, and General *Lesley* at *Dunce*, on the other side *Tweed*, within 4 miles of *Berwick*. The Marquess of *Hamilton* was sent with a Fleet of Ships well furnish'd with Soldiers to *Leith*, to reduce *Edinburgh*, and when he came to the Road before the Town called the *Frith*, he landed some of his Men to refresh them, where he received a visit from his Mother, a Rigid Covenanter, which made many of the Kings Friends suspect his integrity, and the *Scots* upon the shoar that saw the Interview, were heard to say, *They knew the Son of such a Mother would not hurt 'em*. At last all this noise without a Blow struck on either side, ended in a Treaty, and that in a Pacification.

A Peace
concluded.

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A Sea Fight
betwixt the
Spaniards
and Hol-
landers.

The great Affair of this Summer 1639, was a Sea Fight between the two Fleets of *Spain* and *Holland*, in the *Downs*, which I shall now relate in the words of Sir *John Pennington*, the King's Vice-Admiral, who rode there at the same time. The *Spanish* Fleet consisting of near 70 Sail, bound for *Dunkirk* in *Flanders*, with the Recruit of Men and Money for that Garrison, met with the Vice-Admiral of the *Holland* Fleet, consisting of 17 small Ships, and began a very hot Dispute on *Septemb.* the 7th. till the *Hollanders* finding themselves too weak, got to Windward, made their way towards *Dunkirk*, continually firing to give notice to their Admiral, who lay



lay before that Town with the rest of the Fleet. In the first Encounter the *Hollanders* had two Ships sunk, and the next morning by 2 of the Clock the Admiral came up, and joining with the Vice-Admiral between *Dover* and *Calais*, they set upon the *Spaniards* and continued a very sharp Fight till past noon, wherein they had much the better, having taken two *Galleons*, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, tho' they were but 25 Sail to the *Spaniards* 60 and upwards, and at length forc'd them upon the *English* Coast near *Dover*, where they left them and bore up to the Coast of *France*, not willing to attempt any thing in the King of *England's* Dominions. The *Spaniards* being now got under the *English* Protection, began to consider how they should get rid of the *Hollanders*, and the *Spanish* Resident importuned the King that he would keep the *Hollanders* under Subjection two Tides, that in the mean time their Ships might have the opportunity of slipping away for *Spain*; but the King being in Alliance with them both, was resolved to stand Neuter; and whereas the *Spaniards* had hired some *English* Ships to transport their Soldiers to *Dunkirk*, the King upon complaint of the *Dutch* Ambassador, strictly commanded that none should take in any *Spaniards*, nor pass beyond *Gravesend* without Licence; but the *Spaniards* and the *Hollanders* plotting a great while counter to one another, the *Spaniard* at length out-witted his Enemy, and by a Stratagem in the night sent away 14 *Dunkirk* Ships, and in them 4000 Men.

In the beginning of *October* the King sent the Earl of *Arundel* to *Don Antonio D' Oquendo*, the *Spanish* Admiral, desiring him to retreat with the first fair Wind, because he would not that they should engage within his Seas; but the Wind continued Easterly so long, that the *Hollanders* got daily Supplies from *Zealand*, so that at length their Fleet encreased to 100 Sail, with which they so hem'd in their Enemies 4 days together within Pistol shot, that at last it turn'd to an Engagement. On the 11th. of the same Month *Van Trump*, the *Dutch* Admiral charged the *Spaniards* so furiously with his great Guns and Fire-ships, that they all cut their Cables, and being 53 in number, 23 of them run aground, and were stranded in the *Downs*, 3 of which were burnt 2 sunk, and 2 were stav'd to pieces on the shoar. One of these was a great *Galleon* of *Gallicia*, commanded by *Don Antonio de Castro*, which had 50 Brass Guns: The remainder of the 23 stranded and deserted by the *Spaniards*.

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niards, were man'd by the *English*, to preserve them from the *Dutch*. The other 30 *Spanish* Ships, under the command of the Admirals *Don Antonio D' Oquendo* and *Lopez* Admiral of *Portugal* put to Sea, and kept in close order till a Fog made them separate; which the *Dutch* taking advantage of, interpos'd between the Admirals and their Fleet, and fought them stoutly till the Fog cleared up, and the Admiral of *Portugal* being attack'd by two *Dutch* Fire-Ships, began to flame, which *D' Oquendo* perceiving, he made Sail for *Dunkirk* with the Admiral of that place, and a few Ships more, for most of the rest were taken. Of these 30, 11 were sent into *Holland*, 3 perished upon the Coast of *France*, 1 near *Dover*, 5 were sunk in the Engagement, and only 10 escaped.

The Scots
break the
Peace.

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The Scots having broke the Articles of Peace, and making Preparation for War, the King did the like, and his Treasure being exhausted by the last Summer's Expedition, a Parliament was intimated to be held on the 13th, of *April* 1640; but because the King's affairs would not admit of so much Delay, as was usual in raising Money by Parliament, he borrowed Money of his richest Subjects, who all freely contributed to his Assistance according to their several abilities. The Scots, in the mean time sent an Address to the King, that things might be amicably composed without a War; but still continued to raise Men, sent for Commanders out of *Holland*, and other Places; and that which more directly discovered that they only intended to abuse the King, by pretending to Peace, was a Letter; written by the Lord *Lowden* (one of their Commissioners in the Treaty) to the *French* King to lend them Assistance; the Original coming to the King's hands, and being known to be his Character, he was committed to the Tower. Cardinal *Richelieu* was also a great Fomenter of this War, and sent over his Chaplain and Almoner Mr. *Thomas Chamberlain*, a Scotch Man, to assist the Covenanters in advancing the Quarrel, and exasperating the Malecontented against the King. The Pope's Agent and one *Reed* were also busie sticklers, besides many Scotch Jesuits that were sent into *England* to blow the Coals. These secret Practices were discovered in a great part by *Andreas Habernsfield*, a Nobleman of *Bohemia*, that came into *England* with the *Palsgrave's* Widow, who also made it apparent that many of the Nobility of *England* and chief Favourites at Court, as the Earl and Countess of *Arundel*, Secretary

Cardinal
Richelieu
an Ince n-
dary.

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tary *Windebank* and Mr. *Endymion Porter*, were acquainted with, and consenting to these Transactions; but the King out of a Principle of good nature would not give credit to that report. About this time died in *London*, *John Spotswood* Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, Primate and Chancellor of all *Scotland*, and was buried in *Westminster Abbey*. As also that Grave and Learned Judge Sir *Thomas Coventry*, Privy Counsellor to the King, and 15 years Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. A Man of an incomparable Character, and so uncorrupt in the Administration of Justice, that Malice itself stands mute in the blemish of his Fame; Sir *John Finch*, Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, succeeded him in the Office of Keeper of the Great Seal.

April the 13th. the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and *Wentworth* Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, being created E. of *Strafford*, took his place in the House of Lords, and gave them an Account of his Service in *Ireland*, where he had procured a Grant of 4 Subsidies for the maintenance of an Army against the *Scots*. Mr. *Glanvil* was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, and generally the Members of that House were such good Men, that there were great Probabilities of a happy Union and Agreement betwixt the King and this Parliament; but in the midst of these Expectations, some ill instruments at Court, and particularly Sir *Henry Vane*, Secretary of State, out of a grudge to the E. of *Strafford* for being made Baron of *Raby*, to which *Vane* aspir'd, he undermin'd all the Earls endeavours in keeping up a right understanding between the King and Parliament; and to effect his purpose, insinuated on the one side the dangers to be feared from the Army raised in *Ireland*: To others, the Justice of the *Scots* Pretensions, and the Good that might be obtain'd by favouring them at this conjuncture; and on the other side represented things to the K. in the worst sence that could be put upon them, and that so slyly and cunningly, that his Artifice was not easily discoverable. The matter of Supply gave occasion to heighten Discontents, for before the Commons would enter upon that Debate, they desired the King first to give them security for Redress of their Grievances: In clearing the Subjects Property: Establishing Religion, and Confirming the Privileges of Parliament. The House of Lords more sensible of the King's wanting a Supply, after many Conferences had disposed the Commons to grant it; but the Question being ask'd in that House, how much

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And dis-
solved.

Lilburn
sets up for
a Reformer.

The Inso-
lency of the
Scots.

would answer the present Emergencies of State? Secretary *Vane* demanded 12 Subsidies, which raised such a heat among them, as rendered all things desperate; so that on the 4th. of *May*, by Unanimous Consent of the King's Council, the Parliament was Dissolved.

The dissolution of it being ascribed to the Advice of Dr. *Land* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, a Paper was Posted up in the old Exchange by *John Lilburn* a Soap-Boiler, encouraging the Apprentices to rise and rife his Palace at *Lambeth* on *Munday* following. Accordingly, in the dead of Night, 500 of the Rabble beset his House, and strove to force an entrance; but his Friends and Servants being provided to entertain them, they were beaten off without doing any further Mischief than discovering their Malice. The King being disappointed of a Supply by dissolving the Parliament, sent to borrow a Sum of the City of *London*, but they refused him: however, the Gentry supplied him as far as they were able, and he quickly raised an Army, whercof the Earl of *Northumberland* was made General, the Earl of *Strafford* Lieutenant General, and the Lord *Conway* General of the Horse. *Northumberland* being sick, the King went against them in Person, as soon as the Queen, then great with Child, was delivered of her Son *Henry* at *Oatland's* on the 20th. of *June*, 1640. The Lord *Conway* marched with the Van before the rest, and the Scots being entered into *England*, he met and encountred them at *Newborn* upon *Tine*, but was worsted, not without Reflections on his Conduct. Then the Scots without Opposition marched into *Newcastle*, from whence they held such a Correspondence with some of the *English* Nobility and Gentry, that the King was betrayed in all his Councils, and circumvented in all his Actions. Hereupon the Scots grow Insolent, and declare in a printed Pamphlet that they will not lay down their Arms, till the Reformed Religion was settled in both Nations, and the Authors and Abettors of their troubles were brought to publick Justice in Parliament. These Abettors they declar'd were the Prelates, but more particularly the Arch Bishop of *Canterbury* and the Earl of *Strafford*. They pretended, at their march into *England*, to take nothing from any of the *English* but for ready Mony or Bonds; but as soon as they were seated in *Newcastle*, they seized 4 Ships laden with Corn, imposed a Tax of 350l. per diem upon the Bishoprick of *Durham*, 300 l. per diem upon the

the County of *Northumberland*, and at length raised it to 850 l. a day

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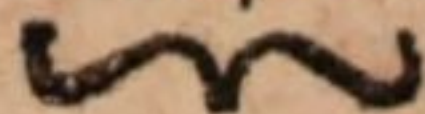
The King, in great Perplexity, resolves to summon a Council of his Peers, to meet at *York*, to advise what was fittest to be done on this extraordinary occasion, and Writs were issued out accordingly; but this displeased those that favour'd the *Scots*, whose chief designs aim'd at the calling a *Parliament*, which they fear'd the meeting of the Peers might prevent: Therefore the Earls of *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Warwick*, *Mulgrave*, *Bullingbrook*, *Bristol*, and the Lords *Say*, *Brook*, *Paget*, *Mandevill*, and the Lord *Edward Howard*, presented a Petition to the K. against it, and requested the Calling of a *Parliament*: To which many Citizens of *London*, who combined with these Lords and the *Scots*, did so influence the Common Council, that a Petition was framed in the name of all the Citizens of *London*, for the same purpose as that of the Lords was, and so did the *Scots* also. The K. saw by these Applications what endeavours were used to weaken him in the Opinion of the People, and therefore when he met the Lords at *York*, and finding they also unanimously advised him to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and to summon a *Parliament* to meet at *Westminster*, he complied with their advices, appointed Commissioners to manage the Treaty, and issued out Writs for a *Parliament* to sit in *November* 1640, and after a Truce was concluded, adjourned a further Treaty with the *Scots* to *London*. And here I must not omit, that the E. of *Montross*, who was one of the forwardest in all the *Scotch* Commotions, finding that in the Treaty at *Rippon*, his Countrymen slighted the King and endeavoured to set up a kind of arbitrary despotical Government, he found means to write a Letter to the King, assuring him of his *Fidelity*, and a ready Obedience to his Commands. This Letter was pick'd out of the King's Pocket, by some of the *Scotch* in the King's Bed-Chamber, and a Copy of it sent to General *Lesley*, who told him of it, saying, *He had known the Heads of Princes toss'd for lesser matters*. The Earl required a Proof of the Charge; and *Lesley* produced a Copy of his Letter to the King; to which the Earl boldly answered, *That he did not understand that Writing to the King was Corresponding with an Enemy, but rather what became the duty of a Loyal Subject to his Sovereign*: Which answer so amazed the General, that he did not think it fit to pursue

Several Petitioners
for a Parliament.

The Earl of
Montross's Conversion.

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1640.



A Parlia-
ment As-
sembly.

The Effects
of unpre-
meditated
Counsels.

purſue the matter further, for fear of a Revolt in the Army, wherein *Montroſs* had a conſiderable Party.

On the day prefixt, the Parliament aſſembled, and great were the Peoples expectations from it. No Age ever produced Men of greater Abilities, than thoſe that ſate in this Parliament, or ought to have been more concerned in rend'ring their King and Country happy, and without doubt had done it, if particular and divided intereſts, Piques and private Animofities, had not, by a Chain of concurring Accidents, ripened the Kingdom for Deſtruction. At their firſt ſitting down a Scene of Grievances, ſome of which were Real, and others Fictitious, was laid open, and all imaginable Arts imploied to paint them out in the moſt frightful Figures. The many Cruelties and Illegal Practices of the *Star Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Court*, that had alienated the People's minds from a due Reſpect and Honour to the *Hierarchy*, were now inſiſted on to throw down thoſe two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, which very few, or none, were for ſupporting, they were now grown ſo odious; but yet little did they think that were moſt zealous, in removing thoſe intolerable Oppreſſions, that there was a Party (yet unknown) lurking among them, that at the ſame time were ſhouldering the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Lords, and rooting Episcopacy out of the *English Church*, to make way for the Exaltation of a *Scotch Presbytery*. It was not a few in either Houſe, but many great Patriots that concurr'd in declaiming againſt Grievances, all which ſuffered afterward on the King's ſide, and generally the Men that took the King's part in the ſucceeding War were thoſe that appeared with the greateſt Courage, to redreſs things that were apparently injurious to the common Good, and made ſharpeſt Speeches againſt Miſmanagements; the Intentions of theſe Gentlemen were certainly Juſt and Noble, and equally Advantageous to King and People; tho' at firſt their Zeal againſt Abuses would not ſuffer them to ſee the ill Deſigns of ſome Antimonarchiſts that mingled with them, to accompliſh their own Ends in the Ruin of the King and Kingdom.

The *Scotch* Commiſſioners were now come to *London*, in order to conclude ſome particulars that were undetermined at *Rippon*. Here they had private Conferences with their Friends of the Houſe of Commons, betwixt whom it was agreed, that the E. of *Strafford* ſhould be immediately Impeached, at his firſt coming to the
House

House of Peers, which had a deeper reach in it than many yet either are not, or will not, be sensible of: For by being before-hand with him, they prevented an Impeachment he had ready against Mr. *Pym* and other Leading Members of both Houses, for holding Correspondence with the *Scots*, who were the declared Enemies of the Kingdom. Here we might admire at the strange humour of the Times, and some Men's Destinies: *Wentworth* had made a great Figure in this King's first three Parliaments, and no Man appeared with greater Zeal against Ship-Money, Tonnage and Poundage, and other Illegal Exactions imposed on the People. He and Dr. *Land*, Lord Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, together with *James* Marquess of *Hamilton*, were the first, and had the greatest hand in perswading the King to assemble this Parliament; and yet all lost their heads by it, tho' not at the same time.

*The Fate of
three Great
Men.*

The E. of *Strafford*, tho' a Gentleman of extraordinary Parts, neglected the advice of his Friends, who perswaded him against coming to this Parliament. 'Twas easie to foresee there was something designed to his Prejudice, and he had two plausible Pretences for his Absence, the necessity of his Presence in *Ireland*, where he was Lord Lieutenant; or in the North of *England* where he was Lieutenant General of the Army raised against the *Scots*. But being too Confident, not only of the King's Favour and his Interest among the Lords, and to use his own words, that an *Humble, Honey Speech* might prevail with the House of Commons; he came to Town late at night and took his place next morning in the House of Lords, with an Intention to ask leave that very day to go down to the House of Commons upon some extraordinary Business, as has been hinted at before, and to clear himself of the Misrepresentations he lay under.

Mr. *Pym*, who had formerly threatned him with the loss of his Head, for deserting his Party, hearing he was come, mov'd to have the Doors lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, lest any Member should give intelligence of what they were upon: Which being done, he accused the Earl of *Strafford* of High Treason, and an Impeachment being drawn up, he went immediately to the House of Lords and delivered it in these Words, *My Lords, the Knights, Citizens and Burgeses now assembled for the Commons in Parliament, have received Informations of divers Traiterous Designs and Practices of a great Peer of this House, and by vertue of a Command from them,*

*The E. accus'd by
Mr. Pym.*

A. D. 1640. *I do here in the name of the Commons, now assembled in Parliament, and in the name of all the Commons of England, accuse Thomas Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland of High Treason; and they have Commanded me further to desire your Lordships, that he may be sequestred from Parliament, and forthwith Committed to Prison; they have further Commanded me to let you know, that they will, within a very few days, resort to your Lordships, with the particular Articles and Grounds of this Accusation. Hereupon the Earl was Committed to safe Custody to the Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, and at the same time Mr. Pryn, Burton, Bastwick and Dr. Williams Bishop of Lincoln, were released from Imprisonment, and Sir Francis Windebank Secretary of State, fled into France.*

Ship-Money voted Illegal.

The Arch-Bishop and Sir John Finch accused.

After this, the Commons without hearing the King's Council, or the Judges Reasons for their Opinions voted Ship-Money Illegal, and all proceedings in the Case at the Council Table, Star Chamber and Courts of Justice to be Null and Void; they also proposed a Charge of High Treason to be drawn up against the Lord Keeper Finch, and ten of the Judges. Then they resolved upon a Bill for a *Triennial Parliament*, and received many Petitions, among the rest, one from Sir John Pennington against Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Government of it by Bishops, subscribed by Fifteen Hundred Citizens of London. Next, they Voted down the Authority of the Convocation in making Canons without the Parliament, and the Canons themselves; and Mr. Hollis carried up to the Lords House, an Impeachment of High Treason against the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, who upon reading the Scots Charge against him was committed to the Black Rod, where he lay Ten Weeks before any particular Charge was brought against him. The Lord Keeper Finch was the next great Delinquent, against whom the Commons intended to proceed, of which having notice, he moved by his Friends in that House, that he might be admitted to clear himself before them, of several imputations that lay upon him: Which the Commons agreed to, upon which he made an Elegant Speech, tending to his own Vindication in every particular; but notwithstanding all he could say, they Voted him a Traitor; for refusing to read the Remonstrance against the Lord Treasurer Weston, when the Parliament desired him. 2dly. For soliciting, perswading and threatening the Judges to deliver their Opinions for the Levying of Ship-Money. 3dly.

3dly. For several unlawful Actions done in the Forest matters. 4thly. For ill Offices done in moving the K. to dissolve the last Parliament. The next day he was accused before the Lds. but he wisely withdrew himself into *Holland*, thereby escaping the danger that threatned him, and Sir *Edward Littleton* was made Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of *England*.

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1640.

Upon Mr. *Pym*'s carrying up an Impeachment and Articles against the E. of *Strafford*, and young Sir *Henry Vane*'s carrying up another against his Grace the Arch-Bp. of *Canterbury*, they were both taken from the Black Rod and Committed to the *Tower*. The Scotch Commissioners now labour'd hard to set up their Presbyterian Discipline in *England*, and made a strong Party in the House of Commons for the utter Abolition of Episcopacy: Among which *Nathanael Fiennes*, younger Son of the Ld. *Say*, was their great Spokesman; but the Lds. *Faulkland*, *Digby* and many others of great Learning and Integrity, prevailed so far by their solid Reasons, that they yet preserv'd the Order in being, tho' their Power was much lessened by a Vote in the House of Commons, Preparatory to a Bill, viz. That no Bishop should have any Vote in Parliament, nor any Judicial Power in the Star-Chamber, nor have anything to do in Temporal Affairs; and that no Clergyman should be in Commission of the Peace.

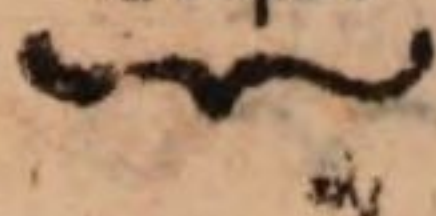
A stroke at
the English
Clergy.

The next thing the House of Commons went upon, was the Tryal of the E. of *Strafford*, which began on the 22d. of *March*, 1640, at which time he was brought from the *Tower* by a strong Guard into *Westminster-Hall*, whither the King, Queen and Prince came about 9 a Clock, but kept themselves private within their Closets, so that the King saw and heard all that pass'd, but was seen by none. The Earl of *Arundel* sat as Lord High Steward of *England*, and at the Earl's being brought to the Bar, he Commanded the Prosecutors to proceed. Mr. *Pym* being Chairman of the Committee of Commons that were appointed to prosecute, delivered in the Articles of Impeachment following, viz. 1. That *Thomas Earl of Strafford* hath Traiterously endeavoured to subvert the Fundamental Laws and Government of the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and instead thereof to introduce an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government by Law, which he hath declared by Traiterous Words, Councils and Actions, and by giving his Majesty Advice by force of Arms to compel his Loyal Subjects to submit thereunto. 2. That he hath Traiterously assumed

The Earl
of Strafford's Try-
al.

A. D.

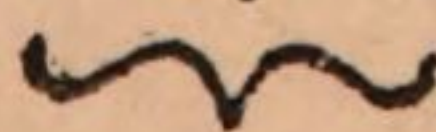
1640.



assumed to himself Regal Power and Authority over the Lives, Liberties, Persons, Lands and Goods of his Majesty's Subjects in *England* and *Ireland*, and hath exercised the same Tyrannically to the subversion of many, both of Peers and other his Majesty's Liege People. 3. That the better to enrich and enable himself to go through with his Traiterous designs, he hath detained a great part of his Majesty's Revenue, without giving Legal Account, and hath taken great Sums out of the Exchequer, converting them to his own use, when his Majesty was necessitated for own his urgent occasions, and his Army had been a long time unpaid. 4. That he hath Traiterously abused the Power and Authority of his Government, to the encreasing, countenancing and encouraging of Papists, that so he might settle a mutual dependance and confidence betwixt himself and that Party, and by their help prosecute and accomplish his Malicious and Tyrannical Designs. 5. That he hath maliciously endeavoured to stir up Enmity and Hostility between his Majesty's Subjects of *England* and those of *Scotland*. 6. That he hath Traiterously broken the great Trust reposed in him by his Majesty, of Lieutenant General of his Army, by wilfully betraying divers of his Majesty's good Subjects to Death, his Army to a Dishonourable Retreat by the *Scots* at *Newburn*, and the Town of *Newcastle* into their hands, to the end that by the effusion of Blood, by Dishonour, and so great a loss of *Newcastle*, his Majesty's Realm of *England* might be engaged in a National and Irreconcilable Quarrel with the *Scots*. 7. That to preserve himself from being Questioned for these and other his Traiterous Courses, he laboured to subvert the *Rights of Parliaments*, and the ancient Course of Parliamentary proceedings, by false and malicious slanders to incense his Majesty against Parliaments, by which Words, Councils and Actions he hath traiterously, and contrary to his Allegiance, laboured to alienate the hearts of the King's Liege People from his Majesty, to set a division between them, and to ruin and destroy his Majesty's Kingdoms; for which they Impeach him of High-Treason against our Sovereign Lord the King, his Crown and Dignity.

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These Articles were more particularly branched into one and Thirty, which being read, and the Earls Answer to them, took up the time till Two a Clock in the Afternoon, at which hour the Court rose, and the Earl was remanded to the *Tower*, with order to be there a-

gain

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gain at Eight the next morning ; which being come, Mr. *Pym* aggravated the Charge which was read the day before, saying, ' It was a Treason beyond the reach of words to expresse the heinousness of it, that a native Subject and a Peer of *England*, the Prime Governor of *Ireland*, the Commander of his Majesty's Forces, and a Protestant in Religion, should in such an Impious manner abuse his Majesty's Favours and Goodness, and put all his Dominions into hazard ; for which no punishment could be thought great enough to expiate his Crimes. The Earl with great Moderation in his own Defence, recounted the Services he had done for the King and Crown of *England*, and as to *Ireland*, there had been more Parliaments in that Kingdom since his Government, than in Fifty Years before ; that he had opposed divers Projects and Monopolies, and improved the King's Revenue from 50000 *l.* to 120000 *l. per an.* That he had restored the Church's Rights, suppressed the Outlaws ; establish'd Obedience to Royal Authority, and restrain'd the Tyranny and Usurpations of the great Ones over meaner People.

Mr. *Pym's*
Speech.

The Earls
Answer.

The Prose-
cutors.

Then the Tryal proceeded from day to day upon every Article *gradatim*, being managed against him by Mr. *Jeffery Palmer*, Mr. *John Maynard*, Mr. *Bulstrode Whillock*, Mr. *John Glyn*, the Lord *George Digby*, Mr. *Oliver St. John*, Sir *Walter Earl*, Mr. *John Selden*, Mr. *John Hambden* and Mr. *Stroud*, who laid a great stress upon Sir *Henry Vane's* Information, who accused the Earl for advising the King in Council to an Offensive War, and to bring over the Army out of *Ireland* to reduce this Kingdom ; but being now examined in Court, Sir *Henry* Deposed he heard the Earl say such or the like words. Now this Article contributing more to the undoing this great Minister than all the rest, the Lords were strict in examining it. The Lord *Savile* desired Sir *Henry* to be positive, whether the Earl said *This* or *That* Kingdom, adding withal, *That it was very hard to Condemn a Man upon such Nice and Petty Circumstances.* The Earl of *Southampton* desired to know whether Sir *Henry Vane* would Swear these words positively, or not ? Sir *Henry* said, *Positively either them or the like.* To which the Earl replied, *Under favour, Sir, those or the like are not positive.* The Earl of *Clare* desired to know what could be meant by *this Kingdom*, for my part, says he, I think the word *This* relates to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, that Kingdom being only mentioned in the foregoing discourse ; and that

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The Article a mistake.

that which the rather enclined him to be of that Opinion, was because by no Grammatical Construction it could be gathered from his words, that he meant to reduce *England*, which was not in disobedience to his Majesty, and therefore could have no relation to it. The truth is, that the whole seems to be a Mistake, being only words contain'd in Mr. Secretary *Vane's* Notes, said to be spoken at the Council Table, and naturally refer to the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and not to *England*; the thing (as was said before) then under debate, being how to reduce *Scotland*: And tho' Secretary *Vane* swore to the Truth of his Notes; yet it was after such a manner as left the matter still more *Dubious*: And tho' he had sworn more positively, *It was but the Testimony of one Witness, he a Profest Enemy, and the whole contradicted by four Lords who were then present in Council, and who at the Tryal declared upon their Honours that they did not remember that they heard the Earl of Strafford speak these words.* However, the Prosecutors concluded the Charge, that the words were so monstrous that to aggravate them was to abate their malignity, and therefore would leave them to the Judgment of the Lords in their own Dress, and so proceed to the rest.

Strafford's concluding Speech.

Certainly there never was a more solemn Tryal than this, whether we consider the Accusers, or the Person accused, the Accusation or the Defence; for as in every thing else, so more particularly in this, The Earl of *Strafford* express'd a wonderful Presence of Mind, and a vast compass of Thought, with such various and moving Flights of Eloquence, as came nothing short of the most celebrated Pieces of Antiquity: which manifestly appeared in his summing up the long Speeches of the Prosecutors, and the extemporary Answers he made to every one of the Articles against him, with this *Pathetic* conclusion. 'My Lords, said he, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the Interest of these dear Pledges a St. in Heaven has left me. At this word he stopt, pointing to his Children that stood by him, and dropping some Tears went on. What I forfeit for my self is nothing, but that my indiscretion should extend to Posterity wounds me to the very Soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now my Lords for my self, I have by the Blessing of God been taught, that the Afflictions of this present Life, are not to be compared to that eternal weight of

of

‘ of Glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so,
 ‘ my Lords, even so with all Tranquillity of mind I
 ‘ freely submit my self to your Judgments: And whe-
 ‘ ther that Judgment be of Life or Death, *Te Deum*
 ‘ *laudamus.*

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The Earl having ended, Mr. Glyn and Mr. Pym spent some time in repeating the Charge, Article by Article, and endeavoured by Rhetorical Declamations, to render his Offences as Odious as Art and Ill Will could make them. By the Earl's modest Behaviour he had exceedingly won upon the good Opinion of the Lords and many of the Commons, and by the Clearness of his Answers to the several parts of his Charge, his Crimes appeared not to be comprehended under the *Letter of any Statute declaratory of Treason*, and the Prosecutors perceiving that the Judgment of the Lords, would not answer their expectation, they urged that tho' he was not guilty of Treason by the Statute of the 25 of Ed. III.

yet his Crimes were so great, that according to a branch of that Statute, *they ought to be declared Treason by the Parliament*, and accordingly debating this matter in the House, they concluded to draw up a Bill of Attainder against him. The Lords, in the mean time, let the Commons know, that they were resolv'd to hear the Earl's Council *to matter of Law, and then to proceed to give Judgment*: To which the Commons replied, *They would go on with the Bill of Attainder*, and if it should be rejected by the Lords, it might prove of dangerous consequence. Notwithstanding the Lords heard the Earl's Council, and the Commons being displeased at it, went on with their *Bill of Attainder*, which met with great opposition in the House from three great Lawyers, *Selden, Bridgman and Holborn*, who made it appear, *That the Salvo of the Statute of the 25 Ed. III. was repealed, and that no man could be convicted of Treason, but by the Letter of that Statute.* The Lord Digby also, who was one of the fiercest Prosecutors of the Earl, was so well satisfied with his Answers at his Tryal, that seeing the House of Commons were resolved to proceed upon the Bill of Attainder, he could not forbear shewing his Dislike of it in an Excellent Speech to this purpose:

Mr. Speaker,

WE are now upon the point of giving as much as in us lies, the Final Sentence unto Death or Life upon a great Minister of State, and Peer of this Kingdom, Tho-

P

mas

The Lords
and Com-
mons dis-
fer.

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The Lord
Digby's
Speech a-
gainst the
Bill.

mas Earl of Strafford, a name of hatred in the present Age by his practices, and fit to be made a Terror to future Ages by his Punishment. I have had the Honour to be employed by the House in this great business, from the first hour it was taken into Consideration. It was a matter of great Trust, and I will say it with Confidence, that I have not only served the House in it with Industry, but with exact Faithfulness and Secrecy; and as I have hitherto discharged my Duty to this House and my Country in the progress of this great Cause, so I trust I shall do now in the last Period of it to God, and to a good Conscience. I know well, Mr. Speaker, that I am now censured by some, for appearing against the Attainder of the Earl of Strafford now, against whom I have been formerly so Keen, so Active. I have still the same Opinion of him, and confidently believe him to be the most dangerous Minister, and the most unsupportable to free Subjects that can be character'd. I believe his Practices in themselves as high, as tyrannical, as any Subject ever ventured on, and the malignity of them hugely aggravated by those rare Abilities of his, whereof God hath given him the Use, but the Devil the Application. In a word, I believe him still that grand Apostate to the Commonwealth, who must not be pardoned in this World, till he be dispatch'd into the other. And yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch: I protest as my Conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off. I make a distinction between a Prosecutor and a Judge. It's honest and noble to be Zealous in the Discovery of Truth, but as Judges we ought to be very calm and cautious: For in cases of Life, Judges are God's Stewards of the Party's Blood, and must be accountable for every drop of it. I was once, you know, of opinion that he ought to be accused of Treason, and had the same reason remained in that force of belief with me, which till very lately did, I should not have been tender in his Condemnation; but to deal plainly with you, Sir, that ground of our Accusation, that spur to our Prosecution, and the reason which should be the Basis of my Judgment of the Earl of Strafford as to Treason, in my understanding is utterly vanished. Whilst I was a Prosecutor and under Tye of Secrecy, I might not discover any weakness of the Cause, which now as a Judge I must. The first time Mr. Secretary Vane was examined as to the Irish Army, he said positively, I cannot charge him with that, and upon his second Examination made the same answer, and here we thought we had done with him; but upon his third Examination, he deposes these words to have been said by the Earl of Strafford to his Majesty;

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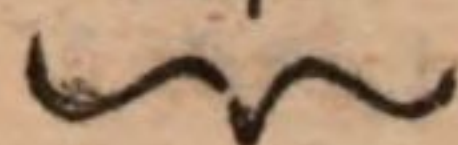
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jeſty; You have an Army which you may imploy here to reduce (or ſome word to that ſenſe) this Kingdom. Now, tho' I would not have this driven to aſperſe Mr. Secretary, yet this may be inferr'd from it, that he who twice upon Oath, having time to recollect himſelf, could not remember any thing of ſuch a buſineſs, might well a third time miſ-remember ſomething. And thus, Mr. Speaker, I have faithfully given you an Account, what it is that hath blunted the edge of the Hatchet or Bill with me towards my Lord Strafford. I profeſs I have no Notion of any bodies Intents to ſubvert the Laws, Treasonably, or by Force, and this deſign of Force not appearing, all his other wicked practices cannot amount ſo high with me; but had that of the Irish Army been proved, it would have diffuſed a complexion of Treason over all, it would have been a Wyth indeed to bind all thoſe other ſcattered Branches as it were into a Faggot of Treason. I do not ſay but others may think him worthy of Death, and juſtly direct us to enact that they ſhall be Treason for the future; but God keep me from giving Judgment of Death on any Man, and of Ruin to his Innocent Poſterity, upon a Law made à Poſteriori. Let this mark be ſet on the Door where the Plague is, and then let him that will enter, die. I know Mr. Speaker, that the Parliament have a double Power of Life and Death, Judicial and Legiſlative, the meaſure of the one is what is Legally Juſt, and the other what is Prudentially and Politickly Fit, for the Good and Preſervation of the whole; but theſe two, under favour, muſt not be confounded in Judgment. We muſt not piece up a want of Legality with matter of Convenience. Therefore my humble advice is, that laying aſide this Bill of Attainder, we may think of ſome other way, ſaving only Life, that may ſecure the State from my Lord of Strafford, without endangering it by diſviſion concerning his Punishment; but if this may not prevail, let every man lay his hand upon his heart, and ſadly conſider what we are going to do, with a Breath, either Juſtice on the one ſide, or Murther heightened and aggravated to its utmoſt extent on the other; for as the Caſuiſts ſay, that he who lyes with his Siſter commits Inceſt, but he that marries his Siſter ſins higher by applying God's Ordinance to his Crimes: So doubtleſs he that commits Murther with the Sword of Juſtice heightens that Crime to the utmoſt: Therefore let every Man clear his heart from all Paſſion: Away with perſonal Animofities: away with all Flatteries to the People, in being ſharper againſt him becauſe he is odious to

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them, Away with all Fears lest by sparing of his Blood they may be incensed: Away with all such considerations as that it is not fit for a Parliament, that one accused by it of Treason should escape with Life: Let not former Vehemence of any against him, nor fear from thence, that he cannot be safe while that Man lives, be an Ingredient in the Sentence of any one of us. Of all these Corruptions of Judgment, Mr. Speaker, I do before God discharge my self to the utmost of my Power; and do, with a clear Conscience wash my Hands of this Man's Blood, by this solemn Protestation, that my Vote goes not to the taking off the Earl of Strafford's Life.

*The Mobili-
ty are raised*

This Speech gave great Offence to all that designed the Earl's Death, who took the Names of all the Dissenters upon a Division of the House when the Bill passed, and dispersed them among their party in the City, who came in great Triumph to *Westminster* to clamour for Justice; and in the *Old Palace Yard*, all that were against the Bill were posted up to be exposed to the Fury of the ungovern'd Multitude, who were, at this time, so mad and violent, that some of them were heard to say, *If they could not have the Earl of Strafford's Life, they would have the King's.* The same Afternoon the Bill of Attainder was carried up to the House of Lords, where it rested many days, and probably had never passed, if many of the Peers had not been so terrified from coming to the House, by the tumultuous Rabble, that they saw their lives in imminent danger; For this was the common Practice of many Members in both Houses, that when any Debate was like to be carried against them in either House, they would send for great numbers of the Mobility with Swords, Staves and Clubs, who would menace, reproach and violently assault such Members as disliked them; and prevail'd so far, by these methods, that many of the Lords were now enclined towards the Earl's Condemnation; whereof the King being informed, he came next day to the House of Peers, and sending for the House of Commons told them, *That in Conscience he could not condemn the Earl of High Treason, and therefore hoped they would find away to satisfy Justice, and their own Fears, without oppressing his Conscience, for tho' he would do great matters to please his People, yet neither Fear, nor any other respect whatsoever should ever make him go against it.* This shewed the King's good Will; But it was believed by many, that the King's appearing so heartily for

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for him, did him no good with the House of Commons, and its confidently said, that the Earl himself was of the same Opinion, and therefore wrote his Majesty a Letter from the Tower, praying him not to intercede for him, and *that his not seeming to be concern'd in it, would be the best method to calm the Rage of his Enemies.* However, you see the King would do it, notwithstanding this Caution; which some of his Friends took for so good News, that they went strait from Westminster to acquaint him with it: Which Strafford received as his Doom, and told them, *The King's kindness had ruined him; and that he had little else to do now but to prepare himself for Death.*

*The Earl's
Friends
mistaken.*

Saturday the 8th. of May the Bill of Attainder pass'd in the House of Lords, tho' with great Difficulty; for of 45 that were present, 19 were against it: Many of the Earl's Friends were forced to be absent for fear of the Tumults, otherwise the Suffrages for him had more than counterpois'd the Votes for his Death. The same day they sent to the King to desire Access to him, who told them they might expect his Answer on Monday. Under this Trouble the King sends on Sunday for the Arch-Bishop of Armagh, the Bishops of London, Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, and desired them, as Casuists to resolve him, *Whether in Justice he ought to pass the Bill against the Earl of Strafford.* All but Williams Bishop of Lincoln, were very tender in this Affair, and told him that he being at the Tryal could best Judge of it, but the Bishop of Lincoln, insisted upon the expediency of his Death, because nothing else would satisfy the enraged Multitude; tho' it is not said that the King was convinc'd by his Arguments. Which the Earl being acquainted with, and that his Majesty was under great perplexity, he sent the King this Letter;

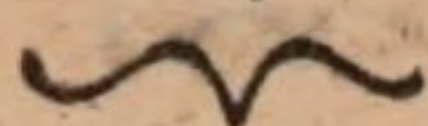
*The Bill of
Attainder
pass'd.*

'SIR, to set your Majesty's Conscience at Liberty,
'I do most humbly beseech you, for the prevention of such mischiefs as may happen by your refusal, to pass the Bill; by this means to remove, praised be God I cannot say this Accursed, but I confess, this Unfortunate Thing out of the way, towards that blessed Agreement, which God I trust shall for ever establish betwixt you and your Subjects. Sir, my consent herein shall more acquit you to God than

*The Earl's
Letter to
the King.*

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‘ than all the World can do besides: To a willing Man
 ‘ there is no injury done. And as by God’s Grace I for-
 ‘ give all the World, with a Calmness and Meekness
 ‘ of Infinite Contentment to my dislodging Soul: So,
 ‘ Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with all
 ‘ Chearfulness imaginable, in the just acknowledge-
 ‘ ment of your exceeding Favours, and only beg that in
 ‘ your Goodness, you will vouchsafe to cast your graci-
 ‘ ous regard upon my poor Son and his three Sisters, less
 ‘ or more, and no otherwise than their Unfortunate
 ‘ Father shall appear more or less guilty of this Death.
 ‘ God preserve your Majesty. *Your Majestys most humble
 and faithful Subject and Servant,*

Strafford.

*He takes
 his leave
 of the Arch-
 Bishop.*

The next day the King Signed a Commission to the E. of *Arundel*, the Lord Privy Seal, the E. of *Pembroke* and others, to pass the two Bills; one for a *Triennial* Parliament, the other for Attainder of the E. of *Strafford*, the last of which he did with great reluctance at present, and afterward bewailed it with greater Remorse of Conscience. Tho’ the K. signed the Commission, yet the Royal Assent was not given till the 10th. of *May*, and on the 12th. the E. was conveyed from the *Tower* by a Guard of the Trained-Bands, accompanied by the Primate of *Armagh* and others. Upon his first coming out, being to pass under the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*’s Lodging, who stood waiting at his Window to see him, he lifting up his Eyes, and espying him, made a profound Obeisance to the Arch-Bishop, saying, *My Lord, your Prayers and your Blessing.* The Arch-Bp. lifted up his hands and gave him both; but being overcome with Grief, fell almost into a Swoon. The Earl going a little farther bowed to him a second time, saying, *Farewell my good Lord, God Protect your Innocency;* when the Arch-Bishop being a little recover’d, returned his good wishes with, *My Lord, God Bless and Strengthen you.* Being brought to the Scaffold, he address’d his Speech to the Lord Primate to this effect,

*The Earl’s
 Speech up-
 on the
 Scaffold.*

My Lord Primate of Ireland,
 ‘ **I** T is my very great comfort that I have your Lord-
 ‘ ship by me this day, in regard I have been known
 ‘ to you these many years, and I do thank God and your
 ‘ Lordship for it. I am come hither by the good Will
 ‘ and Pleasure of the Almighty, to pay the last Debt I
 ‘ owe to Sin, and to submit to that Judgment which has
 ‘ pass’d against me. I do it with a very Quiet and Con-
 ‘ tented

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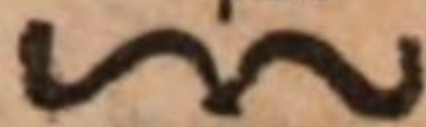
‘tented mind : I thank God I do freely forgive all the
 ‘World ; I thank God I can say it, and truly too, my
 ‘Conscience bearing me Witness, that in all my Em-
 ‘ployments since I had the Honour to serve his Ma-
 ‘jesty, I never had any thing in the purpose of my heart,
 ‘but what tended to the Joint and Individual Prospe-
 ‘rity of K. and People, altho’ it has been my Ill For-
 ‘tune to be misconstru’d. There is one thing I desire
 ‘to free my self of, and I am confident I shall obtain
 ‘your Christian Charity in the belief of it. I was so
 ‘far from being against Parliaments, that I did al-
 ‘ways think the Parliaments of *England* were the
 ‘most happy Constitutions, that any Kingdom or
 ‘Nation lived under, and the best means under God
 ‘to make the King and People happy. For my Death
 ‘I here quit all the World, and beseech the God of
 ‘Heaven heartily to forgive them that contrived it,
 ‘tho’ in the intentions and purposes of my heart, I am
 ‘not made Guilty of what I die for. And it is a great
 ‘comfort to me, that his Majesty believes that I do
 ‘not deserve so heavy a Punishment as this. I wish
 ‘this Kingdom all Prosperity and Happiness, and I
 ‘desire every one who hears me, to consider seriously,
 ‘whether the Reformation of a Kingdom should be
 ‘Written in *Letters of Blood*. Let me never be so un-
 ‘happy as that the least drop of my Blood should rise up
 ‘in Judgment against any of you, but *I fear you are in*
 ‘*the wrong way*. I profess I die a True and Obedient
 ‘Son of the Church of *England*, wherein I was born,
 ‘and in which I was bred. Peace and Prosperity be
 ‘ever to it. Having thus concluded his Speech, he de-
 ‘sired all that were present to assist him with their Pray-
 ‘ers, wherein he continued about a Quarter of an hour,
 ‘and then rising up, bids all his Friends *Farewel*, espe-
 ‘cially by name Sir *George Wentworth* his Brother, by whom
 ‘he sent his Love to his Wife, and his Blessing to his
 ‘Children, desiring him to charge his Son in his name
 ‘never to meddle with the Patrimony of the Church,
 ‘Then he undrest himself to the Block, and having pray-
 ‘ed a while, gave the Executioner a sign, who, at one
 ‘blow, sever’d his head from his Body.

His Exec-
uted on.

Thus died this Unfortunate Earl: A Gentleman of
 Incomparable Qualifications, of a happy Fluency of
 Speech, and a Sound Judgment, Courteous to all Men,
 Faithful to his Master, and a Friend to his Country.
 But his Character is best exprest by his Sovereign,

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Great Al-
terations
made at
Court.

who said, *he look'd upon the Earl of Strafford as a Gentleman whose great Abilities might make a Prince rather afraid than asham'd to employ him.* His Children were restored to their Honours and Estates at the Petition of the Lords and Commons.

The King did every thing that was possible to give satisfaction to the Parliament, or could be reasonably expected from a gracious and beneficent Prince. He took into his Council the Earls of *Hertford, Essex, Bedford, Warwick*, the Lord Viscount *Say*, and others, who were the Darlings of the People. Hereupon divers of the Kings great Ministers surrendred their Offices to the King: The Bishop of *London's* Office of Treasurer was put into the hands of Five Commissioners of that Sett. The Earl of *Hertford* was sworn Governour to the Prince in the room of the Earl of *Newcastle*. The Earl of *Essex* was made Lord Chamberlain of the King's Household, in the place of the Earl of *Pembroke*. The Office of Master of the Wards was resigned by the Lord *Cottington*, and conferr'd on the Lord *Say*, and the Earl of *Leicester* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. Having thus begun, the King was resolv'd to proportion Remedies to all the Diseases of the State, by the Advice of both Houses of Parliament, making no rule to his Concessions but their Asking. He express'd himself to their Satisfaction in the matters of Loan, Ship-Money, Tonnage and Poundage, and shew'd a settled Resolution, to comply with them in every thing that might tend to the Ease and Security of the Subject. As in the preceding Parliament he had pass'd *The Petition of Right*, so in this he agreed to the Acts for *Triennial* Parliaments, and for Abolishing the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Courts*, which exceeding their Just Bounds, were become great Grievances; and with Chearfulness pass'd that Act which seem'd inconsistent with his own Prerogative, that *That Parliament should not be Dissolv'd but by Act of Parliament, nor Prorogue or Adjourn'd but by their own Consents.*

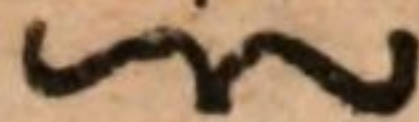
The K. having made these Concessions, receiv'd the Publick Thanks of both Houses, and the Loud Applauses of his People; and both Armies being disbanded he took a Journey into *Scotland*, to settle matters there that required his Presence, leaving the Parliament sitting, which

which they continued to do for some time, and then adjourned themselves to *October* following. At the King's going away, Affairs had been already settled between both Kingdoms by an Act of Pacification; but while the King was in *Scotland* there broke out a Rebellion in *Ireland*, which was carried so closely that no certain notice was given of the Conspiracy, till the very Evening before it was to be put in Execution. The Innocent Protestants were upon a sudden disseised of their Estates, and the Persons of about 200000 Men, Women, and Children murther'd within the space of one Month, and many of them with exquisite and unheard of Torments. The discovery was made by one *Owen O Conally* to two Lords Justices the night before the Massacre was to be committed; by which means the Lords *Mac Guire* and *Mac Mohun* were presently apprehended, and many Conspirators of great Note escaped that night out of *Dublin*; so *Dublin* was preserved, that all *Ireland* might not be lost in one day. But the horrid Design was past Prevention; for the Conspirators were up at the day prefixt in all Countries round about and poor *English* Protestants came every day to *Dublin*, robb'd and spoil'd of all they had, complaining how their Houses were seiz'd, Towns and Villages burnt, and Cruel Outrages committed thro' the whole Kingdom. The Lords Justices of *Ireland* send notice hereof by the first Discoverer *Owen O Conally*, to whom the Parliament Voted a free Gift of 500 *l.* and 200 *l.* a year, and at a Conference of both Houses resolved to consider on the Relief of *Ireland*, but little was done till the King returned to *London*.

The *Irish* to keep the *English* from making any resistance, bragg'd that they had the King's Commission for what they did, and shew'd a Patent indeed that themselves had drawn, and affixed an old Broad Seal to it, that was taken out of *Farnham Abby*, by one *Plunket*, in the presence of some of their Lords and Priests, as was afterwards attested by the Confession of many, tho' this monstrous Lye was afterwards improv'd to slander the King, as the Author of that Rebellion. The King finding his stay in *Scotland* to be somewhat longer than he first designed it, that the business of *Ireland* might not suffer, referr'd the whole to be manag'd by the Parliament of *England*, who sent over Twenty Thousand Pounds to their relief, and many brave *English* Commanders rais'd Companies there,

A. D.

1641.

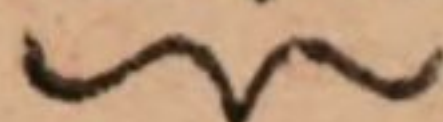


The Irish
Rebellion.

Their lying
Pretences.

A.D.

1641.



there, and went to their Assistance, under the Conduct of the Earl of *Ormond*, who did great service; but no publick Levies of Men were made in *England*, till the King had disclaimed his Power of Pressing Soldiers, and thereby laid himself open to those Arms that were raised against him, and then the first Soldiers they sent, was a Regiment under Sir *Simon Harcourt*, who arrived in *Ireland* on the last of *December*.

The King
returned to
London.

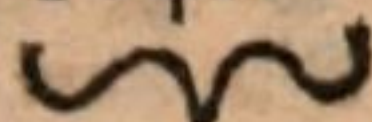
The King return'd to *London* at the latter end of *November*, and was received with all Demonstrations of Affection. The Lord Mayor and Aldermen, the Nobility, Gentry and Trained Bands, met him without the City, and conducted him in great State, with the Acclamations of the People (the City Companies in their Formalities lining the Streets on each side) to *Guild-Hall*, where he was Royally Feasted, and after Dinner conducted him with great Pomp to *White-hall*. And now what Man that had seen a Prince thus received into his Capital City, could have imagined, that within less than seven weeks, he should be obliged to leave it upon the Account of Tumults, never to see it again, but as a Prisoner brought thither to die upon a Scaffold? Yet this was that good King's hard Fortune: And here I could willingly draw a Veil over the remaining part of this Reign, that ended in one of the blackest and most dismal Tragedies that ever was Acted upon the *English* Stage, and that rendred our Nation a Reproach to all the World, in so much that an *English* Man durst scarce shew his Face abroad, or own himself of that Nation which produced such horrid Monsters, as had embrued their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed.

New Heats
in Parlia-
ment.

The House of Commons had begun some few days before his return, to fall into new Heats about Innovations in Religion; the Rebellion in *Ireland*; Plots said to be laid in *Scotland*; the disabling the Clergy to exercise temporal Jurisdiction, and excluding the Bishops from their Votes in Parliament: All which matters, together with some Reports that were buzzed about of some designs against the Parliament, led the House into that remarkable Petition and Remonstrance of the State of the Nation, in which they ripp'd up all the Mismanagements in the Government, since the King's coming to the Crown; and attributed all to Evil Counsels and Counsellors, and a Malignant Party, as they call'd them, about the King. This Remonstrance was roughly penn'd, both for Matter and Expression, and met with great opposition in
the

the House ; the Debate lasting from three a Clock in the Afternoon till Ten a Clock the next Morning ; and was presented to his Majesty the 8th. Day after his return from Scotland.

A. D.
1641.



It was no wonder the King was surpriz'd at this Petition and Remonstrance, considering how much he had done to comply with his Parliament in all they desired. However the King promised to send them an Answer to their Petition, and desired their scandalous Remonstrance might not be printed ; but without giving the King leisure to Answer, they printed and published it through all Parts of the Kingdom, and having pass'd a Bill in their own House against the Bishops Votes in Parliament, which found but cold Reception in the House of Lords, down comes the tumultuous Rabble to back their Proceedings, and were so Insolent that they assaulted some of the Peers even at the Doors of their House, crying out against Bishops, and bending their Malice wholly against them, so that they durst not come to the House to discharge their Duty. From thence they went to *White-Hall*, and made a stand against the Court Gate in a great Body, saying, *They would have no Porter's Lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased* : And when the Lords at a Conference with the Commons desired them to join with them in a Declaration for suppressing such Tumults ; several Speeches were made in Justification of them, Mr. *Pym* saying, God forbid that the House of Commons should proceed in any way to dishearten People to obtain what they desire in such a way. This force being offered to the Bishops, so that they could not come to the House but in danger of their Lives, they made a Protestation against all the Proceedings of the House of Lords as Null and Void, which had been Transacted in their Absence : Which Protestation they humbly desired the King to command the Clark of the House to Record ; but this so irritated the Lords and Commons, that they declared it was of Dangerous Consequence, and the Commons, by Mr. *Glyn*, Accused them all of High Treason for doing it, and the Lords committed them to the Tower, where they continued about four months.

The Rabble
grown Insolent.

Their Proceedings
Justified.

While the King was in Scotland he expostulated with some of the Chiefs of the Faction, concerning their coming in Hostile manner into England, and found that some of the leading Men of the Houses of Parlia-

A. D.

1641.

*Six Mem-
bers accu-
sed.*

Parliament had invited them to it. And having sufficient Proof against them, he commanded his Attorney General to draw up an Impeachment of High Treason against some of them, *viz.* the Lord *Kimbolton* a Member of the House of Peers, *Denzil Hollis*, Esq; Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, Mr. *Hambden*, Mr. *Pym*, and Mr. *Stroud*, all Members of the House of Commons; commanding him also to acquaint the House of Lords with the general matters of the Charge, and in the mean time the King sent a Serjeant at Arms to acquaint the House, that he accused and intended to prosecute five of their Members for High Treason, and therefore required that their Persons might be secured in Custody. The House of Commons took no notice of the King's Command, but on the contrary prevented the Serjeants coming, by passing a Vote, *That if any Person came to Attack them without an Order from that House, they might stand upon their own Defence, and make Resistance.*

*The King
goes to the
House of
Commons.*

The King seeing the ordinary methods of Justice obstructed, took with him the *Palsgrave*, with about a hundred Lords, Gentlemen and their Attendants, and went to the House of Commons, where, commanding his Followers to come no farther than the Stairs, to offer no Violence, nor tho' provoked, to return any uncivil Language to any, he and the *Palsgrave* only entered the House, and demanded the accused Persons might be delivered to him, promising to deal with them only according to Law; but the accused Members having private notice of the King's coming from the Countess of *Carlisle*, they had withdrawn themselves into the City, and the King having renewed his Charge departed, without Injury, either by word or deed to any. However, this Act of the King's was Voted by the Commons a Breach of Privilege, and the City Trained Bands were appointed to bring the Accused Members in Triumph to *Westminster* and reinstate them in the House; As if they had been such worthy Patriots, that the Common Weal could not be preserved without them. As these proceedings in the House were without Precedent, so indeed the King's going to the House in that manner was imprudent, and highly reflecting upon those that gave him the Advice, for it was believed that if the King had found the Five Members in the House, and had called in his Guards to seize them, the Houses according to their Vote, would have endeavoured their Defence, and opposed Force by Force, which might have

*The ill con-
sequences
of it.*

have endangered the King's Person. But the Consequences were bad enough without this, for immediately upon it there was nothing but Confusion and Tumults, Fears, and Jealousies every where, which spread themselves to *White-hall* in the rudest manner imaginable, so that his Majesty thinking himself not secure there, he retired to *Hampton-Court*. But that nothing might be omitted by him, he sent a Message to the Parliament, which was received with Thanks, and most People expected good from it; but that it might not have effect, the accused Members and their Faction, petition on the King, as a ground to secure their Confidence in him, *That the Tower of London might be put into their hands, together with the Navy, and all the Forts, Castles, and Trained Bands in the Kingdom,* which they comprehended under the name of the *Militia*. This Petition, which at once ty'd the King's hands behind him, was disrelished; but he concealed his Resentments, and in *February* he and the Queen went to *Canterbury*, with the Princess *Mary*, from thence to *Dover*, and there Her Majesty embarked her self and Daughter, and accompanied her into *Holland*. In this time the greatest business in Parliament was taking away the Bishops Votes. The King came from *Canterbury* to *Greenwich*, and afterward with the Prince and the Duke went to *York*, as a Place of greater safety. The Parliament sent two Petitions to him in his Journey *for the Militia to be put into their hands*, which the King refusing, both Houses pass'd it by an Ordinance, and settled it in divers Counties in the hands of such as were their Confidants, upon which a bloody War ensued.

A. D.

1641.

The Parliament's demands.

This the King look'd upon as the beginning of a War against him, and therefore that he might not be surprized, issued out several Commissions of Array to Persons of the best Quality, to muster and train his Subjects for the Defence of his Person and Kingdom. Each Party blam'd the other for beginning this War, and it is not easie to determine which of them began it. Some say the King made the first steps toward it, 'In raising a Troop for the Guard of his Person; in summoning the Gentlemen and Freeholders of several Counties to attend him in his Progress to the North, and ordering Arms and Ammunition to be brought from *Holland* for his use. Yet the Parliament did as much at the same time; for they likewise raised Guards of their own, and took care that the Magazines at *Hull* should

A. D.
1642.



‘ should not fall into the King’s hands, and in giving
‘ the Charge of that important place to Sir *John Hotham*
‘ who denied the King entrance, for which he was pro-
‘ claimed a Traitor. So that the King and Parliament
prepared themselves insensibly for War, without con-
sidering that these preparations must gradually and in-
evitably terminate in Blows. The King’s setting up
his Standard at *Nottingham*, was not the first notice of
this War, as has been commonly reported by our
Historians, who should have known better; for that
was not done till *August* the 22d. 1642. But the House
of Commons pass’d these two Votes the 12th. of *July*
before. 1. ‘ That an Army should be forthwith raised
‘ for the safety of the King’s Person, Defence of both
‘ Houses of Parliament, and of those who have obeyed
‘ their Orders and Commands, and preserving of the
‘ true Religion, Laws, Liberties and Peace of the King-
‘ dom. And, 2. That the Earl of *Essex* should be Ge-
‘ neral of the Foot, and the Earl of *Bedford* General of
the Horse. To which Votes the House of Lords agreed.

The King
sets up his
Standard.

Now while each side had commissioned their Generals,
and were preparing for War, they skirmished a while by
Proposals tending to an Agreement, which rather widen-
ing than closing the Breach, the King set up his Stan-
dard at *Nottingham*, and Prince *Rupert*, and Prince
Maurice, the Second and Third Sons of the late King of
Bohemia, coming to offer their Uncle their Service, he
put them both into Command. To Prince *Rupert* he gave
those Forces which he had gathered together, with which
he marched into *Warwickshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, *Leicester-*
shire, *Worcestershire* and *Cheshire*, his Forces still increasing
as he marched. While the Prince was thus active, the
King moved on slowly with his Forces thro’ *Derbyshire*,
Staffordshire, and so to *Shrewsbury*, where he intended
to Quarter, as a fit Rendezvous for the Troops he ex-
pected from *Wales*, for all that Country was hearty for
him. At *Shrewsbury* he set up a Mint and coined all
his own Plate that he was possess’d of, into Money,
and also that which was sent him by the Universities
of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, and by many Noblemen and
Gentlemen in the Kingdom, who had a dutiful respect
to his Person, and favour’d the Cause he was embark’d
in. Others sent him in Horses, Men and Arms, so that
in a short time his strength was far greater than he could
have expected, consisting in three Weeks time of 600
Foot, 3000 brave Horse, and 2000 Dragoons in one
Body,

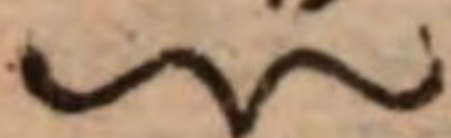
Body, besides what he had in other places, of which he gave the chief Command to the Earl of *Lindsey*. A. D. 1642.

The Parliaments Army raised under the Command of the Earl of *Essex*, was grown to a considerable bulk, consisting of about 16000 Horse and Foot, united in one Army, besides many Parties Abroad; their general Rendezvous was at *Northampton*, where the Lord *Brook*, Lord *Roberts*, Colonel *Hambden*, and many other chief Commanders expected their General's coming. On the 9th of *Septemb.* 1642, he set out of *London* with great solemnity, and when he came to *Northampton*, the Parliament sent him a Petition to deliver to the King; the Effect of which was, *To entreat his Majesty to withdraw his Presence from those wicked Persons about him, and not to mix his danger with theirs; but that he would return to his Parliament without his Army, and by their Advice compose the present Distempers.* *Essex made General.*

The War first began between the Marquess of *Hertford* for the King, in the West, and the Earl of *Bedford* for the Parliament, the Earl being worsted by the Marquess at *Sherburn Castle*. *Goring* got into *Portsmouth* and held it for the King, but could not hold it long, for the Country joyning with Sir *John Meyrick*, forc'd him to surrender, and sent him into *Holland*. The Lord *Say* and Sir *John Weemer*, with Colonel *Whitlock* enter *Oxford* and keep it for the Parliament. But the Face of Affairs soon chang'd, for the two Armies under *Lindsey* and *Essex* met, and fought at *Edgehill* with uncertain Victory, both sides claim'd it, and gave Thanks to God for what they had not. All the sign there was of a Victory turn'd in favour of the King, for he kept the Field, took the Plunder, and immediatly marched to *Banbury*, took both the Town and the Castle, and in a few days after, the City of *Oxford*. Prince *Rupert* also took the Lord *Say's* Houle at *Broughton*, and made Excursions near *London*. Whereupon the Parliament recall'd *Essex* to defend themselves, and it was time, for the King was marching towards *London*, having taken *Reading* and *Henly*. At *Brentford* both Armies fought, and *Essex* being assisted by the Trained-Bands of *London*, they forced the King to retreat, tho' it was rather for want of Powder and Bullet than Courage, having not so much left as would have held a quarter of an hour longer. At the latter end of the year Prince *Rupert* stormed *Cirencester*, put the Lord *Stamford's* Regiment to the Sword, and took Eleven hundred Prisoners. *Portsmouth surrendered.* *Edgehill Fight.* *Brentford Fight.*

A. D.

1643.



ners. Collonel *Fines* in the West was also routed by Prince *Rupert*. In the North Sir *John Hotham* was beaten by the Forces Commanded by the Earl of *Cumberland*, Sir *Francis Worsely*, Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* and Sir *Thomas Glenham*.

This year was a Treaty of Peace at *Oxford*, which began *March* the 4th. 1642, and ended in the continuation of the War on the 15th. of *April* following. The Queen about the beginning of *February* this year landed at *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire* from *Holland*, and having escaped a Squadron of men of War designed by the Parliament to intercept her, she brought abundance of Arms, and about 3000 Soldiers with her, and not long after joined them with the King's Army at *Edgehill* in *Warwickshire*, and was proclaimed a Traytor by the Parliament. If the Parliament so ill succeeded last year, they had greater misfortunes in this; for the Earl of *Northampton* entred *Litchfield*, drove the Parliaments Forces into the *Close*, and after that defeats Sir *John Gell* and Sir *William Brereton*; but the brave Earl was killed at the head of his Forces. The Earl of *Newcastle* in the North overthrew the Parliaments Forces Commanded by Sir *Thomas Fairfax* at *Bradford*, Sir *William Waller* is defeated in the West. Prince *Rupert* takes *Bristol*, Prince *Maurice Exeter*, *Biddiford*, *Barnstaple*, *Appleford* and *Dartmouth*; Collonel *Hambden* is routed and mortally wounded at *Chalgrave Field*, by Prince *Rupert*. And now the King had two Conquering Armies in the North and West, and the Parliament had no considerable strength to oppose them; so that if either the King or the Marquess of *Newcastle*, had marched directly for *London*, they might have put an end to the War; but instead of this the King was persuaded, contrary to his own Opinion, to sit down before *Gloucester*, and the Marquess of *Newcastle* before *Hull*, and so gave the Parliament an opportunity to recruit *Essex's* shattered Army, and to procure the Scots to bring an Army into *England* again, to assist the Parliament. In this Treaty between the Parliament and the Scots to obtain their Help, you may see what Religion signified with the Parliament, the year before they took a National Protestation, *To maintain the true Protestant Religion express'd in the Doctrine of the Church of England, * and according to their Duty and Allegiance, to maintain and defend his Majesty's Royal Person and Estate, the Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberty*

The King's
ill Conduct.

The Parliaments
Religion.

* This is
left out in
Whitlock's
Memoirs.

Liberty

Liberty of the Subjects; But now the *Scots* would not move a Foot, unless the Parliament would joyn with them in their Covenant, which ill agreed with their Protestation, and yet the Parliament submitted to it, after Sir *Henry Vane* had been so kind to blot out the word *Covenant*, and to make the Article, *That they should submit to the Discipline of the Kirk of Scotland, according to the word of God*, and so left room for Independency and all other Sects whatsoever.

A. D.

1643.



The Parliament having recruited the Earl of *Essex's* Troops, he forc'd his passage and relieved *Gloucester*; the King's Army retreat to *Newbury*, where it was charged by *Essex*, and worsted; and there was killed the Learned Lord *Faulkland*, and the Brave *Caernarvan* and *Sunderland*. The King's ill Success before *Gloucester*, was attended by worse in the Lord of *Newcastle* at *Hull*; for the place being Moorish and Sickly, his whole Army fell into Fluxes, and other Diseases, that forced him to raise the Siege. Here Sir *John Hotham* being offended that Sir *Thomas Fairfax* was made General, treated with the Marquis of *Newcastle* to deliver *Hull* to the King, which being either suspected or discovered to the Parliament; Sir *John* and his Son were both sent to *London*, and soon after lost their Heads. March the 29th, the King's Army Commanded by Gen. *Forth* and Sir *Ralph Hopton*, was totally routed near *Winchester*, by Sir *William Balfour*, Sir *William Waller* and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, and soon after Captain *Swanly* secured *Milford Haven*, *Haverford West* and all *Pembrookshire*, for the Parliament. April the 11th, the Lord *Fairfax* and his Son, Sir *Thomas*, took *Selby* in *Yorkshire* by Storm, and in it Collonel *Bellasis* the Governor, with most of the other Officers, and 1600 private Soldiers, with 14 pieces of Cannon. To qualifie these Losses in some measure, the King, about the latter end of *June*, Fights *Waller* at *Cropredy Bridge*, and routs him, kills 300 of his Men; *Weems*, General of the Ordnance, was taken Prisoner, with 2 Lieutenant Colonels, 3 Captains, several other Officers, and 1800 Private Soldiers, with 14 Pieces of Cannon.

Newbury
Fight.

1644.

But this small Victory held no proportion with the Irreparable loss which the King sustained in the North; for *York* being Besieged by the united Forces of *Manchester*, both the *Fairfax's*, and *Lesly* General of the *Scots*, Prince *Rupert* with all the Powers he could raise, after he had relieved *Latham House* in *Lancashire*, so

Marston-
Moor
Fight.

A. D. 1644. bravely defended by the Countess of Darby, marched to the relief of York. Thereupon the Parliament's Forces rais'd the Siege, and the Prince fetching a Compass, and joyning with the Marquess of Newcastle, he was 27000 strong; with which Army he Marched to *Marstone Moor*, whither the Parliaments Forces were gone before him. On *July* the 3d. both Armies engaged, and the Prince with the Left Wing, charged the Parliaments Right, and routed and pursued them far; so did General *Goring*, Sir *Charles Lucas*, and Major General *Porter*, rout the Main Body of the Parliaments Army; so that all the Parliament Generals, *Fairfax*, *Manchester* and *Lesly*, gave up all for lost; but the Prince, as he did before at *Edgehill*, pursuing the Enemy too far, gave Sir *Thomas Fairfax* an opportunity to rally his Forces, and joyning with *Cromwell's* Regiment of *Iron-sides*, fell upon the Right Wing of the King's Army, and routed them, and also the rest of the King's Foot, who wanting the assistance of the Horse, were soon vanquish'd. In this Engagement about 7000 were slain, 3000 of the King's Party taken Prisoners, and 25 Pieces of Ordnance, 44 Colours, 10000 Arms, two Waggon's laden with Carabins and Pistols, 130 Barrels of Powder, with all the Bag and Baggage. After this, *York* was surrendered, the Marquess of *Newcastle* went beyond Sea, and the whole North of *England* was reduced in Obedience to the Parliament; and tho' in the West the King had some success against *Essex*, and other Parliamentarians, yet, in general, the Tyde ran against the King, and his Forces grew weaker every day.

January the 10th, 1644, *William Laud*, Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, was beheaded on *Tower Hill*, after he had been kept Four Years a Prisoner in the *Tower*, his Rents Sequestred, his Books, Papers, and all his Goods seized. His Charge was a Constructive Treason under several Heads, reducible into two Particulars, viz. For endeavouring a Subversion of the Laws of the Land; and 2dly, A like endeavour to overthrow the Protestant Religion. His Tryal was at the Lord's Bar, and Mr. *William Pryn* of *Lincolns-Inn*, his profess'd Enemy, was made his Prosecutor; wherein nothing was omitted to aggravate his Offences, tho' when all that could be alledged against him at 23 days several hearings, nothing that amounted to Treason could be proved against him, in the Opinion of their own Set of Judges, and the House of Lords; till it was pack'd for a purpose

A. D.

1644.

to destroy him : But the *Scots*, who were at that time very prevalent, would not be satisfied unless he were put to Death, that they might with more ease abolish Episcopacy, and usher in their Presbyterian Government at the approaching Treaty, and therefore by an Ordinance of Lords and Commons, he was adjudged Guilty of High-Treason ; tho' at the Passing this Ordinance in the House of Lords, there were but six Peers present, *viz.* the Earls of *Kent*, *Pembroke*, *Salisbury* and *Bullingbrook*, and the Lords *North* and *Gray* of *Wark*. He ended his Life with so much Chearfulness, Modesty, Assurance and Piety, that his greatest Enemies present, who came to behold the Execution with Hearts full of Joy, return'd back with their Eyes full of Tears. There was one Thread that run through his whole Accusation, and upon which most of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd, and that was his *Inclination to Popery*, and his design to introduce the *Romish Religion*, which was all so false, malicious and scandalous, that it needs no other Confutation than his *Immortal Book against Fisher*, and his *Declaration at his Death*. It was this great Man's misfortune to die at a time when his Enemies had all the Power in their own hands, and when none durst appear in his Vindication ; so that many were prejudiced against him, because they could know him by no other Character than what his Enemies were pleased to give him ; which since the Publication of Mr. *Wharton's History of the Troubles and Tryal of that great Man*, have changed their Sentiments into a more favourable Opinion of his Life and Actions. For certainly in spite of Malice, he was a Man of an Elevated Capacity, and Vast Designs ; a great Encourager of Learning and Learned Men, and spared no Pains or Cost to enrich *England* with such a noble Collection of Books and Manuscripts, in most Languages, as look'd rather like the Bounty of a King, than of a Subject ; and as he left behind him many lasting Monuments, of his Beneficence to the Learned World, so he was in a fair way to have carried it much further, if his misfortunes had not interven'd, and his Enemies prevailed, to deprive Learning of so great and powerful a Benefactor. But since his pretended Inclination to Popery was his greatest Crime, give me leave to disabuse the Reader, by giving him the Copy of two Letters that shew what Opinion they had of him at *Rome*, both from Men of

A. D. great Integrity. I do remember, that being Chaplain to the
 1644. Honourable Sir Lionel Talmash, Baronet, about the Year
 1666. I heard him relate to some Persons of Quality, how
 that in his younger days he was at Rome, and well ac-
 quainted with a certain Abbot, which Abbot ask'd him
 whether he heard any News from England? He Answerd,
 No. The Abbot replied. Then I will tell you some, Arch-
 Bishop Laud is beheaded. Sir Lionel answer'd, You are
 sorry for that, I presume, The Abbot reply'd again, That
 they had more cause to rejoyce, that the greatest Enemy of
 the Church of Rome in England was cut off, and the
 greatest Champion of the Church of England was Silenc'd.
 Or in Words to that purpose, in witness whereof I have here-
 unto set my Hand this 28th of September 1694.

Jona: Whiston, Vicar of Betheriden in Kent.

I was at Rome in the Company of divers of the English
 Fathers, when the News of the Arch-Bishop's suffering,
 and a Copy of his Sermon made upon the Scaffold, came
 thither. They read the Sermon, and Commented upon it
 with no small Satisfaction and Contempt; and looked upon
 him as one that was a great Enemy to them, and stood in
 their way; whilst one of the Blackest Crimes imputed
 to him, was his being Popishly Affected.

John Evelyn.

A. D. The Year 1645, begins with the Self-Denying-Ordi-
 1645. nance, as they call'd it, which the Lords refusing to comply
 with the Commons in, it begot a Rupture between the
 two Houses, and Work'd the ruin of the Parliament's,
 as well as the King's Designs: However, the Commons
 pass'd it, and no Member of Parliament must bear any
 Office in the Army, except Cromwell, Skippon, Ireton,
 and Sir William Waller. Hereupon Essex, Denbigh
 and Manchester, lay down their Commissions; and 'tis
 observable, that the Earl of Essex, as he was the first
 that Headed an Army against the King, and whose
 Interest was so great, that 'twas thought the Parlia-
 ment could not have rais'd an Army without him,
 is now the first that was discarded by the Parliament,
 without giving any Reason. In this new Establish-
 ment of the Army, Sir Thomas Fairfax was made
 General, Cromwell, Lieutenant General, Skippon, Major
 General; in which new division of the Army, the
 Royalists promised themselves mountains of Advanta-
 ges, but it succeeded quite contrary; for, upon the 3d.
 of April, Fairfax having gathered his Army together
 at

The Self-
 Denying
 Ordinance.

at *Windsor*, he sent *Cromwell* with a Brigade of Horse and Dragoons, to intercept a Convoy of Horse which Prince *Rupert* had sent from *Worcester*, to fetch off the King from *Oxford*, with a Train of Artillery to take the Field; which *Cromwell* met at *Islip* and routed them, took 200 Horse, and from thence march'd and took *Bletchington* House, Commanded by Colonel *Windebank*, Son of Sir *Francis*, who surrendred at the first Summons; for which being sentenc'd by a Court Martial, he was shot to Death. But *Cromwell* had not such good success at *Farrington*, which he assaulted, and was beaten off with the loss of 200 of his Men. The King understanding that *Fairfax* had a design to besiege *Oxford*, sent to Prince *Rupert* and General *Goring*, to fetch him off, which they did about the beginning of *May*. Then the King march'd and reliev'd *Chester*, and, in his return, takes *Leicester* by Storm. This made *Fairfax* at a loss, for if he had continued the siege of *Oxford*, he had left all the Midland parts of *England* to the King's mercy; so he raised his siege, and march'd to fight the King's Army.

Now it was first resolved, by the Advice of the Lord *Ashly*, that the King should march Northward, but next morning Order was given to prepare to Fight, and so forward was the King in this resolve, that he marched to meet *Fairfax's* Army, near *Naseby* in *Northamptonshire*; and if the resolution to Fight was Rash, and Inconsiderate, so was the Fight; for Prince *Rupert* who Commanded the Right Wing of the King's Horse, charged the Left Wing of the Parliament's, Commanded by *Ireton*, and routed them, wounding *Ireton* in the Thigh; and as before at *Edge-Hill* and *Marston-Moor*, pursu'd the Enemy so far, that he left the rest of the Army exposed to the Assaults of the Enemy: So here he followed the Chace almost to *Naseby*, leaving the Left Wing of the King's Army, commanded by Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, open to be charged by *Cromwell*, who joyning with *Fairfax*, obtained an absolute Victory over the King's Army. In this Fight the Earl of *Lindsey*, the Lord *Astly*, and Colonel *Russel*, were wounded, and 20 Colonels, Knights and considerable Officers, and 600 private Soldiers were kill'd on the King's side, and 6 Colonels and Lieutenant Colonels, 18 Majors, 70 Captains, 80 Lieutenants, 200 Ensigns and other Officers, and 4500 private Soldiers were taken Prisoners, 12 pieces

*Naseby
Fight,*

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of Cannon, 8000 Arms, 40 Barrels of Powder, 200 Carriages with all their Bag and Baggage, with store of rich Pillage, 3000 Horse, one of the King's Coaches, with his Cabinets of Letters and Papers: And the King fled towards *Wales*.

The King
goes to the
Scots.

After this great Loss, the King's Garrisons surrendered by heaps, and his Affairs being desperate in *England*, all his hopes was now of *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Montross* had almost Conquer'd it from one end to the other, and there was no visible Army to oppose him; but at length these blooming hopes were also blasted, for *Montross* having lost a great part of his Army, was forced to retreat into the *Highlands*, and there act defensively. Under these Disappointments and Distresses, the King finding no security for his Person; for the Parliament refused to permit him to come to *London*, unless he would sign their Propositions, the *French* Ambassador advised him to throw himself upon the *Scots*; where you may observe, that tho' *Richelieu* was dead, *Mazarine* continued the Correspondence between *France* and *Scotland*, which still were Pensioners to *France*. The King, having no other choice, accompanied only by Mr. *Hudson*, a Minister, and Mr. *Ashburnham*, puts himself into the Power of the *Scots*, then besieging *Newark*, and, to avoid his present ill Circumstances, seeks Protection from those that had brought him into them: And, who instead of protecting him, will make a Bargain and Sale of him; for now having him in their power, they resolve to make a double Market of him: First, that he should order *Montross* to Disband his Army, and retire out of *Scotland*, and then to Sell him to the Parliament for the utmost Groat they could procure. That of *Montross* was no sooner asked but it was granted: The Parliament also desire the King to give Order, that the *English* Garrisons should surrender, which was also granted: So here we end the Wars in *England* and *Scotland*, between the King and Parliament at present.

The Wars
ended.

And now you'll think it strange, that the ending of these Wars should begin the Ruin of the Parliament and the *Scotch* Covenanters, yet so e'er long you will find it come to pass. The *Scots* having got their Ends by disbanding *Montross's* Army, yet the Bargain for the Sale of the King being a mighty matter to the *Scots*, required a longer time, for they would not lose a Bodle of what they could get for him, therefore, tho' the King put himself

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himself into their hands the 5th. of *May*, 1646, yet the Bargain and Sale was not concluded till *January* following: Which was, *That the Scots should receive 200000 l. in hand, and 200000 l. more when they had delivered up Berwick, and other English Garrisons they were Possessed of, to the Parliament.* Then the Scots abounding with *English Money*, returned into their own Country, and the Parliament having bought the King, confine him to *Holmby*, a House of his own in *Northamptonshire*, under the Guard of a select company of *Covenanters*. And now the King's Enemies think they have a sure Game on't.

But see the Instability of Humane Affairs, where they are not established in Truth and Righteousness; for the Scots Directory, Catechism and Ecclesiastical Discipline, agreed as ill with the *English Genius*, as the *English Liturgy*, Canons and High Commission agreed with the Scots, and tho' the Cavalier Party being under the Hatch-
es, said but little, yet the Brawls and Invectives between the *Presbyterians* and the new Sects that were spawn'd from them, were as fierce as those formerly between the *Arminians* and the *Calvinists*, so that things were not like to continue long in this posture. The Parliament were apprehensive that the temper of the Army, whose Principles were Anti-Presbyterian, were against their Interest, and therefore they resolv'd to send 18000 of them into *Ireland*, under the Command of Major General *Skippon*, and only to keep up 6000 Foot in *England*, under the Command of Sir *Thomas Fairfax*.

Cromwell being aware that the Parliament design'd to lay him aside as an Useless, yet dangerous Tool, he by his independent Agents, spreads a Report, *That the Parliament would disband the Army without paying them their Arrears*; which rais'd such a ferment among them, that they chose two of every Regiment which they call *Adjutators*, to whom they gave Power to hold Councils, and judge what was fit to be done for the common Good. Their Proceedings startled the Parliament, and in a great measure the Colonels and Officers of the Army, who concluded that none but *Cromwell's* going to them, could restrain that Usurpt Authority. *Cromwell* also knew that these *Adjutators* struck at him as well as the other Officers, and therefore when a Debate arose in the House of Commons, about Suppressing them, He profess'd, and call'd God to Witness, that he believed the Soldiers would at the first Word of his Command, throw down their Arms at the

Differences
among the
Parliament-
tarians.The Council
of Adjuta-
tors.

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Parliaments Feet, and solemnly swore that he rather wish'd himself and his whole Family burnt, than that the Army should break out into Sedition: And the Parliament having Faith enough to believe him, he was sent down to appease the Army. Cromwell order'd a general Muster of the Army at New-Market Heath, to which the Levelling Party, (for so they were called) refused to come; upon which, Cromwell sent to them to send some of their number to him, to treat of their Grievances, which they did; and when they came, Cromwell, with an undaunted Courage Pistol'd Three of the boldest of them, and seizing the rest, the Levellers submitted.

*The Army
seize the
King.*

The Sectaries, of which the Army was now generally compos'd, tho' they had the Sword in their Hands, yet they had no Authority to recur to; for the Presbyterian Members in both Houses were Three to One; therefore giving themselves Authority, they sent Cornet Joice with a Party of Horse to Holmby, to take the King out of the Parliament's Custody, and bring him to the Army; and now this poor Prince is fallen into the Hands of another sort of Enemies, who intended him as little good as the former, and yet in the highest Degree of Hypocrisie, lament the hard Conditions the Members impose upon him, not only in his Liberty, but in keeping him from his Friends and Children, professing they would allow him both, and never lay down their Arms, till they had put the Scepter into his hands, and procured him better Conditions for his Friends. In order hereunto, they seem to join the King's Interest with their own, and in their Declaration for redress of Grievances, Declare for the King and the People, and that the Members prefix a certain time for their Sitting, so that a New Parliament may be called, and the Nation settled upon a sure Foundation; and in the conclusion, charge Eleven Members of the House of Commons with Treason.

In Opposition to these Proceedings of the Army, both Houses of Parliament Order,

- 1. That the King should reside at Richmond.*
- 2. That he should be attended by the same Person that he was at Holmby.*
- 3. That Colonel Rossiter's Regiment should Guard him.*

*The Army
Oppose and
give Laws
to their
Masters.*

But the Army instead of Complying with this Order, sent a Representation to the Parliament, wherein they propos'd, That the House might be Purged of such Members as were not fit to sit there; and as to the King's going to Richmond, the General desired to

to be excused, intreating them not to Command that, till things were more at quiet, and that they would appoint the King to reside no nearer *London* than they would allow the Quarters of the Army to be. After which the King was Conveyed to *Royston*, thence to *Hatfield*, not long after to *Causum*, while the Army Quarter'd at *Reading*; from whence, when the General march'd with his Army to *Bedford*, the King went to the Earl of *Bedford's* at *Ouburn-Abby*, and during all this time, he was received with all possible Demonstrations of Love and Duty; some of his Chaplains were admitted to him, who Read the Common-Prayer as formerly, and the way was open to all those of his own Party that were desirous to see him. In this time the Members that favour'd the Army, and the Speakers of both Houses went to the Army, and there complain'd of Violences offer'd to the Parliament, tho' none were done. After four Days Adjournment, the Houses met again, and the Peers chose the Lord *Hunsden* for their Speaker, and the Commons, Mr. *Henry Pelham*, and pass'd these Votes.

*Some Mem-
bers desert.*

1. That the King should come to *London*.
2. That the Militia of *London* should be Authoriz'd to raise Forces for the Defence of the City.
3. That Power be given to the same Militia to chuse a General. And
4. That the Eleven Impeached Members should take their Places in Parliament.

The Citizens arm'd with these Powers, proceed to raise Forces under the Command of Sir *William Waller*, Major General *Massy*, and Colonel *Pointz*; but upon better Consideration, that they were like to do little good against an old experienc'd and Victorious Army: That the Burrough of *Southwark* was for the Army: That a Party of the Army had seiz'd upon the Block-house at *Graves-end*, and had blocked up the City by Water towards the East, and the Army to the West; the Aldermen, and Common Council of the City desert their three Generals, and sent to *Fairfax* for a Pacification, which he Granted them upon these Conditions.

That they should desert the Parliament then Sitting, and the Eleven Members.

That they should Recall their Declaration lately published.

That they should Relinquish their present Militia.

That

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They return
again.

Crom-
well's Ar-
tifices.

The King
goes to the
Isle of
Wight.

That they should Deliver up all their Forts, and the Tower of London, to the General.

*That they should disband all the Forces they had lately raised, and do all other things that were necessary for the Publick Tranquillity. All which the City submitted to: So the Speakers and Members which had run to the Army returned again, and annul'd all the Acts and Orders which had pass'd since the 26th. of July. Now the Militia of London being settled to the Army's good Liking, the General march'd out of London, and quarter'd his Army in the Towns and adjacent Villages, only leaving some Regiments about White-hall, and the Mews, to Guard the Parliament. His head Quarters being at Putney, and the King about the middle of August was lodged at his Palace at Hampton-Court. Now both the Parliament and Army seem to Court the King, and the Parliament sent Propositions of Peace to him, the same that they sent to him at New-Castle, which you may Read in Whitlock's Memoirs: And now the Mystery of Iniquity begins to work, for Cromwell being fearful that the King should agree with the Parliament, gave Instructions to some of his Creatures, that if the King would not assent to the Parliament's Propositions, the Army would settle him in his Throne: Hereupon the King made Answer to the Parliament, *That he waived their Terms, and would rely upon the Propositions made him by the Army, and desired there might be a Treaty appointed to consider them.* Upon Reading this Answer, a Day was appointed by both Houses to consider of it. In the mean time Cromwell considering, that he could not accomplish what he had projected, while the King was so near the Parliament and City, as Hampton-Court, therefore he sent privately to the King, that he was in no safety there, by reason of the Malice which the Adjutors bore him, and that he would be in more safety in the Isle of Wight: Hereupon the King makes his Escape thither by Night, accompanied by Sir John Berkeley, Colonel Leg, and Mr. Ashburnham, which was morally impossible to have been done, if Cromwell and his Agents had not put the King upon it.*

From the Isle of Wight, the King gave Notice to the Parliament where he was, *And that he had withdrawn himself upon no other Consideration but the Security of his Life, against which he was informed there was a Conspiracy, and that he was willing to hearken to Terms of Accommodation.* The Parliament were at first Surpriz'd at this

this unexpected News, tho' not Displeas'd to hear he was in the *Isle of Wight*, and therefore upon the 10th. of September, Order'd,

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1. That he should continue there, and in the Castle.
2. That none that have bore Arms against the Parliament, but Inhabitants that have compounded, should remain in that Island.

3. That no Delinquent or Foreigner, should be admitted to come to him, without leave of the Parliaments of England and Scotland, and that Propositions should speedily be sent to him.

4. That 5000 l. should be advanced for his Accommodation.

5. And that it should be consider'd who should attend his Person.

After this the Lords and Commons sent several Propositions to the King, which the King refusing to sign, as being protested against by the Scotch Commissioners, and that he would have a Peace concluded that might comprehend all Interests, the former seeming Concord and Kindness in the Parliament, was changed into these angry Votes.

1. That they will make no further Application, or Addresses to the King.

2. That no Addresses, or Applications, be made to the King by any other Person whatsoever, without leave from both Houses.

3. That the Person, or Persons that shall make a Breach of this Order, shall incur the Penalty of High Treason.

4. That they will receive no more Messages from the King, and that no Person do presume to bring any Messages from the King to both, or either Houses of Parliament, or any other Person.

These Votes were generally dislik'd by all the Sober Party of England, as openly discovering that the Parliament intended to Subvert the English Constitution, and set up an arbitrary Power of their own: Which caused an Infurrection in London, another in Wales, and many other Places in the Kingdom: And while some, by Arms, were endeavouring to free their Country from Vassalage to their fellow Subjects, others attempted milder ways, and by Petitions to obtain their Common Right, which would not without much effusion of Blood be procured by Force. The County of Essex was the first that began this Just and Peaceable way of Proceeding, Supplicating the Parliament, That the Army

The Nation
discontent-
ed.

might

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1648.

Several In-
surrections.

might be Paid and Disbanded ; and the King admitted to a Personal Treaty. Surrey followed, but in higher Terms, for which they were beaten and wounded by the Soldiers at *Westminster*, when they came to deliver their Petition. *London* was the next, but they were better treated. The *Kentish* Men finding those of *Surry* so barbarously used, when they came in a peaceable way to petition the Parliament, they resolved to make their requests with their Swords in their hands, and to that purpose assembled a numerous Body at *Maidstone*, which were routed by the Lord *Fairfax*. *Colchester* was also garrisoned for the King, by divers Men of Quality, and after a Siege of Eleven Weeks, being reduced to such extreme Famine that they were forced to eat Horse Flesh, Cats, and Dogs, and at last wanted that course kind of Food also, they were forced to surrender, upon which the every way brave Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle* were shot to death contrary to Articles. The Earl of *Holland* also headed a fresh Insurrection at *Kingston* upon *Thames* ; his chiefest Associates were the Duke of *Buckingham*, his Brother the Lord *Francis Villiers*, and the Earl of *Peterborough*. They were encountered near *Nonsuch* Park by Colonel *Rich* and Major *Gibbons*, where the Lord *Francis Villiers* refusing Quarter was killed, with a Son of Sir *Kenelm Digby's* ; many were taken Prisoners, *Dalbeir* was killed, the Earl of *Holland* fled to *St. Neods*, and was taken by Colonel *Scroop*, but the Duke of *Buckingham* escaped beyond Seas.

The Scots
came into
England.

The Parliament endeavoured to please the Scots, by Voting them their Arrears, and passing an Ordinance, *July* the 24th, to establish the *Presbyterian Government* in *England* and *Ireland* ; but this would not serve their turn, unless the King might be brought to *London*, the Army disbanded, and a lasting Peace be settled between the two Kingdoms ; which being delayed, the Scots marched an Army into *England* the 13th. of *July*, under the Command of Duke *Hamilton*, who joyned with Sir *Marmaduke Langdale*, General of the *English* for the King ; they fell upon Major General *Lambert* near *Appleby* in *Westmoreland*, and forced him to retreat. The Scots staid some time at *Kendal* to refresh themselves, and afterwards marched into *Lancashire*, intending for *London*, which the Army resolv'd to hinder, and therefore rendezvous'd at *Preston*, where *Cromwell* and *Lambert* joyning, the Armies faced each other. Major *Smithson* Commanded the Forlorn of the *English*, and charg'd the

the *Scotch* Van so furiously that they routed them, and allarm'd the whole Army. The Battle joyn'd on a Moor, and two miles East from *Preston*: The Fight was very hot and bloody for about two hours, then the *Scots* gave ground, and the *English* followed them so hard that they were forced to divide, one part amounting to about 3000 moving toward *Lancaster*, were followed and disperfed by Colonel *Twisleton* and Colonel *Thornlow*, who took multitudes of them Prisoners. The other part of the Horse and Foot, march'd over *Ribble Bridge*, where they made a stand, and stoutly defended the Pass for about two hours, even to push of Pike, but then were forced to retreat. Passing through *Wigan*, they plundered the Town, and march'd toward *Warrington*, the *English* still pursuing them. Near *Warrington* the *Scots* taking advantage of a Post, made another Halt, but were beaten off again, with the loss of 1000 Men, and were pursued to the very Bridge, where the Foot in number about 4000, being Deserted by the Horse laid down their Arms and submitted to Mercy. *Hamilton* escaped with 3000 Horse to *Nantwich*, where the whole Country being up in Arms, they were most of them taken: *Hamilton* himself was met at *Utoxeter*, and there submitted to *Grey of Grooby*. In this Fight the *English* took more prisoners than their whole Army amounted to.

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*Preston
Fight.*

Lieutenant General *Cromwel*, marched towards *Cum-berland*, to meet *Monroe*, who was marching with a reserve of *Scots*, but he being recall'd, *Cromwel* march'd into *Scotland*, and having made good Terms for his Masters, returned again into *England*. Whilst the Armies were busied in fighting, the Parliament were plyed with Petitions from *London*, and the several Counties of *England*, for a Treaty with the King, and they being freed from the Insolency of the Army by their distance from them, were well inclined to it, and knowing the King was of the same mind, the Parliament readily Voted,

That the Votes of Non-Addresses should be recalled.

That such persons as he should send for, as necessary to him in the Treaty be admitted.

That he be in the same state of freedom as at Hampton-Court, with such Servants as he desired.

That Five Lords and Ten Commoners, be chosen Commissioners to treat with the King, and the place to be Newport in the Isle of Wight, and that the King be admitted

A. D. 1648. *to invite the Scots thereunto, to treat only concerning that Kingdom.*

Monday being the 11th of September, the Treaty began: The Propositions were Eleven in Number. The first was,

The Propositions and Answer.

For calling in all the King's Declarations. This the King assented to with this Proviso, That no advantage should be made, neither by this Concession nor any other, unless the whole were concluded.

The second was concerning the Settlement of the Church. In reference to which, the King condescended, to settle the Directory, to pass an Act to confirm the Assembly of Divines, and to establish the Presbyterian Government for three years, reserving liberty to himself and his Party to use the Old Form: But would not agree to the utter Abolishing of the Episcopal Hierarchy, nor the selling of their Lands.

The third Proposition was, For settling the Militia in the hands of the Parliament for twenty years wholly: To which the King consented.

Likewise the fourth, For remitting the Government of Ireland, both Civil and Military, to the two Houses at Westminster.

And the fifth and sixth, For nulling all Honours and Titles since the carrying away the Great Seal, and for payment of Publick Debts.

The seventh Proposition, concerning Delinquents, which were very Severe: The King moderated them.

The eighth, For empowering the Parliament to appoint all Officers of the Kingdom, and the chief Magistrates, for twenty years; He agreed to. And to

The ninth, For confirming the new Great Seal, with all Grants and Commissions sealed by it. And to

The tenth, For ratifying all Privileges, Grants, Charters and Immunities to the City of London, Authority to dispose of the Tower, and their own Militia be confirmed to them: And the Citizens to be Exempted from Military Service out of the Liberties of the City unless at the Parliament's Appointment.

The last was, For the Total Extermination of the Court of Wards, Which the King also consented to under this Condition, That a hundred Thousand Pounds should be yearly paid him in lieu of it.

After this the Members met upon the first day of November, and Vote the King's Concessions to be a sufficient Ground for a Peace, and now every body thought the King and Parliament would have united; but it was

too late; for those that formerly might have saved the King if they would, to pretend to it now, was all but a jest; for while the King was Treating of Peace at the *Isle of Wight* with the Parliament's Commissioners, the Officers of the Army were contriving the Destruction of both, and many private meetings were had, both there and at *London*, by the *Levellers* and *Independents*, about a Frame of Government, in which they proceeded far, to little purpose, for they could never please themselves in their own Models. When this project would not take, they framed a Remonstrance, and sent it to the Parliament by Six of their Officers, inclosed in a Letter from the General, Dated *November* the 10th.

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The Army
Out-Plot
the Parlia-
ment.

Requiring that the King be brought to Justice, as the principal cause of all the Evils of the Civil Wars.

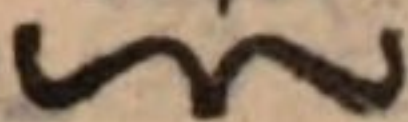
Secondly, *That a Peremptory Day be set for summoning the Prince of Wales, and Duke of York, and if they refuse to come, to declare them incapable of Government or Succession, and to stand exil'd as Traytors; and if they rendred themselves, yet to be proceeded against for Satisfaction, and the Revenues of the Crown to be Sequestred.*

Thirdly, *That publick Justice be done against the Actors in the late Wars.*

And lastly they concluded, *Desiring their Arrears, with the old pretence of easing the Country of Free-Quarter, and Request, That a Period may be put to this Parliament, and care taken to Elect new Representatives, and that no King should be admitted for the future, but upon Election of, and upon Trust for the People, to be limited by the Representatives.*

In the mean time, General *Fairfax* Commanded Colonel *Hammond* by his Letters, to deliver up his charge of the King's person to Colonel *Ewer*, by whom the King was conveyed out of the *Isle of Whight* to *Hurst Castle*, the 30th. of *Nov.* but the Parliament declared their ill Resentment of this Action, and Voted, That the seizing upon the Person of the King, and carrying him Prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, was without the Advice and Consent of the two Houses. And thus the Treaty was Violently broken off, and the Army being now come up to *London*, they Quarter'd themselves at *White-Hall*, *St. James's*, the *Mews*, and in the Neighbouring Villages, resolving to hinder the Proceedings in Parliament. To that end, when the Members were to sit again, they beset all the Avenues to the House with Soldiers, excluding all the Members that were not of their

The King
Removed
to Hurst-
Castle.

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1648.

The Juncto's
Votes.

The King
brought to
Windsor.

their Faction, from entring the House, some of which they committed to Prison, and others to Guards in several Inns in *Westminster*. The Commons being displeased at these Proceedings, Adjourned for four or five days, in which time the Army having long conceived, was delivered of a *Model of Government*, wherein, among other things, as ridiculous as *Cant* could make it, they proposed, *That the present Parliament should be Dissolved the last of April next, and that the Representatives of the whole Nation, should consist of three Hundred Persons, half which number should suffice, to make an act of Law, and that in the intervals of Parliaments, a Council of State should Govern.* This with a few other Modifications, they stiled the *Agreement of the People*, and sent it to the House by Sir *Hardress Waller*, and Sixteen Officers, when the House new moulded by the Army, met again; for besides those they forced out, a great number voluntarily absented themselves, and now the House being packt according to the Army's Humour, they to manifest their Submission to their Sovereign Lord the Army, restored the Votes of *Non-Addresses*, repeal'd those which approved of the King's Concessions; and voted, *That no Message be received from the King upon pain of Treason: That the General should take care of his Person, and that the Council of State should draw up a Charge of Treason against him.* Accordingly some of the chief Sticklers in this Horrid Action, preferr'd an Indictment in *Hampshire*, against the King for Treason, which by the Grand Jury was returned *Ignoramus*, by the Advice of *Mainard*, a Lawyer, because there was but one Witness to each Fact, and the Law required Two.

December the 10th, the King was brought from *Hurst-Castle*, by a strong Guard to *Winchester*, next day to *Farnham*, and next day after to *Windsor*. In the mean time the two Houses differ'd among themselves, the Commons affirm'd it was Treason for the King to levy War against the Commonwealth, and drew up an Ordinance for his Tryal as a Traytor. The Lds denied that the K. could commit Treason against the Commonwealth, and therefore threw the Ordinance of the Commons over the Bar, declared, *That no Act of the Commons is binding without their Consent*, and Adjourned for a Fortnight. Upon this, the Commons Voted, *That the House of Lords were useless and dangerous, and that all Members and others, appointed to act in any Ordinance with*
the

with the Peers, are impowered and enjoined to sit, Act, and Execute, notwithstanding the Peers joined not therein.

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1648.

January the 6th, the Ordinance for the King's Tryal was turned into an Act of the *Juncto Commons* only, which was Ingross'd, and Proclamation made two days after in *Westminster-hall*, *Cheapside*, and at the *Old Exchange*; for Witnesses to come in against him, and Commissioners were appointed about it, while a suborn'd Faction in the City, petitioned the House for Justice against the King, and *Hillary Term* beginning the 23 of *Jan.* was adjourned till 14 days after, to give place to the Proceedings against him. *Jan.* 19th, the King was brought from *Windsor* to *St. James's-House*, and all things were prepared for his Dismal Tragedy; in which the *Juncto* proceeded, notwithstanding the Dissent of the *House of Lords*, and the Remonstrance of the Parliament of *Scotland* against it. The pretended Act of this *Juncto*, which directed the Tryal of the King; appointed a New Tribunal called the *High-Court of Justice*, who were impowered to convene, hear, Judge and Execute *Charles Stuart*, King of *England*. His Title in Writs they abrogated, order'd the Great Seal of *England* to be broken, a New Seal was made with a Cross for *England*, and a Harp for *Ireland*, with these words, *The Great Seal of England*, and on the Reverse, *The Picture of the House of Commons sitting*, with these words, *In the first year of Liberty by God's blessing restored*, 1648. The Nation was astonished at these Proceedings; for the Person of the King of *England*, by our known Laws, was ever accounted Sacred, and tho his Ministers were accountable for Crimes against the State, yet in no Age, how Barbarous soever was a K. of *England* ever tried by his own Subjects.

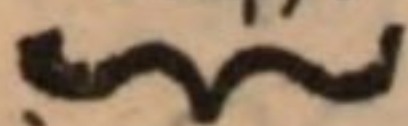
From
Windsor to
St. James's
House.

On Saturday, *Jan.* 20, this wicked High Court of Justice sat in *Westminster-Hall*, *John Bradshaw* of *Gray's-Inn*, being President, and the Persons whose names are here inserted were Commissioners. There were many other Persons nominated in the Act, but since they did not think fit to Act in this Infamous Assembly, I shall forbear to record their Names to Posterity.

Oliver Cromwell; *Henry Ireton*, *Sir Hardress Waller*, Names of
Valentine Walton, *Thomas Harrison*, *Edward Whalley*, the Com-
Thomas Pride, *Isaac Ewer*, *Richard Ingoldsby*, *Sir Henry* missioners.
Mildmay, *Thomas Lord Grey of Grooby*, *William Lord*
Mounson, *Sir John Danvers*, *Sir Thomas Maleverer*, *Sir*
John Bouchier, *Sir James Harrington*, *Robert Wallop*,
R Williams

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William Henningham, Alderman Isaac Pennington, Henry Martin, William Purefoy, Gilbert Millington, John Barksted, John Blackston, Sir William Constable, Edward Ludlow, John Hutchinson, Sir Michael Livesey, Alderman Robert Tichburn, Owen Rome, Robert Lilburn, Adrian Scroop, Richard Dean, John Okey, John Hughson, William Goff, Cornelius Holland, John Carew, John Jones, Miles Corbet, Francis Allen Goldsmith, Peregrine Pelham, Thomas Chaloner, John Moor, William Say, John Alured, Francis Lassels, Henry Smith, James Chaloner, Humphry Edwards, Gregory Clement, John Fry, Thomas Wogan, Sir Gregory Norton, Serjeant John Bradshaw, Edmund Harvey, John Venne of London, Thomas Scot, Alderman Thomas Andrews, William Cawley, Anthony Stapely, John Downs, Thomas Horton, Thomas Hammond, John Lisle, Nicholas Love, Vincent Potter, Augustine Garland, John Dixwel, George Fleetwood of Buckinghamshire, Simon Maine, James Temple, Peter Temple, Daniel Blaggrave, Thomas Wayte.

*Officers of
the Court.*

John Bradshaw was President of this pretended Court. The Counsellors to draw up and present the Charge, were, *Doristlaus*, Dr. of Civil Law, *John Cook* was the States Sollicitor, Serjeant *Danby* the younger Serjeant at Arms, *Daniel Broughton*, *John Phelps* two Clerks attending; *Wallford*, *Radley*, *Pain*, *Powel* and *Hull*, were Messengers and Door-keepers, and Mr. *King* Cryer of the Court. The Court being thus sat and called over, the King was brought to the Bar by Colonel *Hacker* with Halberdiers, the Mace of the Court conducting him to a Chair within the Bar, where he sat, and then *Bradshaw* said to the King.

*Bradshaw
his Speech*

Charles Stuart, King of England, the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, being sensible of the great Calamities brought upon this Nation, and of the innocent Bloodshed which are referr'd to you as the Author of it, according to that Duty which they owe to God, the Nation, and themselves, and according to that Power and Fundamental Trust reposed in them by the people, have constituted this High-Court of Justice, before which you are now brought, and you are to hear your Charge upon which the Court will proceed.

Sollicitor Cook. My Lord, *In the behalf of the Commons of England, and of all the People thereof, I do Accuse Charles Stuart, here present, of High-Treason and Misdemeanors;*

demeaners ; and I do in the name of the Commons of England desire the Charge may be Read unto him.

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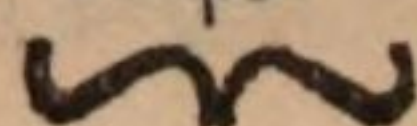
The King. Hold a little.

Bradshaw. Sir, The Court commands the Charge to be Read, afterward you may be heard. The Charge was read, containing in general.

‘ That the said *Charles Stuart*, being admitted King of England, and trusted with a Limited Power to govern by, according to the Laws of the Land, and not otherwise, and by his Trust, Oath and Office being obliged to use the power committed to him for the Good and Benefit of the People, and for the preservation of their Rights and Liberties: Yet nevertheless out of a wicked design, to erect and uphold in himself an Unlimited and Tyrannical Power, to Rule according to his Will, and to over-throw the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to take away, and make void the Foundations thereof; He, the said *Charles Stuart*, for accomplishing such designs, Traiterously and Maliciously levied War against the present Parliament, and the People therein represented, particularly at *Beverly* in *Yorkshire*, at *Nottingham*, where he set up his Standard of War; at *Edg-hill*, *Keinton-Field*, *Brentford*, *Caversham-Bridge*, *Gloucester*, *Newbery*, *Cropredy-Bridge*, *Bodmin*, *Leicester* and *Naseby-field*, at which, and several other places, he, the said *Charles Stuart*, caused and procured many thousands of the Free People of this Nation to be slain, and by Divisions, Parties and Insurrections in this Land, and Invasion from Foreign Parts, and by many other evil Ways and Means, hath maintained and carried on the said War by Sea and Land, and hath renewed it against the Parliament, and good People of this Nation, in this present Year 1648, in the Counties of *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, *Middlesex*, and many other Counties and Places in *England* and *Wales*, and also by Sea: By which Cruel and unnatural Wars, renew’d as aforesaid, much innocent Blood hath been spilt, many Families have been undone, the publick Treasure exhausted, Trade obstructed, and miserably decay’d, vast Expence and Damage to the Nation incurr’d, and many parts of the Land spoil’d, some of them even to Desolation. And for further Prosecution of his said evil Designs, he the said *Charles Stuart* doth still continue his Commissions to the Prince of *Wales*, and other Rebels and Re-

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‘ volters both *English* and Foreigners: To the Earl of
 ‘ *Ormond*, and to the *Irish* Rebels and Revolters affo-
 ‘ ciated with him, from whom farther Invasions upon
 ‘ this Land are threatned, upon the procurement, and
 ‘ on the Behalf of the said *Charles Stuart*. All which
 ‘ wicked Designs of War, and evil Practices, are car-
 ‘ ried on for the advancing and upholding the Personal
 ‘ Interest of Will and Power, and pretended Preroga-
 ‘ tive to himself, and his Family; against the Publick
 ‘ Interest, common Right, Liberty, Justice, and Peace
 ‘ of the People of this Nation, by, and for whom he was
 ‘ Intrusted as aforesaid. By all which it appeareth, That
 ‘ he said *Charles Stuart* hath been, and is the Occasioner,
 ‘ Author and Contriver of the said Unnatural, Cruel
 ‘ and Bloody Wars, and therein Guilty of all the Trea-
 ‘ sons, Murthers, Rapines, Burnings, Spoils, Defola-
 ‘ tions, Damages and Mischiefs to this Nation, Acted
 ‘ or Committed in the said Wars or occasion’d thereby.
 ‘ And the said *John Cook* by Protestation, saving the
 ‘ the Liberty of exhibiting at any time hereafter, any
 ‘ other Charge against the said *Charles Stuart*, and also of
 ‘ Relpying to the Answers which he the said *Charles*
 ‘ *Stuart*, shall make to the Premisses, or any of them,
 ‘ or any other Charge that shall be so exhibited, doth
 ‘ for the said Treasons and Crimes, on the behalf of
 ‘ the said People of *England*, Impeach the said *Charles*
 ‘ *Stuart*, as a *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, *Murtherer*, and a pub-
 ‘ lick and implacable Enemy to the Common-wealth
 ‘ of *England*, and pray that the said *Charles Stuart*
 ‘ King of *England*, may be put to Answer all and
 ‘ every the Premisses, that such Proceedings, Exa-
 ‘ minations, Trials, Sentences and Judgment, may
 ‘ be thereupon had, as shall be agreeable to Justice.

The King often smiled while the Charge was Read-
 ing, especially at these Words, *Tyrant*, *Traytor*, *Mur-*
therer, and *publick Enemy to the Common-wealth*.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard your Charge, and you
 find in the close of it, that the Court is prayed, in be-
 half of the Commons of *England*, that you Answer to
 your Charge, which the Court now expects.

The King. ‘ I would know by what Power I am
 ‘ call’d hither: I was not long ago in the Isle of *Wight*,
 ‘ how I came thither is a longer story than I think fit
 ‘ at this time to relate: There I enter’d into a Treaty
 ‘ with both Houses of Parliament, with as much Faith
 ‘ as is possible to be had of any People in the World:

'I treated there with a number of Honourable Lords
 'and Gentlemen, and treated honestly and uprightly; I
 'cannot say but they did Nobly with me: We were
 'upon a conclusion of the Treaty: Now I would know
 'by what lawful Authority (There are many unlaw-
 'ful Authorities, Thieves and Robbers on the High-
 'way) I was brought from thence, and carried from
 'place to place, and I know nor what, and when
 'I know by what Authority, I shall Answer. Re-
 'member I am your King, your lawful King, and what
 'sins you bring upon your own Heads, and the Judg-
 'ment of God upon this Land; think well upon it,
 'I say, before you go on from one Sin to a greater; there-
 'fore let me know by what lawful Authority I am seat-
 'ed here, and I shall not be unwilling to Answer. In
 'the mean time I shall not betray my Trust: I have
 'a Trust committed to me by God, by Old and Law-
 'ful Descent, and I will not betray it, to Answer to
 'a new Unlawful Authority.

Bradshaw. If you had been pleas'd to observe what
 was hinted to you by the Court at your first coming
 hither, you would have known by what Authority:
 Which Authority requires you in the Name of the Peo-
 ple of *England*, of whom you are Elected King, to An-
 swer them.

King. I deny that.

Bradshaw. If you acknowledge not the Authority of
 the Court, they must proceed.

King. 'I do tell them so, *England* was never an
 'Elective Kingdom; but an Hereditary Kingdom for
 'near these 1000 Years; therefore let me know by what
 'lawful Authority I am called hither: I do stand more
 'for the Liberty of my People than any here that come
 'to be my pretended Judges, and therefore let me know
 'by what lawful Authority, and I will Answer, o-
 'therwise I will not Answer.

Bradshaw. How really you have manag'd your Trust,
 is known; your way of Answer is to interrogate the
 Court, which befits you not in this Condition, you
 have been told of it twice or thrice.

King. 'Here is Lieutenant Colonel *Corbet*, ask him
 'if he did not bring me from the *Isle of Wight* by force,
 'I do not come here as submitting to the Court; I will
 'stand as much for the Privilege of the House of Com-
 'mons, Rightly understood, as any Man here, what-
 'soever; I see no House of Lords here that may Con-
 'stitute a Parliament, and the King too, it should have

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‘ been. Is this the bringing the King to his Parliament ?
 ‘ Is this the putting an end to the Treaty on the pub-
 ‘ lick Faith ? Let me see a Lawful Authority, Warranted
 ‘ by the Word of God, the Scriptures, or by the Con-
 ‘ stitution of the Kingdom. I will not betray my Trust,
 ‘ or the Liberties of my people ; I am Sworn to keep
 ‘ the Peace by that Duty I owe to God and my Country,
 ‘ and I will do it to the last breath in my Body. As it is
 ‘ a Sin to withstand lawful Authority, so it is to submit
 ‘ to a Tyrannical or any otherwise unlawful Authority.

Bradshaw. The Court expects your final Answer, and will adjourn till *Monday* next : We are satisfied with our Authority who are your Judges, and it is upon God’s Authority and the Kingdoms ; and that Peace you speak of, will be kept in doing Justice, and that’s our present work.

So the Court adjourned, and the King was Conducted back. They had so contrived it, that divers Factious Soldiers and Lewd Fellows were placed round about the Court to cry Justice, Justice, when the King was remanded, thinking all the rest of the People would have bellowed to the same Tune ; but they almost all cry’d *God bless him* ; and some of them were well Cudgell’d by the Soldiers for saying so, and not Exclaiming and Reviling him, as the Rebel Army did ; yet the Court took no notice of it. So far was his Majesty already Prejudg’d and Condemn’d to Sufferings.

Monday, January the 22d. the King was brought again to his Tryal.

The Second sitting.

Sollicitor Cook. May it please your Lordship, I did at the last Court, in behalf of the *Commons of England*, exhibit, and gave into the Court a Charge of High Treason, and other High Crimes against the Prisoner at the Bar, whereof I do accuse him in the Name of the People of *England*, and the Charge was Read unto him, and his Answer requir’d. My Lord, he was not then pleas’d to give an Answer ; but instead of answering, did dispute the Authority of this High Court, my humble motion to this High Court in behalf of the Kingdom is, that the Prisoner may be directed to make a positive Answer, either by way of Confession or Negation, which if he shall refuse to do, that the matter of Charge may be taken *Pro Confesso*, and the Court may proceed according to Justice.

Bradshaw. Sir, you may remember at the last Court, you were told the occasion of your being brought hither and,



and you heard the Charge Read against you, &c. You heard likewise what was prayed on behalf of the People, that you shall give an Answer to that Charge; you were then pleas'd to make some Scruples concerning the Authority of this Court, and said you knew not by what Authority you was brought hither, you did divers times propound your Questions, and were as often Answered, that it was by the Authority of the Commons of *England*, Assembled in Parliament, that did think fit to call you to account, for those High and Capital Misdemeanors, wherewith you then were Charged. Since that, the Court hath taken into Consideration, what you then said, they are fully satisfi'd with their own Authority, and they hold it fit you should stand satisfied therewith too; and they do require, that you give a positive and particular Answer to their Charge exhibited against you, they expect you should either Confess or Deny. If you deny, it is offered on the behalf of the Kingdom, to be made good against you; their Authority they avow to the whole World, and the whole Kingdom are to rest satisfied therein, and you are to rest satisfi'd in it, and therefore you are to give a Positive Answer.

King. ' When I was here last, it's true, I made that
' Question, and truly, if it were only my particular case,
' I would have satisfied my self with a Protestation I
' made here the last time, against the Legality of this
' Court, and that a King cannot be Tryed by any Superior Jurisdiction upon Earth; but it is not my case alone, it is the Freedom and Liberties of the People of *England*, and do you pretend what you will, I stand more for their Liberties than you; for if Power, without Laws may make Laws, and may alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I do not know what Subject he is in *England*, that can be sure of his Life, or any thing that he call his own; therefore when I came hither, I did expect particular Reasons to know by what Law, by what Authority, you proceed against me here, and therefore I am a little to seek what I am to say to you in this particular, because the Affirmative is to be proved, the Negative is often very hard to do. I shall tell you my Reasons as short as I can. All Proceedings against any Man whatsoever.

Here *Bradshaw* shew'd his good manners, and interrupted the King, saying, Sir, I must interrupt you, what you do, it not agreeable to the Proceedings of a-

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ny Court of Justice ; you are about to enter into Argument and Dispute, concerning the Authority of this Court, before whom you appear as a Prisoner, and are charged as an High Delinquent ; you may not Dispute the Authority of this Court, nor will any Court give way unto it, you are to Submit to it, &c.

King. *Under favour, I do plead for the Liberty of the People of England, more than you do, and therefore if I should impose a Belief upon any Man without Reasons given, it were unreasonable - - -* There Bradshaw interrupted him again.

Bradshaw. Sir I must interrupt you, you may not be permitted, you speak of Law and Reason, and there is both against you ; Sir, the Vote of the Commons of England, *Assembled in Parliament*, is the Reason of the Kingdom, and they are those that have given you that Law, according to which you should have Ruled and Reigned. Sir, it will be taken notice of, that you stand in Contempt of the Court, and your Contempt will be Recorded accordingly.

King. *I do not know how a King can be a Delinquent, but by all the Laws that ever I heard of, all Men may put in Demurrers against any Proceedings, as Illegal, and I do demand that, if you Deny that, you Deny Reason.*

Bradshaw. Sir neither you nor any Man are permitted to dispute that point, you are concluded, you may not demur to the Jurisdiction of the Court, if you do, I must let you know, that they Over-Rule your Demurrer ; they sit here by the Authority of the Commons of England, and all your Predecessors, and you are Responsible to them.

King. *I deny that, shew me one Precedent.*

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to interrupt while the Court is speaking to you, if you offer it by way of Demurrer to the Jurisdiction of the Court, they have considered of their Jurisdiction, they do affirm their own Jurisdiction.

King. *Sir, I say, by your favour, That the Commons of England were never a Court of Judicature ; I would know how they came to be so.*

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to be permitted to go on in that Speech, and these Discourses.

Then the Clerk of the Court read as followeth. *Charles Stuart. King of England, you have been Accused in the behalf of the People of England of High Treason, and other High Crimes ; the Court hath determin'd that you ought to Answer to the same,*

King,

King. *I will Answer the same, so soon as I know by what Authority you do this.*

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Bradshaw. If this be all you say, then Gentlemen you that brought the Prisoner hither, take charge of him back again.

King. *I do require that I may give my Reasons, why I did not Answer ; and give me time for that.*

Bradshaw. Sir, it is not for Prisoners to Require.

King. Prisoner ! *I am not an ordinary Prisoner.*

Bradshaw, The Court have affirmed their Jurisdiction ; if you will not Answer, we shall give Order to Record your Fault.

King. *You never heard my Reason yet.*

Bradshaw. Sir, your Reasons are not to be heard against the Jurisdiction of the Court.

King. *Shew me that Jurisdiction where Reason is not to be heard.*

Bradshaw. Sir, we shew it you here: The Commons of England. And the next time you are brought, you will know more of the pleasure of the Court, and, it may be, their final Determination.

King. *Shew me where ever the House of Commons was a Court of Judicature of that kind.*

Bradshaw. Sergeant, take away the Prisoner.

King. Well, Sir, remember that the King is not suffer'd to give in his Reasons, for the Liberty and Freedom of all his Subjects.

Bradshaw. Sir, you are not to have Liberty to use this Language ; how great a Friend you have been to the Laws and Liberty of the People, let all England, and the World judge.

King. Under favour, Sir, it was the Liberty, Freedom and Laws of the Subject that ever I took, I defended my self with Arms, I never took up Arms against the People, but for the Laws.

Bradshaw. The Command of the Court must be obey'd, no Answer will be given to the charge.

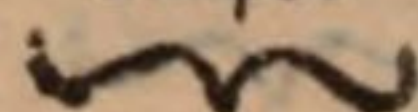
So the King was Guarded out to Sir Robert Cotton's, and the Court adjourned to the Painted Chamber. Tuesday, January the 23d. the Court sate again, and Seventy three Commissioners of those before named, were present.

The King being brought into the Court, Solicitor Cook summ'd up what had been already done in it, and complaining of the great delay of Justice, moved for a speedy Judgment against the King.

The third Sitting.

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Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard what is mov'd by the Council on behalf of the Kingdom against you, and now the Court expects that you give in your Positive and Final Answer in plain *English*, whether you are *Guilty* or *Not Guilty* of these Treasons laid to your Charge.

King. When I was here yesterday, I did desire to speak for the Liberties of the People of England; I was interrupted, I desire to know yet, whether I may speak freely, or not.

Bradshaw. Sir, you have heard the Resolution of the Court upon the like Question, and that you ought to acknowledge the Jurisdiction of it, and Answer to your Charge, and when you have done that, you shall be heard at large.

King. 'For the Charge I value not a Rush, it is
'the Liberty of the People of *England* that I stand
'for; for me to acknowledge a new Court that I
'never heard of before: I that am your King, that
'should be an example to all the People of *England*,
'to uphold Justice, to maintain the Old Laws, in-
'deed I do not know how to do it. You spake well
'one day of the Obligation that was laid upon me by
'God, to maintain the Liberties of my People; the same
'Obligation you speak of calls upon me to defend, as
'much as in me lies, the antient Laws of the King-
'dom; therefore till I know that this is not against
'the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom, I can put in
'no particular Answer: If you will give me time, I
'will shew you my Reasons, and this — *Here the*
'*King was again interrupted, but recovering himself*
'*went on, saying, By your favour, you ought not to*
'interrupt me: How I came hither I know not, there's
'no Law to make your King your Prisoner. I was in a
'Treaty on the publick Faith of the Kingdom, made
'to me by the two Houses of Parliament, that was the
'Representative of the Kingdom, and I had almost
'made an end of the Treaty, when I was hurried away
'and brought hither, and therefore ———

Bradshaw. Sir, you must know the pleasure of the Court.

King. By your favour Sir, — *Here Bradshaw interrupted him.*

Bradshaw. Nay, Sir, by your favour you may not be permitted to fall into those Discourses; you appear as a Delinquent, you have not acknowledged the Authority of the Court, the Court craves it not
of

of you, but once more they command you to give your positive Answer. Clerk, Do your Duty.

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King. *Duty, Sir!*

Then the Clerk read: '*Charles Stuart, King of England, you are accused in behalf of the Commons of England of divers High Crimes and Treasons, which Charge has been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way of Confession, or Denial of the Charge.*

King. *I say again to you, so that I may give Satisfaction to the People of England, of the clearness of my Proceedings, not by way of Answer, but to satisfy them, that I have done nothing against that Trust that hath been committed to me, I would do it; but to Acknowledge a New Court, against their Privileges, to alter the Fundamental Laws of the Kingdom: Sir you must excuse me.*

Bradshaw. Sir, this is the third time that you have publickly disavowed this Court, and put an Affront upon it; how far you have preserved the Privileges of the People, your Actions have spoken; but truly, Sir, Men's Intentions should be known by their Actions; you have written your meaning in bloody Characters throughout the whole Kingdom; but, Sir, you understand the Pleasure of the Court. Clerk, Record the Default; you that took Charge of the Prisoner take him back again. So the King went forth with his Guards, and the Court adjourn'd to the Painted Chamber, the Cryer, as at other times, said *God bless the Kingdom of England.*

Saturday the 27th. of Jan. 1648, the Court sate again in Westminster-Hall, Bradshaw was in Scarlet Robes, after him 67 Commissioners answer'd to their Names, the King came in, in his wonted posture with his Hat on, a company of Soldiers and seditious Persons were placed about the Court, to Cry for Justice, Judgment and Execution, the People not daring to cry *God bless him*, for fear of being beaten again by the Soldiers.

The Fourth Sitting.

Bradshaw. Gentlemen, it is well known to all here present, that the Prisoner at the Bar hath been several times convented, and brought before this Court, to make Answer to a Charge of High-Treason, and other Crimes exhibited against him, in the Name of the People of England, to which Charge being required to Answer, he hath been so far from Obeying the Commands of the Court, by submitting to their Justice, as he began to take upon him reasoning, and debating unto the

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the Authority of the Court, and to the Highest Court that appointed them to Try and Judge him ; but being Over-rul'd in that, and required to make his Answer, he still continued contumacious, and refus'd to submit to an answer ; hereupon the Court, that they may not be wanting to themselves, nor the Trust repos'd in them, nor that any Man's Wilfulness prevent Justice, they have consider'd of the Charge, and of the Contumacy, and of that confession which, in Law, doth arise on that Contumacy ; they have also consider'd the Notoriety of the Fact charg'd upon this Prisoner, and upon the whole matter, they are resolved, and have agreed upon a Sentence to be pronounced against him ; but in respect he doth desire to be heard before the Sentence be pronounced against him, the Court doth resolve to hear him ; yet, Sir, this I must tell you before-hand, which you have been minded of at other Courts, if that which you have to say, be to offer any Debate concerning the Jurisdiction, you are not to be heard in it. You have offer'd it formerly, and you have *struck at the root*, that is, the Power and Supreme Authority of the Commons of *England*, which this Court will not admit a Debate of, and which indeed is an irrational thing in them to do, being a Court that Acts upon Authority derived from them : But, Sir, if you have any thing to say in Defence of your self, concerning the matter charged, the Court has given me in command to hear you.

King. ' Since I see that you will not hear any thing
' of Debate, concerning that which, I confess, I
' thought most material for the Peace of the King-
' dom, and for the Liberty of the Subject, I shall
' wave it ; but only I must tell you, that this many
' a day all things have been taken away from me, but
' that that I call dearer to me than my Life, which is
' my *Conscience and my Honour*, and if I had respect
' to my Life, more than the Peace of the Kingdom,
' and the Liberty of the Subject, certainly I should
' have made a particular Defence for my Life ; for
' by that at least wise, I might have delay'd an *Ugly*
' *Sentence*, which I believe will pass upon me, there-
' fore certainly, Sir, as a Man that hath some under-
' standing, some knowledge of the World, if that
' true Zeal to my Country had not over born the care
' that I have for my own preservation, I should have
' gone another way to work than that I have done.
' Now, Sir, I conceive that a hasty Sentence once pass'd,
' may

' may sooner be repented of, than recall'd, and truly
 ' the self same desire that I have for the Peace of the
 ' Kingdom, and the Liberty of the Subject, more than
 ' my own particular Ends, makes me now at last de-
 ' sire that I may say something that concerns both. I
 ' desire that before Sentence be given, that I may be
 ' heard in the Painted Chamber, before the Lords
 ' and Commons. This delay cannot be prejudicial to
 ' you, whatsoever I say, if that I say be no Reason,
 ' those that hear must be Judges. I cannot be Judge
 ' of that which I have to say, if it be reason, and
 ' really for the welfare of the Kingdom, and the
 ' Liberty of the Subject, I am sure it is very well worth
 ' the hearing; therefore I do conjure you, as you
 ' love that which you pretend, I hope its real, the Liber-
 ' ty of the Subject and Peace of the Kingdom, that you
 ' will grant me this hearing before any Sentence pas-
 ' seth; but if I cannot get this Liberty, I do protest
 ' that your fair shews of Liberty and Peace, are pure
 ' shews, and that you will not hear your King.

Bradshaw said this was declining the Jurisdiction of the Court, and delay, yet the Court withdrew for half an Hour, Advised upon it, and Sate again.

Bradshaw said to the King, that the Court had considered what he had moved, and also their own Authority; the return from the Court, said he, is this, That they have been too much delayed by you already, and are Judges appointed by the highest Authority, and Judges are no more to delay than deny Justice, and notwithstanding what you have Offer'd, they are resolved to proceed to Sentence, and to Judgment, that is their Unanimous Resolution.

The King press'd again, and again, that he might be heard by the Lords and Commons in the Painted Chamber with great Earnestness, and was as often denied by *Bradshaw*; at last the King desired that this motion of his might be entred.

Bradshaw began in a long Speech to declare the Grounds of the Sentence, highly aggravating the King's pretended Offences, and misapplying both Law and History to his present purpose; and when *Bradshaw* had done speaking, *Broughton* the Clerk, read the Sentence drawn up in Parchment, to this Effect.

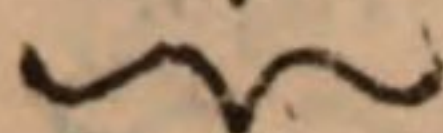
" That whereas the Commons of *England* had ap-
 " pointed them an High-Court of Justice, for the Trial
 " of *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, before whom he

*The Sen-
tenec.*

had

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“ had been three times Convened, and at the first tim^e
 “ a Charge of High Treason and other High Crimes
 “ and Misdemeanours, was read in the behalf of the
 “ Kingdom of *England*, &c. which Charge being read
 “ unto him as aforesaid, he the said *Charles Stewart* was
 “ required to give his Answer, but he refused so to do,
 “ and so express’d the several passages at the Trial, in
 refusing to Answer, for all which Treasons and
 Crimes, this Court doth Adjudge, that he the said
Charles Stewart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer,
 and publick Enemy, shall be put to Death, by
 Severing his Head from his Body.

After the Sentence was read, *Bradshaw* said, This
 Sentence now read and published, is the Act, Sen-
 tence, Judgment and Resolution of the whole Court,
 and then the whole Court stood up, as assenting to
 what *Bradshaw* said.

King. *Will you hear me a Word, Sir ?*

Bradshaw. Sir you are not to be heard after the
 Sentence.

King. *No Sir !*

Bradshaw. No Sir, by your favour, Sir. Guard,
 withdraw your Prisoner.

King. *I am not suffered to Speak, expect what Justice
 other People will have.*

This pretended Court, after Judgment given, went
 into the Painted Chamber, and appointed, Sir *Har-*
dress Waller, *Ireton*, *Harrison*, *Dean* and *Okey*, to
 consider of the time and place for the Execution.

*The Insolence
 of the Sol-
 diers.*

The King being not allowed to reply, was taken by
 his Guards to Sir *Robert Cotton*’s House, and as he
 pass’d down Stairs, the *Rude Soldiers* scoff’d at him,
 blew the Smoak of their Tobacco in his Face (a thing
 always very offensive to him) strewed pieces of Pipes
 in his way, and one more abominably Insolent than
 the rest, Spit in his Face, which his Majesty patiently
 wiped off, taking no farther notice of it: And as he
 pass’d farther, hearing some of them by the insti-
 gation of their Officers, cry out, *Justice, Justice, and
 Execution*, he said, *Alas ! poor Souls, for a Piece of Mo-
 ney, they would do as much for their Commanders.*
 Afterward the King hearing that his Execution was
 determined to be the next day, before his Palace at
White-Hall, he sent an Officer in the Army to desire
 them, that he might see his Children before his Death,
 and that Doctor *Juxon*, Bishop of *London*, might be
 permitted

permitted to assist him in his private Devotions, and receiving the Sacrament, both which were granted to him upon a Motion to the Parliament.

A. D.
1648.

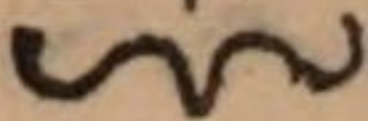
The same day that the Warrant was Signed for his Execution, the Duke of Gloucester, and the Lady Elizabeth, were brought to him, whom he received with great Joy and Satisfaction, and giving his Blessing to the Princess, *He bid her remember to tell her Brother James, that he should no more look upon Charles as his Elder Brother only, but as his Sovereign, and that they should Love one another, and forgive their Fathers Enemies.* Then taking the Duke of Gloucester upon his Knee, said, *Sweet Heart, now they will cut off thy Father's Head, (at which words the Child looked very wishfully upon him) Mark Child what I say, they will cut off my Head, and perhaps make thee a King; but mark what I say, you must not be a King so long as your Brothers, Charles and James are alive; for they will cut off your Brothers Heads, as soon as they can catch them, and cut thy Head off too at last, and therefore I charge you, do not be made a King by them.* At which the Child sighing said, *I will be torn in pieces first ---* which falling so unexpectedly from a Child so young, it made the King rejoyce exceedingly.

*The King
sees his
Children.*

On the fatal day, being the 30th of January, the Bishop of London read Divine Service in his presence, and the 27 of Matthew, the History of our Saviour's Passion being appointed by the Church for that Day; he gave the Bishop thanks for his seasonable choice of the Lesson; but the Bishop acquainting him that it was the Service of the Day, it comforted him exceedingly, and then he proceeded to receive the Holy Sacrament. His Devotions being ended, he was brought from St. James's to White-Hall, by a Regiment of Foot, part before and part behind, with a Private Guard of Partisans about him, the Bishop of London on the one Hand, and Colonel Tomlinson who had the Charge of him, on the other, Bareheaded. The Guards marched but a slow pace, the King bid them go faster, saying That he now went before them to strive for an Heavenly Crown, with less solicitude than he had often encouraged his Soldiers to Fight for an Earthly Diadem. Being come to the end of the Park, he went up the Stairs leading to the Long Gallery in White-Hall, where formerly he used to Lodge, and there finding an unexpected delay, the Scaffold being not ready, he past most of that time in Prayer. About Twelve a Clock, Colonel Hacker, with

*He's brought
to the Scaf-
fold.*

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1648.

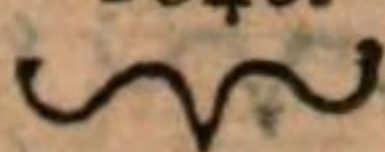


with other Officers and Soldiers, brought the King with the Bishop and Colonel *Tomlinson*, through the Banqueting-House, to the Scaffold, a Passage being made through a Window. A strong Guard of several Regiments of Horse and Foot, were planted on all sides, which hindred the near approach of his Mourning Subjects (who for discovering their Sorrow were Barbarously used) and the King from speaking to be heard, and therefore being upon the Scaffold, he chiefly directed his Speech to the Bishop, and Colonel *Tomlinson* to this purpose.

*The King's
Speech upon
the Scaffold.*

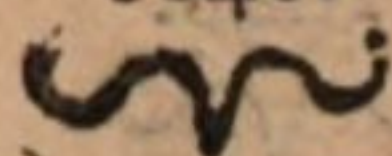
‘ I shall be very little heard of any body else, I shall
‘ therefore speak a word to you here; indeed I could
‘ have held my peace very well, if I did not think that
‘ holding my peace would make some Men think that I
‘ did submit to the Guilt, as well as the Punishment;
‘ but I think it is my Duty to God first, and then to my
‘ Country, to clear my self, both as an Honest Man, a
‘ Good King, and a good Christian. I shall begin first
‘ with my Innocency, and in Troth I think it not ve-
‘ ry needful to insist long upon this, for all the World
‘ knows, that I did never begin a War with the two
‘ Houses of Parliament, and I call God to Witness,
‘ unto whom I must shortly make an account, that I
‘ did never intend to Encroach upon their Privileges,
‘ they began upon me, it is the Militia they began up-
‘ on, they confest the Militia was mine, but they
‘ thought fit to have it from me; and to be short, if any
‘ body will look to the *Dates of Commissions*, of their
‘ Commissions, and mine, and likewise to the *Decla-*
‘ *rations*, he will see clearly that they began these
‘ Troubles and not I. So as for the Guilt of these
‘ Enormous Crimes that are laid against me, I hope
‘ that God will clear me. I will not, for I am in
‘ Charity, and God forbid I should lay it upon the two
‘ Houses of Parliament, there is no necessity of either.
‘ I hope they are free of this Guilt; but I believe that
‘ ill Instruments between them and me, have been the
‘ cause of all this Bloodshed; so that as I find my self
‘ clear of this, I hope, and pray God, that they may
‘ too; yet for all this, God forbid I should be so ill a
‘ Christian, as not to say God’s Judgments are just
‘ upon me; many times he doth pay Justice by an un-
‘ just Sentence, that is ordinary; I will say this, that
‘ an unjust Sentence that I suffer’d to take effect, is
‘ punish’d by an unjust Sentence upon me; so far I have
‘ said, to shew you that I am an Innocent Man.

‘ Now

' Now to shew you that I am a good Christian, I A. D.
 ' hope there is a good Man * that will bear me witness, 1648.
 ' that I have forgiven all the World, and even those in 
 ' particular that have been the cause of my Death; who ^{Pointing}
 ' they are God knows, I don't desire to know, I pray ^{to the Bi}
 ' God forgive 'em; but this is not all, my Charity must ^{shop.}
 ' go farther, I wish that they may repent, indeed they
 ' have committed a great Sin in that particular. I pray
 ' God with St Stephen, that be not laid to their charge;
 ' and withal, that they may take the way to the peace
 ' of the Kingdom, for my Charity commands me not
 ' to forgive particular men, but endeavour to the last
 ' gasp, the Peace of the Kingdom. So, Sirs, I do
 ' wish with all my Soul, (*I see there are some here that*
will carry it farther) the Peace of the Kingdom. Sirs,
 ' I must shew you how you are out of the way, and put
 ' you in the way; first, you are out of the way, for cer-
 ' tainly all the ways you ever had yet, as far as I could
 ' find by any thing: If in the way of Conquest, cer-
 ' tainly this is an ill way, for Conquest in my opinion,
 ' is never just, except there be a good and just Cause,
 ' either for matter of Wrong, or a just Title, and then
 ' if you go beyond the first Quarrel, that makes that
 ' unjust at the end that was just at first; for if there be
 ' only matter of Conquest, then it is a Robbery, as a
 ' Pyrate said to Alexander, that he was a great Robber,
 ' himself was but a petty Robber; and so, Sirs, I
 ' think for the way that you are in, you are much out
 ' of the way. Now, Sirs, to put you in the way, be-
 ' lieve it, you shall never go right; nor God will ne-
 ' ver prosper you, until you give God his Due, the
 ' King his Due, (that is my Successor) and the People
 ' their Due: I am as much for them as any of you.
 ' You must give God his Due, by regulating the
 ' Church (according to the Scripture) which is now
 ' out of order; and to set you in a way particularly
 ' now I cannot, but only this, *A National Synod freely* ^{observing}
 ' *call'd, freely debating among themselves must settle this:* ^{or to}
 ' When every opinion is freely heard: For the King ^{Write.}
 ' indeed I will not, the Laws of the Land will clearly
 ' instruct you for that, therefore because it concerns
 ' my own particular I only give you a touch of it.
 ' For the People, truly I desire their Liberty and Free-
 ' dom as much as any body whosoever; but I must tell
 ' you, that their Liberty and Freedom consists in ha-
 ' ving Government under those Laws, by which their
 S Lives

A. D.

1648.



‘ Lives and their Estates may be most their own. It is not
 ‘ in having a share in the Government, that is nothing
 ‘ appertaining to them ; a Subject and a Sovereign are
 ‘ clear different things, and therefore until you do
 ‘ that, I mean, that you put the people into that Li-
 ‘ berty as I say, they will never enjoy themselves.

‘ Sirs, It was for this that now I am come hither,
 ‘ for if I would have given way to an Arbitrary Course,
 ‘ to have all Laws chang’d according to the Power of
 ‘ the Sword, I need not to have come here ; and there-
 ‘ fore I tell you (and I pray to God it be not laid to
 ‘ your charge) that I am the Martyr of the People.
 ‘ In troth, Sirs, I shall not hold you any longer, I will
 ‘ only say this to you, that I could have desired some
 ‘ little time longer, because I would have a little
 ‘ better digested this I have said, and therefore I hope
 ‘ you will excuse me ; I have deliver’d my Conscience,
 ‘ I pray God you take those Courses that are the best
 ‘ for the good of the Kingdom, and your own Salva-
 ‘ tion.

Bishop. Tho your Majesty’s Affections may be very
 well known as to Religion, yet it may be expected
 that you should say something thereof for the World’s
 satisfaction.

King. *I thank you heartily my Lord, for that I had
 almost forgotten it ; in Troth, Sirs, my Conscience in
 Religion I think is very well known to all the World, and
 therefore I declare before you all, That I dye a Christian,
 according to the Profession of the Church of England, as I
 found it left me by my Father ; and this honest Man I
 think will witness it.* Then speaking to the Executio-
 ner, he said, *I shall say but very short Prayers, and when
 I thrust out my hands,--- let that be your Sign.* Then he
 call’d to the Bishop for his Night Cap, and having put
 it on, he said to the Executioner, *Does my Hair trou-
 ble you ?* who desired him to put it all under his Cap,
 which the King did accordingly, with the help of the
 Executioner and the Bishop : Then turning to the Exe-
 cutioner, he said, *I have a good Cause, and a Righteous
 God on my side.*

Bishop. There is but one Stage more, this Stage
 is turbulent and full of Trouble, it is a short one ; but
 you may consider, it will soon carry you a very great
 way. It will carry you from Earth to Heaven ; and
 there you will find a great deal of Cordial Joy and Hap-
 piness.

King.

King. *I go from a Corruptible to an Incorruptible Crown, where no disturbance can be, no disturbance in the World.* A. D. 1648.

Bishop. You are exchange'd from a Temporal to an Eternal Crown, a good exchange.

Then the King said, *Is my Hair well?* and took off his Cloak and his George, giving his George to the Bishop, saying, *Remember.* Then he put off his Doublet, and being in his Waistcoat, he put on his Cloak again; then looking upon the Block, he said to the Executioner, *you must set it fast.*

Executioner. It is fast, Sir.

King. *When I put out my Hands this way,* stretching them out ---- *Then do your Work;* after that having said two or three words to himself, as he stood with Hands lift up to Heaven, immediately stooping down, he laid his Neck upon the Block: And then the Executioner again putting his Hair under his Cap, the King thinking he had been going to strike, said, *Stay for the Sign.*

Executioner. Yes, I will, and't please your Majesty. Then after a little Pause, the King stretching forth his Hands, the Executioner at one blow sever'd his Head from his Body; which, with his Body, was put into a Coffin cover'd with black Velvet, and carry'd into his Lodgings at *White-hall*: From thence it was carry'd to his House at *St James's*, where his Body was embalm'd, and put into a Leaden Coffin, and there lay a fortnight to be seen of the People. On *Wednesday* seven-night after, his Corps embalm'd and coffin'd in Lead, was deliver'd to the care of four of his Servants, viz. Mr *Herbert*, Captain *Anthony Mildmay*, Captain *Preston* and Mr. *John Foyner*, who, with others in Mourning, accompany'd the Herse that night to *Windsor*, and plac'd it in the Room, which was formerly the King's Bed-Chamber: Whence it was next day remov'd into the Deans Hall, and from thence, by the Duke of *Richmond*, the Marquis of *Hertford*, the Marquis of *Dorchester*, and the Earl of *Lindsey*, convey'd to *St George's Chappel*, and there interr'd in the Vault, as is supposed, of King *Henry the Eighth* and Queen *Jane*, with this Inscription upon the Coffin, *CHARLES*, King of *England*, 1648.

This Unfortunate Prince was of a Majestick comely Presence, of a sweet, grave, but melancholy Aspect; His Face was regular, handsom, and well complexion'd, his Body strong, healthy, and well made, and tho' of a

A. D. 1648. low Stature, was able to endure the greatest Fatigues. In his Temper he was Brave, Magnificent, Liberal, and Constant, a great Lover, and as great a Master of Manly Exercises, and yet no less accomplished in the Graces, and Entertainments of a Court: Nor did he fall short of the bravest Heroes in Personal Valour, having expos'd his Person in every Battel he fought, and oftentimes Charging in the Head of his Squadrons. He had a good Taste of Learning, and a more than ordinary skill in the Liberal Arts, especially Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Medals; and being a generous Benefactor to the most celebrated Masters in those Arts, he acquired the Noblest Collection of any Prince in his time, and more than all the Kings of *England* had done before him. In his Devotions he was Constant, Regular, and Intent, a great Patron of the Clergy of the Church of *England*, and so Zealous for the Doctrine and Discipline of that Church, that he seal'd it with his Blood; and when he could no longer support it with his Arms, he defended it by his Pen, beyond all contradiction. He was well read in all the essential Points of Divinity, and was as great a Master in it as his Father, but without the Allay of Pedantry: Of this, among other things, the Papers that pass'd betwixt him, and *Henderson* at *New-Castle*, will be a lasting Monument. He was a Lover of Episcopacy, because he understood its Antiquity and Excellency in Ecclesiastical Government, in opposition to all other new invented Models whatsoever. His great Presence of Mind was conspicuous, both in the Field and on the Scaffold, and He was not mistaken in himself, when he said before the High Court of Justice, *That he understood as much Law, as any Private Gentleman in England*. He was a Passionate Lover of his Queen, who was a beautiful Lady, and in all things very accomplish'd: In short he was the best of Husbands, the best of Fathers, the best of Masters, and, peradventure, the best of Men. He spake several Languages very well, and with a Singular good Grace; tho now and then, when he was warm in Discourse he was inclinable to stammer. He wrote a tolerable good Hand for a King, but his Sence was strong, and his Style *Laconick*, and yet He seldom writ in any Language but *English*.

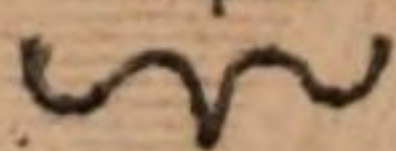
Some of his Manifesto's, Declarations, and other Publick Papers, he drew himself, and most of them he

corrected. In comparing those of the King's with the Parliament's, he must have lost his Understanding, that does not give the Preference to the King's, for strength of Reasoning, and Force of Expression. There are several pieces of his own Hand-writing yet to be seen, which for Matter and Form, surpass those of his ablest Ministers, and come nothing short of *Strafford's* and *Falkland's*, two most celebrated Pens of that Time. What his Opinion was about Subjects defending their Religion and Liberties by Force of Arms, appeared in the Business of *Rochel*. For tho some would have persuaded us of late, that Defensive Arms were inconsistent with the Principles of the Church of *England*; I hope they will not deny, but this King understood the Doctrine and Principles of the *English* Church, as well as any other Person can pretend to know them; and yet it is certain, that in his Practice and Declarations, he approv'd of the *Rochellers* Vindicating their Religion and Liberties from the Encroachments made by their Sovereign, and that by Force of Arms; and assisted them in so doing. No Prince was better Instructed in the Principles of Government than he was, and his only unhappiness was, that he sometimes trusted to other Men's Counsels, rather than to his own, and put so much Power into his Enemies hands in hopes of gaining them, that he was no longer in Power to defend himself. In effect, he was too good a Man to be a happy Prince, and rather was destroyed by his own Tenderness than by the Force of his Enemies, as appear'd by the ill use which was made of it in several Treaties, Councils and Battels. To conclude, the War itself was unjustifiable, rebellious and barbarous; but the Formalities in proceeding against him by Arraignment, Tryal, Sentence and Execution, fill'd all *Christendom* with Horrour and Indignation; and 'tis to be fear'd that his Blood still cries aloud for Vengeance, against the Contrivers and Instruments of that Execrable Murder, which no Sin can equal but the justifying it; and tho Indemnity has pardon'd it, no Oblivion can deface it.

The Life and Reign of King CHARLES the Second.

A. D.

1648.



King Charles the first being taken off in the manner before mentioned, upon the 30th Day of January 1648, his Eldest Son Prince Charles, by unquestionable Right, Succeeded to the Crowns of *England, Scotland, and Ireland*, in the Eighteenth Year of his Age. The usual Ceremonies of Proclamation and Coronation, were not to be expected as Affairs were now transacted, nor are they absolutely necessary in this Kingdom; for by our Law, which admits of no *Inter-Regnum*, the Successor to the Crown has all the Rights belonging to it, the first moment after the Death of his Predecessor; but the *Fund* that had killed the late King and taken Possession, immediately published an Act, even against Kingly Government it self, expressing their Minds after this manner: *That whereas several Pretences might be made to the Crown, and Titles to the Kingly Office set on Foot, to the apparent hazard of the publick Peace; Be it Enacted and Ordained by the present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, that no Person whatsoever doth presume to Proclaim, Declare, Publish, or any way Promote Charles Stuart, Son of the late King Charles, commonly called the Prince of Wales, or any other Person to be King or Chief Magistrate of England, or Ireland, or of any Dominions belonging to them, by colour of Inheritance, Succession, Election, or any other Claim whatsoever, without the free consent of the People, in Parliament, first had and signified, by a particular Act or Ordinance for that purpose: Any Law, Statute, Usage, or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding. And whosoever shall, contrary to this Act, Proclaim, &c. the said Charles Stuart, shall be deemed and be judged a Traytor, and suffer accordingly.*

The
Juncto's
New Act.

This Inhibition did not affright many Loyal Subjects from doing their Duty, and on the 2d. of February, this year, the following Proclamation was Printed and scatter'd about the Streets of London. We the
The Royall's Pro-
clamation
Noblemen, Judges, Knights, Lawyers, Gentlemen, Free-
Holders, Merchants, Citizens, Yeomen, Seamen, and
other Freemen of England, do according to our Allegi-
ance,



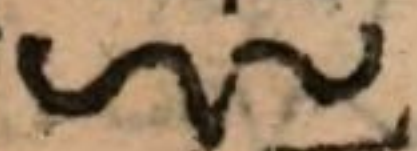
Vol. 2.

26.

ance, and Covenant, by these Presents, Heartily, Joy-
 fully, and Unanimously Acknowledge, and Proclaim,
 the Illustrious Charles Prince of Wales, next Heir of
 the Blood Royal to his Father King Charles, (whose
 late Wicked and Traiterous Murder we do from our
 Souls abominate, and all Parties and Consenters there-
 unto) to be by Hereditary Birth Right and Lawful Suc-
 cession, Rightful and Undoubted King of Great Britain,
 France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto be-
 longing; and that we will Faithfully, Constantly, and
 Sincerely, in our several Places, and Callings, Defend
 and Maintain his Royal Person, Crown and Dignity,
 with our Estates, Lives and last drop of our Bloods, a-
 gainst all Opposers thereof, whom we do hereby declare to
 be Traitors and Enemies to His Majesty and his King-
 dom. In Testimony whereof, we have caused these to
 be publish'd and proclaim'd, throughout all Counties
 and Corporations of this Realm, the First Day of Fe-
 bruary, in the first Year of his Majesties Reign. God
 save King Charles the II.

A. D.

1648.

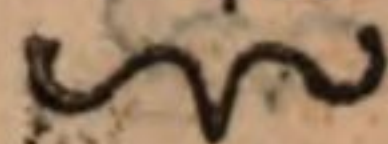


The Army had been modell'd agreeably to these De-
 signs of changing the Monarchy of England and Ireland
 into a Common-Wealth, and now having these to Friend,
 the *Juncto* secluded above 200 Members from sitting
 among them, because they had approv'd the King's
 Concessions in the *Ile of Wight*, The Judges Com-
 missions were determined by the King's Death; and
 the Houle of Lords being yet sitting, they sent to the
Juncto to desire a Conference with them upon that
 Subject, and other matters relating to the Govern-
 ment: but they without returning an answer, Decla-
 red the Kingly Office, to be Unnecessary and Burthensom,
 and that the House of Lords was Dangerous and Use-
 less, and therefore to be laid aside; but that they
 might not be totally Excluded from the Government,
 they declared they might be capable of being Elected
 into the House of Commons, of which afterwards
 three of them only accepted, viz, The Earls of Pem-
 broke, and Salisbury, and the Lord Howard of Escrick;
 but the Peers in general resenting these Indignities,
 put upon them by a Fag-end of the House of Com-
 mons, they published a Protestation in the Name of
 all the Peers and Barons of the Realm, in which,
 They asserted their own Privileges, and Protested against
 all Acts, Votes, Orders or Ordinances of the Members
 of the House of Commons, for Erecting new High Courts

The House
 of Lords
 laid aside

The Prote-
 station of
 the Lords.

A. D.
1648.



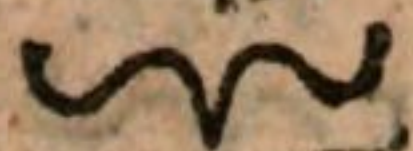
A Force up-
on the Lds.
and a Com-
wealth
started.

of Justice, to Try or Execute the King, or any Peer or Subject of the Realm; for altering the Government, Laws, Great Seal, Antient Forms of Writs, raising New Forces, imposing new Taxes, against Murdering the King, and Disinheriting his Son the Prince of Wales, and particularly against that insolent and frantick Vote, (as they call'd it) of February the 6th, concerning their Abolishing the House of Peers, as Useless and Dangerous, all which Votes, Acts and Orders, They declare not only to be Illegal, and therefore Void, but likewise Detestable and Destructive to the Rights and Beings of Parliament, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties and Properties of the People. But this made little impression upon the Commons, and therefore to prevent the Assembling of the Lords, the Army by their Appointment or Connivance, set a Guard upon the Doors of their House, and in a farther Prosecution of their former Votes, they pass'd an Act, For the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the Abolishing of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up of a Common Wealth, which they ordered to be published and proclaimed in all Parts of the Kingdom. After the Publication of this Act, to compleat the Model of their Government, they abolished all the Ancient Forms of Sovereignty in the Stile and Test of Writs, Commissions, and other Publick Instruments, and Ordered for the Future, that they should all be issued out, *In the Name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England, by Authority of Parliament*; and as another Ensign of their Dominion, they ordered, That all the Money from that time to be coined, should bear the Cross and Harp, with this Motto on one side, *The Common-Wealth of England*, on the other, *God with us*, which gave occasion to a Witty Man, to make this Observation, *That God and the Common-Wealth were not both of a side*. The Parliament of Scotland by Commissioners, protested against these Proceedings, and notwithstanding they were invited by the *Juncto* to fall into the same Model, and promising them Assistance, yet before this Promise could arrive in Scotland, the Scots had taken other Resolutions, and the 3d of February Proclaimed the King at *The King Edenborough Cross*, the Chancellor of Scotland dictating to *Lyon King of Arms* while he published the Proclamation. The Scots also about this time, call'd home their Commissioners, who at their Departure, sent

sent an Expostulatory Declaration to the sitting Members of our Parliament, wherein they put them in Mind of *All their Oaths, Vows and Protestations for the Maintenance of the King's Person and just Rights;* and upbraided them with their *Shameful and Detestable Abjuration and Infringement of them, by what they had lately Acted:* Which was so ill resented by the Sitting Members, that they Imprison'd the Messenger that brought it, Voted the Paper scandalous and seditious, sent after the Commissioners, and secured them, till a Copy of the Paper was sent into Scotland, to know if the Parliament there would own it; upon which a Messenger was sent from Scotland, to justify what their Commissioners had done, and to complain of their Imprisonment, as a thing contrary to the Law of Nations, and thereupon the Commissioners were releas'd and return'd home; but these Proceedings on either side, encreas'd Distrusts and Jealousies between them:

A. D.

1649.



This Summer several Loyal Persons, having unsuccessfully attempted to free the late King from the Oppression and Danger wherein he then lay, of which number were Duke *Hamilton*, the Earls of *Holland* and *Norwich*, the Lord *Capel*, and Sir *John Owen*; they were tried and condemn'd by a High-Court of Justice erected for that purpose: The Duke of *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and Lord *Capel*, were executed; and the Earl of *Norwich*, and Sir *John Owen* pardoned; but the Blood of these Noblemen could not quench the Thirst of those that so prodigally spilt it; for Lieutenant Colonel *Morris*, and Colonel *Blackburn* were hang'd and quarter'd at *York*, for surprizing of *Pontefract*, Mr. *Beaumout* a Minister was Hang'd at *Pontefract*; by Sentence of a Court Martial: Major *Monday*, was shot to Death at *Lancaster*, and Colonel *Langhorn*, *Poyer* and *Powel*, Three brave and Loyal *Welsh-Men*, were Sentenc'd to cast Lots for their Lives, and the fatal Chance falling upon *Poyer*, he was Shot to Death in *Covent-Garden*.

*The New
Govern-
ment laid
in Blood.*

The King being now at the *Hague*, had constant Intelligence of all the Proceedings in *Scotland*, and therefore resolved to go into *France*, for the better Convenience of Treating with their Commissioners; Accordingly he left *Holland*, and went to *St. Germans*, where the Queen his Mother was, and in his Journey thither, was splendidly treated by all the Cities through which he travell'd. The Duke of *Lorraine* met him at

*The King
goes into
France.*

the

A. D. the Frontiers of *France*, and at *Compiègne*, the King
 1649. of *France* receiv'd him, accompanied him to *Paris*,
 and thence to *St. Germain's*, where he staid a few
 Months, together with the Duke of *York*, who came
 thither to him out of *Holland*.

Commoti-
 ons raised
 by the Le-
 vellers.

They are
 Routed at
 Burford
 and Nor-
 thampton

In this prosperous Establishment of their New Com-
 mon-Wealth, there happened a great Disturbance a-
 mong them from the Levelling Party of the Army,
 who were pleas'd with nothing that the Parliament, or
 the rest of the Army transacted, and therefore in Jea-
 lousie of *Cromwell's* and *Ireton's* aspiring Greatness, spi-
 rited many private Soldiers to begin a Defection in the
 Army upon the Levelling Principle: Which in short,
 was to make all People alike, both to Honour and Estate;
 that there might be no Superiority, nor Inferiority a-
 mong them. *Cromwel* endeavoured to crush this Vi-
 per in the Egg, and for that end, forbad their private
 Meetings; but not succeeding in it, several of the Sol-
 diers were seized on, tried and condemned by a Court
 Martial; and one *Lockyer* a busie Fellow among them
 was Shot to Death. Farther to allay the Heat, Eleven
 Regiments by Lot were sent into *Ireland*; but this
 rather inflamed than mollified the Tumour, which
 they exclaimed against as a Contrivance to divide them;
 and therefore resolved till a Government was settled,
 that would answer the end for which they first engaged in
 a War, they would not divide. Hereupon many Re-
 giments revolted from their Officers, and if some
 great Ones, that seem'd to approve their Actions, had
 not betrayed them, the *Juncto's* Authority and *Crom-*
well's also had been utterly overthrown. Of these Le-
 vellers 5000 Horse and Foot were drawn together at
Burford, under the Faith of *Cromwell's* Word, that
 none of the rest of the Army should come nearer them
 than at the Distance of Ten Miles; but in the midst
 of this Security, as the Plot was laid, Colonel *Rey-*
nolds, that first betrayed their Counsels, fell upon them
 with greater numbers than they had, and quickly
 routed them, taking 900 Horse, and 400 Foot Priso-
 ners. One Captain *Thompson* flying from *Burford*,
 came to *Northampton*, and there first seizing upon the
 Money in *Gifford* the Hosier's Hands, that had been
 collected for Excise, gathered a ragged Company to-
 gether; but hearing that a Regiment of Horse was
 coming against them, they took shelter in a Wood
 near *Molton*, where *Thompson* fighting courageously
 till

till he died, was brought back before a Trooper to *Northampton*, and there bury'd; which put an end to the Attempt of the Levellers, and then great preparations were made for *Ireland*. A. D. 1649

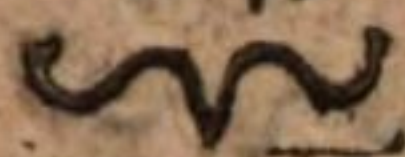
These intestine Broils gave the vigilant and courageous Marquess of *Ormond*, who by the late King's Commission, was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, an opportunity of reducing the greatest part of that Kingdom in Obedience to the Crown; for no considerable place held out for the Parliament but *Dublin* and *London-Derry*, and the latter was also besieged by Sir *Robert Stewart* and Colonel *Audley Melvin*, with a good Brigade. The Lord Lieutenant's Army being strengthened by the Forces of the Marquess of *Clanrickard*, the Earl of *Castle-haven*, the Lord *Inchequin*, the Lord *Moor*, and several others, he march'd against *Dublin*, and coming to a Village call'd *Finglass*, about two miles distant from it, on the North side of the River, he us'd his endeavours to win Colonel *Jones*, who was Governour of the City, to the King's Interest; but not succeeding in it, several Skirmishes pass'd between 'em, while the King's Army remain'd at *Finglass*, in which the City always had the best on't. Afterwards the Marquis made a nearer Approach to the City, by crossing the River, and raising Forts, and was in hopes to starve the City into a surrender. To prevent this Inconveniency, the Governour resolv'd to make a Sally to destroy the Works that the Enemy was raising; which as soon as he attempted, the *Irish* betook themselves to their heels, and raised the Siege. About the same time Sir *Robert Stewart* and Colonel *Melvin* were also beaten from the Siege of *London Derry* by Sir *Charles Coot*, who was Governour of it for the Parliament.

Upon the News of this good Fortune in *Ireland*, *Cromwell*, with his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, alter'd their purpose of Landing in *Munster*, and with great Precipitation transported his Army to *Dublin*, where, after he had a little refresh'd his Forces, he march'd to *Drogheda*, which was commanded by Sir *Arthur Ashton*, a person in whose Courage and Conduct, great Confidence was repos'd. As soon as *Cromwell* came within sight of the Town, he summon'd it, which being refus'd, he immediately began his Approaches, making many Assaults, to the great loss of his Army, but at last carry'd it by Storm; and, to strike a Terror into other Forts and Towns that held out for the King, all that

Drogheda taken.

A. D.

1649



*The King
Proclaim-
ed at Jer-
sey.*

that were found in Arms were put to the Sword, among which the Governour himself, and Sir *Edmund Varney*, and the Colonels *Warren*, *Tempest* and *Finglass*, with many other Officers of Note were also kill'd. And tho *Cromwell's* Orders extended only to them that were found in Arms, yet so great was the rage of the Soldiers, that many of the Inhabitants were also slain, without respect to Age, Sex or Condition. After the taking of *Drogheda*, in less than a year, most of the Cities and Towns in *Ireland* were taken, the whole Kingdom in a manner subdu'd to the Power of the Common-Wealth, and the Marquess of *Ormond*, and all that oppos'd their Authority, withdrew themselves.

The King, with the Duke of *York*, about this time sail'd to the Isle of *Jersey*, accompany'd with about 300 persons, and was there solemnly proclaim'd King. In September Mr *George Windram* of *Liberton* was dispatch'd with an Express from the Council of Estates in *Scotland* to the King at *Jersey*, in preparation to a Treaty to be had at *Breda*; but he was so long on his Journey, that the King became doubtful of their Councils in *Scotland*, and had given the M. of *Montross* a Commission to levy Men in that Kingdom, in hopes the Committee of Estates would be induc'd to treat with him the sooner, and more effectually. However, when Mr *Windram* landed at *Jersey*, the King receiv'd him very well, the substance of whose Message was, *That the King would be pleas'd to acknowledge their Parliament, and especially the last Sessions of it, to be a Lawful Assembly, and then they would treat of the means to re-establish Peace and Obedience to his Authority in that Kingdom.* This Overture admitted of a great Debate in the King's Council, whether the Scots, in consideration how they had dealt by his Father, were to be trusted or not? but at length it was resolv'd to try them once more, and therefore Mr *Windram* was sent back with the following Letter.

*The King's
Letter to
the Scots.*

CHARLES R.

WE have receiv'd your Letters by Mr. *Windram*, and graciously accept all the Expressions of Affection and Fidelity to Us, with your tender Resentment of our present Condition, and the just Indignation which you profess to have against the execrable Murder of Our Father: And We believe that your Intentions are as full of Candour towards Us, as We are, and always really have

have been desirous to settle a clear and right Understanding between Us and our ancient Subjects of Scotland, which may be an assured Foundation of their Happiness and Peace for the time to come, and an effectual means to root out all the Seed of Animosities and Divisions caus'd by these late Troubles, and also to re-unite the Hearts and Affections of our Subjects one to another, and all of them to Us, their King and Lawful Sovereign, that thereby We may be put into a condition to maintain them in Peace and Prosperity, and to protect them in their Religion and Liberty; therefore We have thought fit to command and desire you, to send Us Commissioners sufficiently Authoriz'd, to Treat and Agree with Us, both in relation to your Selves, and what we may expect from you, to bring and reduce the Murderers of Our late most Dear Father of happy Memory, to condign Punishment, and to recover Our just Rights in all our Kingdoms. And We will that they attend Us on the Fifteenth day of the Month of March at the Town of Breda, where we intend to be, in order to a Treaty with them. To the same effect, was a Letter written also to the Kirk.

A. D.

1650



All this while Montross was busie in soliciting the Montross King of Denmark, the Queen of Sweden, and other raising Princes for Money, Arms and Men to be employ'd in Forces beyond Sea the King's Service; but yet was so generous as to write to the King to make an Agreement with the States of Scotland, so that he might be honourably, and with safety, restor'd to his Right and Dignities, and rather than break off with them, to give consent to have him banish'd the Kingdom, that he might receive no prejudice for his sake. But the King would by no means yield to his request in that particular, declaring that he had found him so faithful, and to have perform'd such eminent Services, both to his Father and himself, that in Justice, or Honour, he could not desert him.

The Juncto unwilling to let the King be at quiet in Jersey sent part of the English Fleet at Portsmouth, with store of Provision in order to attack this Island, which put the King upon a speedy Remove from that place into France, where he resided till the time appointed for the Treaty at Breda drew near, and then he went thither. When Sir John Windram return'd with the King's Letter into Scotland, the Council of State, and the Committee of the Kirk, having duly consider'd the matter, and drawn up Propositions, they chose Commissioners, and dispatch'd them to Breda, where they arriv'd

A Treaty
between
the King
and the
Scots.

A. D. arriv'd one day before the King came, and next day
 1650 after went to meet him at *Berghe-nop-zome*, and came
 together to *Breda*, where, after reposing themselves
 two or three days, they were conducted to their first
 Audience by the Captain of the King's Guards, who
 was sent with the King's Coach to receive them. The
 Earl of *Cassell* addrest himself to the King, in the name
 of the Commissioners of Parliament, in a short Speech
 to this effect, *That the Kingdom of Scotland had sent*
him and his Colleagues with Propositions to him, which
they humbly tender'd to his Majesty, not that they thought
to take advantage of his necessities, or weary him by im-
portunities, but by making their humble Submissions, in
which they hop'd their desires would appear so Just and Rea-
sonable, that he would soon condescend to grant them. As
 soon as he had ended, the Commissioners of the Kirk
 having presented themselves before him, Mr. *John Le-*
vinston also made a Speech, where he press'd his Majesty
 to hearken to the joint desires of the Estate and Kirk of
 Scotland, that so he might enjoy the Blessing of God, and
 be received by his People in Comfort and Peace, to pro-
 mote the work of the Lord, and to make them Happy.

Then they produc'd their Commissions and their Let-
The Scots ters, with the Propositions from the Estates and Kirk
Proposals. of Scotland; which were as followeth, 1. That all
 those who had been, and continued excommunicated
 by the Kirk of Scotland, may be remov'd from having
 any Access to the Court. 2. That he would be pleas'd
 to declare, that he would by solemn Oath, under his
 Hand and Seal, allow the National Covenant of Scot-
 land, England and Ireland, and that he would prose-
 cute the ends thereof in his Royal Station. 3. That
 he would ratifie and approve all Acts of Parliament,
 enjoyning the solemn League and Covenant, and esta-
 blishing Presbyterian Government, the Directory of
 Worship, the Confession of Faith and Catechism in the
 Kingdom of Scotland, as they are already approv'd by
 the General Assembly of the Kirk, and by the Parlia-
 ment of the Kingdom, that he would give his Royal
 Assent to the Acts of Parliament enjoyning the same in
 the rest of his Dominions, that he would observe the
 same in his own Practice and Family, and never make
 opposition herein, or endeavour any change thereof.
 4. That he would consent and agree that all Matters
 Civil, might be determin'd by the present and subse-
 quent Parliaments of the Kingdom of Scotland, and all
 Mat-

Matters Ecclesiastical by the ensuing General Assemblies of the Kirk, as was formerly condescended and agreed to by his late Father.

A. D.

1650



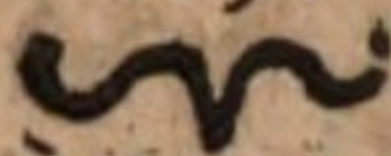
A few days after the Treaty began, wherein the King found many difficulties in every Article, for, *The Treaty began.*

tho' that which related to the prohibiting all from Access to the Court that were excommunicated by the Kirk, would deprive him from the Service and Attendance of the Earl of *Montross*, and many other of the Loyal Nobility and Gentry of that Kingdom, he resolv'd not to break with them for that, not doubting but when he had obtain'd the Kingdom, he might by degrees make them sensible of their mistaken Zeal against such Loyal persons; but that which most press'd him was, the cause of Religion express'd in the severity of those Propositions, which requir'd him by solemn Oath, under his Hand and Seal, to allow the *Covenant* and establish the Presbyterian Government, and deny'd him the use of the *English* Liturgy to his own Person: The King urg'd, ' There was no Reason he should relinquish the Religion he was bred in, and for which his Father was made a Sacrifice, and that while he was willing to indulge his Subjects with Liberty of Conscience, it would be inconsistent with their Pretences to Peace and Agreement to deny him his: ' That the Covenant was the Subject's Covenant, and bound them to him, and not for him to take to swear to himself; however, he would pass an Act for his Subjects to take it. He likewise offer'd to confirm the Presbyterian Government in *Scotland*, and provided he himself might always have three Chaplains to attend him, of his own election.

While this Treaty was on foot, the Earl of *Can-* *Montross*
worth and Mr. *Murray* came to *Breda*, with new In- *lands in*
structions to the Commission concerning the Militia, *Scotland.*
which put a Demur to the conclusion of it; and it was said that the King was willing to admit of a little delay, to know what success *Montross* had, who after many discouragements, about this time embark'd for *Scotland*, and about the middle of *May* landed in the Isles of *Orkney*, accompany'd with the Lord *Trendraught*, the Master of *Pitsfodder*, Sir *John Urney*, *Henry Graham*, his Natural Brother, Collonel *Johnston*, *George Drummond*, and other his Friends and Confederates, with two Ships and a small Frigate of 14 Guns, 1500 Arms and 500 *German* Soldiers. Colonel *King* had promis'd

A. D.

1650



Montrofs
is routed
and taken
Prisoner

mis'd to come to him with some Horse from *Sweden*, but disappointed him. Colonel *Ogleby* and Colonel *Cockrain*, who were intrusted with certain Sums of Money for raising Men and Arms (the one in *Amsterdam*, the other in *Poland*) fail'd in the discharge of their Trust, and converted the Money to their own uses. Two of the four Ships, wherein were about two hundred *German* Souldiers, and many Instruments of War, were cast away a little before his landing; but all these Disasters, which might have shaken a good Resolution, abated nothing of his Courage and Magnanimity. The Estates of *Scotland* had no Forces in any of these Islands, which gave him an opportunity of raising a small Army, with part of which he landed in *Cathnes*, the utmost point of Land in the North West of *Scotland*, in hopes to meet *Pluscardy* with two Thousand Men, which he had promised to bring to his assistance; but in this also he met with a disappointment; for the Parliament of *Scotland* was so extraordinary vigilant, that they utterly prevented all hopes of raising Forces for him, and immediately after his Landing sent an Army of seven Thousand Foot, and Thirty Troops of Horse to oppose him, which encountring the unseason'd and unskilful *Orkney* Men, they soon yielded, and in a short time after the *Germans* also, tho not without shewing abundance of Courage in a stout resistance.

The News of this Victory was so welcome to the Parliament and *Kirk* of *Scotland*, that they gave *Straughan* a Thousand pound Sterling, and a Chain of Gold for bringing it, and to Lieutenant Colonel *Hacket* a Thousand Marks Sterling; but that which crown'd this Victory with the highest Joy and Satisfaction was, that *Montrofs* himself was taken, and was hurrying away with a strong Guard to *Edenborough*. At *Leith* he was met by the Magistrates of *Edenborough* in a kind of fatal Pomp, to welcome him to their insolent Revenges. All the rest of the Prisoners walkt on foot, but the Marques had the reproachful Honour to be mounted on a Cart-Horse, for the greater advantage of exposing him to the View and Scorn of the wondring Multitude, till he came to the end of the Cannon Gate Street, where the Executioner in his Livery Coat, and other Officers, attended with a Cart having a Chair in it, in which the Marques was set, bound with Chains and Bareheaded, while the Executioner had his Bon-

net

net on. In this sordid and reproachful manner they convey'd him to the *Talbooth*, and the next day being Sunday persecuted him worse, by the troublesome Visits of some of the Ministry of the Parliament, who took upon them to give him Exhortations, which could serve no other end, than to aggravate the Sense of his Afflictions, and discover the mean Spirit of those that insulted over him.

The next day he was summon'd to appear before the Lords, Barons and Burgesses, Assembl'd in Parliament, where he appear'd in a very rich Attire, and the Chancellor telling him at first that he must kneel at the Bar, he condescended to do it. The Chancellor spoke to him after this manner, *Sir, I am commanded to mind you of the last Judgment of God befallen you, for your perfidious breaking of the Covenant, which might justly provoke God thus to divert your Councils and Affairs, for having been so eminent an Author and Actor of mischief against this Kingdom. You abandon'd the Covenant, and despised the Oath of God, and did invade your Native Country with most Inhumane and Barbarous Cruelty, did burn and waste divers parts thereof, and have spilt much Blood of his good Subjects, taking advantage of that time when the Prime Commanders and Forces thereof were employ'd elsewhere; for these Crimes you were excommunicated by the Church, and forefaulted by the Parliament of this Kingdom, and yet still continued in the highest Contempt against God, under the fearful sentence of Excommunication, and to this day have you remain'd without the least shew of Repentance, and God by his Providence hath now justly brought you hither, to receive the Sentence of your Condemnation.*

To which the Marques answer'd. 'I am glad that I have liberty to speak for my self; tho' I am your Prisoner, yet my Cause is good, nor is there any breach of the Covenant on my part, in which I swore to be true to his Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, and whatever I have acted in relation to the Wars and Affairs of this Kingdom, I had not only a general Commission, but particular Orders from his Majesty to do what I have done, which Orders I was oblig'd to obey by the said Covenant. Adding, that he appear'd before them now with greater Respect and Reverence, because he heard there was an Agreement between them and his Majesty; but as to a Solemn League and Covenant, he never took it, and therefore ought not

A. D.
1650.The Mar-
ques's
Answer.

A. D. 1650. *W* to be condemn'd for breaking it. And as for my Life, says he, if you take it away by this Authority, it is well known to all the World that I don't regard it. Death is a Debt we all owe, and must once be paid by every Man living: And I am not only willing, but heartily rejoyce to go the same way which my Sovereign and Master went before me; for since I can do no more, I am ready to suffer for him. But since he had done nothing but what became a good Christian, a good Subject, and a good Neighbour, he desired them not to be too rash and partial in their Judgment, but to judge him according to the Law of God, of Nature, of Nations, and that of the Land, as they would answer the contrary to the righteous Judge of all the World.

Then he was commanded to withdraw, and the Parliament not long deliberating upon the matter, proceeded to Sentence of Condemnation, and call'd him to hear it pronounc'd against him; which being an Original, I thought it not amiss to insert it. ' You are to be carry'd back to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to morrow, being the One and Twentieth day of May, 1650. to be carry'd to Edenborough-Cross, and there to be hang'd upon a Gallows thirty foot high, for the space of three hours, then to be taken down, your Head to be cut off upon the Scaffold, then hang'd upon Edenborough Talbooth, and your Legs and Arms to be hung up in other publick Towns in the Kingdom, and your Body to be bury'd at the place where you shall be executed, except the Kirk shall take off your Excommunication, and then your Body shall be bury'd at the common place of Burial.

After the denunciation of the Sentence, at which his Countenance never chang'd, nor his Mind appearing in the least disturb'd, he was guarded back to Prison, where being again haunted and importun'd by the Presbyterian Ministers, he told them, He was much oblig'd to the Parliament for the Honour they had done him; for he accounted it a greater Glory to have his Head stand upon the Prison-Gate for this Quarrel, than to have his Picture in the King's Bed-Chamber; and lest his Loyalty should be too soon forgotten, they had highly honour'd him in designing lasting Monuments to four of the chiefest Cities to bear up his Memory to Posterity; wishing he had Flesh enough to have a piece sent to every City in Christendom, as a Testimony of his Loyalty to his King and Country. On the next day, which was appointed for the

*His Speech
after it.*

the tragical end of his Life, he was led forth to Execution, at which fatal hour his Deportment was so genteel, affable and winning, and his Speeches so powerful and perswasive, that many were of opinion, that his manner of dying had drawn more from the Kirk Party, than he could have vanquish'd in the Field by force of Arms. His Speech was much to the same purpose with that you have already seen; which being concluded, the Executioner presented him with a Cord, at which hung his Declaration and his History, which was order'd to be hang'd about his Neck. He cheerfully receiv'd it, saying, *He did not think himself more honour'd by the Garter, which honourable Order his present Majesty had conferr'd upon him, than by that Cord and Book, which he took with as much Joy and Content as ever he did the Garter, or Chain of Gold; desiring, if they had any more Dishonour (as they thought and intended it) to put upon him, he was ready to receive it.* And then with elevated hands, and eyes lifted up to Heaven, recommending his pious Soul to God, who (as he said) had given him a full Assurance of Mercy in Jesus Christ, he submitted to the Execution of the Sentence. Thus was this excellent, but unfortunate Man, sacrific'd to his Enemy's Revenge after a shameful and spiteful manner, without respect to his Birth, Quality, and other excellent Endowments both of Mind and Body, and that at the very time when they were treating with the King, whom they knew had a great Affection for him. After him, tho' not in such a spiteful manner, were executed Sir John Urry and Colonel Spotswood, Lord of Daircy (who had both the favour to be beheaded) with other Persons of Consideration, that came with the Marquis into Scotland upon this Expedition.

The Treaty being now concluded, the Estates of Scotland sent a solemn Invitation to the King, *That he would be pleased to hasten his speedy coming into Scotland; and withal professing, that they would hazard their Lives and Fortunes to restore him to the possession of his other Kingdoms.* The King complying with their requests, took Shipping at Schevelin in Holland in the beginning of June, and escaping a double danger, first of a Storm that cast him upon the Coast of Denmark, and afterwards of the Parliament's Fleet, that were sent out to intercept him under the Command of Popham, he landed safe at a place called Spey

A. D. 1650. in the North of *Scotland*. At his Majesty's first Arrival, they entertain'd him with the highest Complements, and seem'd to congratulate his coming with great demonstrations of Joy and Affections; on the 15th of *July* solemnly proclaim'd him King a second time at *Edenborough Cross*, and design'd to have crown'd him the Month following; but he had not been long among them, e'er they began to discover their natural Tempers, and imperiously obtruded their *Kirk's* Authority in all Affairs, which very ill suited with Regal Authority; for when the City of *Aberdeen* presented him with 5000 *l.* the Committee of Estates were displeas'd with that Testimony of their Duty, and lest other Cities and Towns should do the like, they declared *what Money or Plate any Persons intended to present the King with, they should bring it into the publick Treasury*; and in the next place proceeded to reform his Retinue, interdicting all, whom they call'd Malignants, from having any publick Employments, which in effect were all his faithfullest Servants, both about his Person and in the Army.

The Commonwealth of *England* having notice of these Occurrences, formed an Army, and sent it to the Borders of *Scotland*. *Fairfax*, who was appointed to command this Army, refused the Charge on Pretence of his Indisposition, occasion'd by the many Wounds he had received in the late Wars; whereupon *Cromwel*, who was newly return'd from *Ireland*, after some formal and faint denials accepted it, and towards the latter end of *June* march'd to *Berwick*, in order to advance into *Scotland*, where he publish'd a Declaration in the name of the Commonwealth of *England*, to justify their Proceedings against the *Scot's*; but so great were the generality of the *Scot's* affections to the King, that his Declaration signified little, tho' some of them kept up a private Correspondence with *Cromwel*, to the ruin of themselves and their Country. About the end of *July* the *English* Army, consisting of 16000 effective Officers and Soldiers, entred into *Scotland*, with a Fleet of *English* Ships attending their Motions. First they march'd with little resistance to *Madrigton*, from thence to *Haddington*, in view of the *Scotch* Army, consisting of 6000 Horse and Dragoons, and 15000 Foot; and *Cromwel* seeing them so strongly entrenched, that it was impossible to force them, after he had faced them a Day and Night, march'd away to

His enter-
tainment
there.

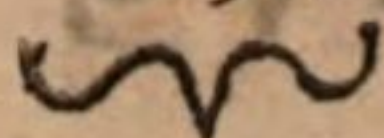
Cromwel
marches
into Scot-
land.

to *Musleborough*. The *Scots* seeing the *English* retreat, A. D. fell into their Rear commanded by *Lambert*, who was 1650. wounded, and had like to have been taken Prisoner: But *Cromwel* coming to his Relief, drove them back to their Camp, not without loss on both sides. The next Morning early, 15 Squadrons of the *Scotch* Horse, commanded by Major General *Montgomery* and Colonel *Straughton*, came out of the Line with a design to beat up the *English* Quarters about *Musleborough*; they surprized the Out-guards, and routed the first Regiment that opposed them; but advancing to another Body, met with such a stout resistance, that *Montgomery* was wounded, his whole Party put in confusion, pursued to their Army, and their Camp had been surprized, if the King himself who appear'd unexpectedly among them, had not prevented their precipitate Flight.

The *Juncto* at *Westminster* were no less active in carrying on the Cause, than *Cromwel* was in *Scotland*, proceeding with all imaginable rigour and severity against all persons that oppos'd their *Tyrannical Usurpation*: They condemn'd Dr. *Levens* by a Court-Martial for giving out the King's Commissions and hang'd him over against the *Royal Exchange*; and not being contented with murdering the King, they spitefully insulted over his Statues. They cut off the Head of his Effigies in the *Royal Exchange*, took his Body out of the Nich, and under the Basis wrote these words: *Exit Tyrannus ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliae restitutæ primo, Annoq; Domini 1648.* which remain'd many years as a Witness of their Guilt to the Natives, and a Memorial of their unparallel'd Treason to Strangers.

The *Scotch* and *English* Armies lying near one another without engaging, because the *Scots* had got an advantageous Post, *Cromwel*'s Army began to be in great distress for want of Provisions, which made him retreat to *Pentland-Hills*, and thence with some difficulty to *Musleborough*, that he might be supplied with Victuals by the Fleet that attended him. Then he march'd to *Dunbar*, with intention to ship his Foot, much wearied by Sickness and long Marches, and ride away with his Horse into *England*; but the *Scots* having notice of his design, press'd so hard upon him with their Army, that he could not effect his purpose.

The same night that he came to *Dunbar*, the *Scots* be- Dunbar ing Fight.

A. D.
1650.The Scots
Losses.The King
leaves the
Estates.

ing close at his heels, drew up their whole Army, consisting of 24000, upon a Hill within a mile of the Town; the *English*, not exceeding the number of 12000, drew out into a Corn-field near adjoining, which had a Neck of Land to encamp on, whole breadth was not a mile and a half from Sea to Sea. The next night the *English* endeavouring to gain the Pass at *Copperspeith*, it allarm'd the *Scots*, and both Armies engaged, the *English* Word being *The Lord of Hosts*, and the *Scotch* Word *The Covenant*, The *Scot's* Right Wing of Horse made a bold Charge, and put the *English* Horse into some Confusion; but they rallying, and being briskly assisted by their Foot, by Six in the Morning the Right Wing of the *Scot's* Horse was routed, and the Left, without striking a stroke, ran away; which the Foot perceiving, and wanting their Horse, they threw down their Arms and fled, and the *English* pursu'd them eight miles beyond *Haddington*. The number of the *Scots* that were slain in this Fight were reckon'd to be 4000, and 9000 taken Prisoners, with all their Ammunition, Bag, and Baggage, 10000 Arms, and all this with the loss of not above 300 *English* Soldiers, and only one Officer, Major *Rookesby*, who surviv'd the Battle, but afterwards died of his Wounds.

This Defeat oblig'd the *Scots* to quit *Leith* and *Edenborough*, which *Cromwel* took possession of, and the King retir'd to *St. Johnston's*, where the Committee of Estates were assembled. Here, instead of enlarging their Interest, by taking in those they had rejected for their Loyalty to the King, they ascrib'd their loss to the admitting the King into *Scotland* before he had given entire satisfaction to the *Kirk*; and therefore began to impose upon him strangely, and remove his faithful Servants from his Person. The King unable to digest these continued Indignities, resolv'd, at any hazard, to free himself from them. To this end, with three of his Servants, pretending to ride a Hawking, He made the best of his way to the Lord *Diduo's* House near *Dundee*. This sudden and secret departure of the King perplex'd the Committee of Estates, who were now sensible of their Errors, that they sent Major General *Montgomery* with a Party of Horse to persuade His Majesty to return. *Montgomery* coming to the House, was admitted into his Presence, who falling before him, besought the King to pardon what had been done

done amiss, assuring him of more Duty and Respect for A. D. the time to come; and the King thinking it would be a 1650. means to unite all Interests to him, freely condescended to the Estates request, and return'd to St. Johnston's. Now the *Scotch* Estates were more complaisant to the *Differen-* King than formerly, and applying themselves to recon-ces compo- cile all different Parties, the Duke of *Hamilton*, the *sed.* Marquis of *Huntley*, the Earls of *Lythgo*, *Lauderdale*, *Calender* and *Crawford*, *Lindsey*, *Bechin*, *Dedua*, and *Middleton*, were received into Favour, and promis'd Employments in the Army. Also the Earl of *Cleveland*, the Lord *Wentworth*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and some few other *English* Royalists, were continued about the King; for before none of that Nation, but the Duke of *Buckingham*, *Massey*, *Graves*, and *Titus*, were permitted to come near his Person, upon any occasion whatsoever.

In *England* some Attempts were now made for the King's Service, but without success; as particularly in *Norfolk*, where many Gentlemen and others were got together; but before they could be formed into Troops, they were surprized and suppressed by two Troops from *Lynn*, and some Forces of the Militia: who being taken, Twenty of them were condemned by a High Court of Justice, and executed accordingly.

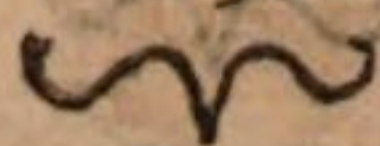
While the Royal Line was reduc'd to these Extre- *The Prince* mities, not only bereft of their Legal Power at home, of *Orange* but forc'd to seek a Refuge abroad, on the 4th of *No-* *born.* *vember* 1650, was born *William Henry* Prince of *Orange*;

a few days after his Father's Death, in Apartments hung with Mourning for that deplorable Misfortune, and the Murther of a Royal Grandfather, of her Royal Highness the Princess *Mary*, Daughter of *Charles I.* King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, of which Kingdoms in succession of time, by the especial Grace of God, and the entire Affections of the People, he became Monarch himself.

Crommel, all this while, was not idle; but having no opportunity to fight, he employ'd his Talent in making Divisions among the Royalists, and corrupting the *Scotch* Commanders, and in both was successful. For the first, he insinuated so far into Mr. *John Guthry*, *Patrick Gillispy*, and Mr. *Rutherford*, Presbyterian Ministers, and into others, that they withdrew from the Assembly at St. Johnston's, and remonstrated in Print in the Name of the *Western Churches* against

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the present Proceedings, and Admission of Malignants, (for so they call'd the King's best Subjects) to Power and Employment: And with these, *Ker*, *Straughan*, *Sir John Chiesly*, *Sir James Stuart*, and others confederated. In the other Attempt he had equal success, for having ineffectually besieg'd *Edenborough-Castle*, he so practis'd upon one *Dundass*, that was Governour of it, that he surrender'd it up to *Cromwel* upon very easie Articles. *Abernethy* was the Governour's Confident in this Affair, who went often out of the Castle to gain Intelligence, as was pretended; but his business was to make a Bargain with *Cromwel* for the Castle, for when it was surrender'd he staid at *Edenborough*, and was always a Promoter of the *English* Designs, for the Conquest and enslaving of his Native Country.

The King
Crown'd at
Scoon.

January the first, the King's Coronation was solemnized at *Scoon*, the usual place for that purpose, the King being the 43th Monarch of that Kingdom that had been crowned there. It was celebrated with loud Acclamations, Bonfires, firing Guns, and with as much Pomp and Ceremony as the present state of things would allow of. And now the *Scots* acted vigorously in raising an Army, and having collected their Forces, they encamped at *Sterling*, with Intention to march into *England*, while *Cromwel* endeavour'd all he could to prevent them, by drawing them, if it were possible, to an Engagement in *Scotland*. The King did not think the Forces he should raise in *Scotland* would be able to fight *Cromwel*, and invade *England*, without Preparation there for his farther Assistance, to divide the *English* Forces at home, and therefore kept a Correspondence with his Friends in *London*, *Lancashire*, and other parts: And it was contrived that the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Wilmot*, and Major General *Massey*, should march with a Body of Horse into *England*, to join with a Party in *Lancashire*, who only waited for their coming. But in the midst of these promising Endeavours, all their hopes were blasted, by the taking of a Ship at *Ayre* in *Scotland*, which was bound to the Earl of *Derby* in the *Ile of Man*, and the seizing of Mr. *Berkenhead*, whose Letters discovered the whole Contrivance; whereupon Mr. *Thomas Cook* of *Grays-Inn*, Mr. *Gibbons* a Taylor, Mr. *Potter* an Apothecary; together with Mr. *Love*, Mr. *Jenkins*, Dr. *Drake*, and several other Presbyterian Ministers, were apprehended, and tried for their Lives by a High Court

Court of Justice, and about the latter end of July, *Gibbons* and *Love* were executed, to terrifie the Presbyterian Party, and hinder them from joining with the *Scots*, who were daily expected to come with the King into *England*. A. D. 1651.

Cromwel pursuing his former Design, in fighting the *Scots* before they left that Country, landed part of his Army in *Fife*, under the Command of Colonel *Overton*: And to drive them from thence, 4000 Horse and Foot were appointed to march against them under the Command of Sir *John Brown*; which *Cromwel* having notice of, sent over *Lambert* and *Okey* with two Regiments of Horse and two of Foot, who joining with the rest, engag'd Sir *John Brown*, overthrew him, took him with Col. *Buchanan* and 1400 more Prisoners, and killed about 2000 of them. The Battle at Fife

Now the King and his Army were forc'd to take that course which they had long since design'd, to march directly for *England*: Accordingly, as soon as he had notice of this Defeat, he advanc'd Southward, and *Cromwel* made what haste he could to overtake His Majesty; but the *Scots* were many days March before him. *Harrison*, who with about 3000 Horse and Dragoons lay nearest *England*, had Orders to attend His Majesty's Motions, and *Lambert*, with about as many more, was appointed to follow and fall upon their Rear. *Cromwel* himself began his March from *Leith* with 1000 Horse and Foot the same day the King entred *England*, which was upon the 6th of August 1651. In *Lancashire* the King was hard beset both by the Forces that follow'd him out of *Scotland*, and those that were rais'd in *England* against him: *Cromwel* was in his Rear, *Harrison* and *Lambert* by long Marches were got before him, to whom there came 2000 of the Militia out of *Staffordshire*, with 4000 out of *Lancashire*, *Cheshire*, and other parts. To flank him, the Lord *Fairfax* appear'd with many Troops in *Yorkshire*, and the City of *London* poured out a good part of its Militia against him; but, which was worst of all, the *Scotch* Army dwindl'd away by degrees, so that when he came to *Worcester* he had but 13000 Men. The King was also disappointed of the Countries coming in to him, for the most considerable Supply he had was only one Troop of Horse, commanded by Captain *Cecil Howard*, Son to the Lord *Howard* of *Escrick*; nor is it to be wonder'd at, since the Parliament's

The King march'd into England.

A. D. liament's Forces and the Militia had so overspread the
 1651. Country, that none could have an opportunity to stir
 for the King, but they were seized by his Enemies; insomuch, that before the deciding Blow was given, they appear'd to be in a lost and hopeless condition.

The King
 came to
 Worces-
 ter.

On the 22d of *August* the King came to *Worcester*, when after one or two Repulses by the Forces that kept the City, he quickly entred by the Assistance of the Citizens, who help'd to beat out the Parliamentarians. About two or three days before the King arrived at *Worcester*, the brave Earl of *Derby* having landed at *Wye-water* in *Lancashire*, came to him with 250 Foot, and 60 Horse, which he brought with him out of the *Isle of Man*, and immediately returning back into *Lancashire*, he gather'd together above 1200 Men; for so well was he belov'd in his Country, that a little more time would have render'd him formidable. With these Forces he was marching to fall upon *Cromwel's* own Regiment; but News coming to him of Colonel *Lilburn's* Approach, the Earl resolv'd to engage *Lilburn* and his Party, before the other Troops could come to his Assistance; and accordingly charg'd him so furiously, that he routed the first Troops, and had made so great an impression into their Body, that they began to be disorder'd, till fresh Reserves both of Horse and Foot came in, which over-power'd them with Numbers, and routed them. Many Persons of Quality were taken Prisoners; but the Earl of *Derby* having lost his George and Garter, fled with about 30 Horse towards *Worcester*, having shelter'd himself one night in a House in his way call'd *Boscobel*, which Providence, by this means, prepared for the King's Retreat and Preservation.

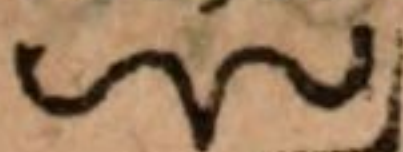
By this time *Cromwel* had surrounded *Worcester*, in as narrow a compass as the Rivers and Passes would suffer him, the King's Army as yet lying round about it in the Field. First *Cromwel* took the Pass at *Upton-Bridge*, and the fatal day, *September 3d*, being come and having pass'd over his Army in Boats, he march'd directly towards the City, the King's Forces encountering them at the Hedges betwixt the City and them, disputing every Pass with abundance of Valour and Resolution: but being wearied out, and their Ammunition spent, the King commanded them into the City. In the Head of one of the Bodies, the King himself charged with great Gallantry and Conduct, and press'd so

so hard upon *Cromwel's* Life-Guard, that the Troop was much disorder'd, and the Captain dangerously wounded. In another Charge Duke *Hamilton*, who fought with undaunted Courage and Resolution, received a shot in his Thigh, and died presently after it. The Militia Regiments of *Essex*, *Surrey*, and *Cheshire*, were much annoy'd by the *Scots*; but *Crommel* reinforcing them with Veterans, they forc'd the *Scots* to retire into the City, which they could not do in such order, but many of the *Cromwellians* entred with them. When the Enemy was got into the City, the King retired a while to his Quarters, and hearing they were possess'd of the Fort-Royal, about Seven at Night his Majesty left the City, passing out at *St. Martin's Gate* with about 60 Horse, the chief of his Retinue, and narrowly escaped, being taken in his Lodging by Col. *Cobbet*. In this Engagement there were slain in the Field, in the Town, and in the Pursuit, about 2000, and 8000 taken Prisoners, most of the *English* private Soldiers escaping by their *Shibboleth*.

The King, as was said before, departed from *Worcester* in the dusk of the Evening, leaving Colonel *Careless* in the Rear, to keep the Enemy in dispute, that the approaching Night might favour his Escape. By the Earl of *Derby's* Advice they made all possible speed to a place call'd *White-Ladies*, and recovering it before Morning, they committed him to the Care and Fidelity of four Brethren called *Penderel*, and their Brother-in-law *Yates*. There they cut off His Majesty's Hair, bury'd his Buff Coat and Linnen Breeches, and disguis'd him in a Country Habit. Here the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Derby*, and other Lords, with Tears, took their leaves of His Majesty, every one shifting for themselves. The Duke of *Buckingham* was secur'd at a Friend's House in that Country, but the rest were taken at *Newport* by *Lilburn's* Horse. The Earl of *Derby* render'd himself a Prisoner to one Captain *Edge* of *Lancashire*, on promise of Quarter for Life. As soon as the King was left by his Company, with a Wood-Bill in his hand he was conducted into a Wood or Coppice near adjoining, taking the Name of *William Jones* a Wood-cutter, lately come thither for Work, and was accordingly instructed in his Tongue and Behaviour. That day prov'd very wet, so that *Yates's* Wife brought a Blanket to cover him, and a Dish of Milk and Apples for his Refresh-

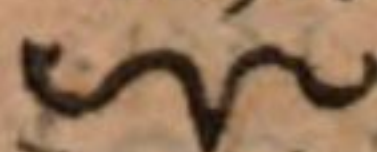
A. D.

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The Royal
Oak.

Two nar-
row E-
scapes.

Refreshment: At night returning to *Richard Penderel's* house, his Mother joyfully receiv'd him, and treated him with an ordinary Country Supper; which being ended, the King, with *Richard* his Guide, resolv'd on a Journey to *Wales*; but coming to Mr. *Wolfe's* house, where, for fear of Search, he was forc'd to be lodg'd in a Barn, Mr. *Wolfe* and his Wife attending him, and hearing that the Passages by Water over the *Wye* were so strictly guarded, it was dangerous to attempt it, he return'd in his homely Accoutrements to *Boscobel*, where he found Colonel *Careless* retir'd thither also for shelter. By his Advice they both went into *Boscobel* Wood, and ascending into the top of an high and great Oak, whose thick and wide Branches made them a secure Dormitory, the King slept upon a Pillow in the Colonels Lap, and at night they descended and refresh'd themselves in the house. From thence, attended with the five Brethren, and accommodated with the Miller's Horse, he went to Mr. *Whitgrave's* at *Mosely*, where he met with the Lord *Wilmot*, and was kindly receiv'd and entertain'd by Mr. *Whitgrave*. Here they consider'd farther of the King's Escape; Colonel *Lane* of *Bently* was made acquainted with it, and they all agreed that Mrs. *Jane Lane*, upon pretence of visiting her Sister that lay in Child-bed, should travel to *Bristol*, and the King rid before her as her Servant, with one Mr. *Lassels* and his Wife behind them; and for their greater Security a Pass was procur'd them to travel thither. On their Journey (as if by accident) they were met by the Lord *Wilmot* with a Hawk upon his Fist, and so travell'd to *Bromsgrave*, where the King's Horse losing a Shoe, he was forc'd to lead him to a Smith's Shop; and the Smith enquir'd News of the King, was answer'd, *That he believ'd the King was escap'd into Scotland*. The Smith reply'd, *No doubt but the King is secretly hid somewhere in England, and wish'd he knew where, for he could get a Thousand Pounds for taking him*. The King departed from thence, and consulting how to escape the Troopers at *Evesham*, they fell into a Village where a Troop of Horse was drawn up, and stopt the way; but as soon as they came near, the Captain commanded them to open to the Right and Left, and so they pass'd thro a Troop that was in quest of the King, and rid to *Cirencester* to the *Crown-Inn*, where he lodg'd that night. The next day they travell'd the Road to *Bristol*, till they came to

Hen-

Henbury, and then they went to *Shire Hampton*, and at the *Pill* they crossed the Water to Mr. Norton's house at *Leigh* in *Somersetshire*, the end of the design'd Journey. Here the King feigning himself to be sick, at Mrs. Lane's request, who said he was a Tenant's Son, the King was taken into the Cellar to drink a Glass of Sack, where, to his great surprize, the Butler, whose Name was *John Pope*, presented the Wine to him upon his knees, told the King he knew him, but *that he would die before he would betray him*. It seems he had been a Souldier in the King's Army, and upon assurance of his Fidelity, the King employ'd him to hire a Ship for his Transportation.

From hence the King was conducted by the Lord *Wilmot* to Colonel *Windham's* house at *Trent* in *Dorsetshire*, and continu'd there almost three weeks in expectation of a passage from *Lime*, but at last was disappointed. From this place, by Mr. *Coventry's* advice, it was resolv'd the King should go to *Salisbury*. In his way thither he came to a Town call'd *Mere*, where the *George-Inn* being kept by an Acquaintance of the Colonel's, they staid a while, and drinking in the Cellar, the Host seeing the King stand at a distance like a Servant, said, *Come hither, Friend, thou lookest like an honest Fellow; here's a Health to the King*; who answering unready, made the Man expostulate with the Colonel what Fellow he had brought with him. The King from *Mere* went to Mrs. *Hyde's* house at *Heal*, where he was joyfully receiv'd, and introduc'd into a secret Room in the House for his safety, and here Colonel *Robert Philips* coming to him, Colonel *Windham* took his leave and return'd home. Here also Dr. *Hinchman* (who was afterward made Bishop of *London*) had the Honour to be made acquainted with the King's condition, and *Philips* was dispatch'd to hire a Vessel at *Southampton*, to transport the King into *France*; but not prevailing, and meeting with Colonel *Gunter*, he imparted the Secret to him, who undertook to provide a Bark at *Bright Hempstead* in *Sussex*; and having effected it, the King and the Lord *Wilmot* having taken their leaves of the noble Matron and the Doctor, in Company of Colonel *Philips*, came in two days to an Inn in *Bright-Hempstead*; from whence by one *Texter-shal*, Master of a small Vessel, he was transported into *France*. At *Roan* the King's Cloaths were changed by two *English* Merchants residing there; and upon notice

The King
takes Ship-
ping in
Sussex,
and lands
in France.

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notice of his Arrival, the Queen Mother, the Duke of *Orleans*, and that whole Court, went to meet him, and to congratulate his wonderful Deliverance; a Providence not to be parallell'd in History, *No less than fifty two persons being privy to his Escape.*

On the 22d of *September* Cromwel came to *London*, and was met about *Acton* by the Speaker, the Members of the Rump Parliament, the Lord Mayor of *London*, and Recorder *Steel*, who, in a set Speech, congratulated his Successes, and like a false Prophet, by a mistaken *Prolepsis*, apply'd these words of the Psalmist to him, *To bind their Kings in chains, and their Nobles in fetters of iron*, arrogantly exalting his Achievement to the depressing all that was Loyal, Legal, Just, Honest or Honourable in the World. The next day, the common Prisoners, driven like a Herd of Swine, were brought through *Westminster* into *Tuttle-fields*, and there sold to several Merchants, and sent to *Barbadoes*. The Colours taken were hang'd up in *Westminster-Hall*, with those that were taken before at *Preston* and *Dunbar*.

Monk
Comman-
der in
chief in
Scotland.

He takes
Sterling

When Cromwel departed out of *Scotland*, he constituted General *Monk* Commander in Chief of the *English* Army there, at which his own Party was much dissatisfy'd, because *Monk* had been an old Cavalier, and had said, *he would never draw his Sword against the King or his Interest in England*; however, he had given Cromwel such satisfaction about his Fidelity, that he would not alter his choice. *Monk's* whole Army amounted not to above 6000 Men; yet, tho many of them were sick and weak by long Marches, yet they had gain'd such a Reputation in many Encounters, that the *Scots* were so dispirited, they dreaded engaging against them; and therefore after a short Siege *Cunningham* surrendred the Town and Castle of *Sterling* to him, where the King's Royal Robes, and Cloth of State, and all the *Scotch* Records, were found and seiz'd, with 5000 Arms, 40 Pieces of Cannon, with great store of Ammunition. Over the Door of the Chappel that belongs to the Castle, this Inscription was written in the time of King *James*. I. C. R. *Nobis hac invicta miserunt Centum sex Proavi*, 1617. Which shews that place had remain'd unconquer'd under the Reign of an hundred and six Kings, and so continu'd all his and his Son's time. After the taking of *Sterling*, General *Monk* fate down before *Dundee*: But hearing that

that old General *Lesley* and many *Scotch* Lords were met at *Elliot*, fourteen miles from *Dundee*, to levy Forces, he sent Colonel *Allured* and Colonel *Morgan* with a Thousand Horse and Dragoons to disturb their Levies. These march'd away in the night, and before three in the morning got undiscover'd beyond the Town: Then they march'd into it with little resistance, and took 300 Noblemen, Gentlemen, Ministers and about 70 of their Servants; one of which was General *Lesley*, who was found hid in a close Cupboard-Bed. The Earls *Martial*, *Crawford*, *Lindsey*, *Keith*, and the Lords *Ogleby*, *Burgenny*, *Hume* and *Lee*, with many Knights and Gentlemen of consideration, were also ship'd for *London*; but *Lesley* putting in at *Newcastle*, was permitted by Sir *Arthur Hasterig*, the Governour, to stay in *Northumberland*, upon his Parole, of Honour. By this means the General had prevented all possibility of Relief, and seeing he could not prevail with the Governour *Lunsdale* to surrender *Dundee*, on the first of *September* he took it by Storm, putting all to the Sword that were found in Arms. The Governour and a few others sav'd themselves a while in a Steeple, but were smother'd out, and yielded on Terms of Mercy to Captain *Kelly*, who carry'd him to the General to intercede for his Life; but as he was going with him, one Major *Butler* barbarously shot him dead: And after the taking this place, *St Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, with other Towns, Castles and strong Holds, either voluntarily submitted, or surrendered upon Summons.

However, these great Successes did no way mitigate the Severities of the *Juncto* at *Westminster*, who about the end of *September* appointed the Court Martial to sit at *Chester* for the Tryal of the Earl of *Derby*, and several other Prisoners taken after the Fight at *Worcester*, or some little time before. The Earl, at his Tryal, pleaded the Benefit of the Quarter given him by Captain *Edge*, who took him Prisoner; but that Plea was over-rul'd by the Court, and he was sentenc'd to be beheaded, which accordingly was executed upon him on the 15th of *October* at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*; and for the same Cause of Loyalty to their Sovereign, and by the same Court, Sir *Timothy Fetherstonhaugh*, Captain *Bembrow* and Captain *Symkins* were sentenc'd to Death and executed.

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1651.
Dundee
taken.

Butler's
barbarity.

The Earl
of Derby
beheaded.

A. D.

1651.



The new
Engage-
ment.

The *English* Commonwealth having in a great measure quieted all Commotions at home, began to make Acts of Grace to encourage the Submission of their Subjects; the first related to *Scotland*, passing an Act *For the Union of the two Kingdoms, and Abolishing Kingly Government in that Nation*; which was highly opposed by the Kirk, but to no purpose. The next Act of Grace was with relation to *England*, wherein they publish'd, That their Intentions were to forget all Injuries, and pardon all Hostilities hitherto committed against them, upon condition that they took an Oath, *To be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England as then Establish'd, without a King or a House of Lords*. Out of which nevertheless were excepted the Lord Goring and his Son, Sir John Webster of *Amsterdam*, the Executors of the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, and the persons that kill'd *Doristlaus* and *Ascham*.

But scarce were the *Juncto* warm in their fancy'd Tranquility, when there began new matter to exercise their Arms abroad. They thought their elder Brethren the States of *Holland* slighted their Authority, in not enquiring more strictly into *Doristlaus's* Assassination, and also in affronting their Ambassadors, *Oliver St John* and *Walter Strickland*, by the Mobile in *Holland*. Hereupon they make an Act for the Encouragement of Navigation, wherein they prohibited the importing of any Foreign Commodities, except upon *English* Bottoms, or in such as were of the same Country from which the Goods came.

To compose all differences, but especially, if it were possible, to suppress the Act of Navigation, so prejudicial to their Trade, the *Dutch* sent *Mijn Heer Catz, Van da Pere, Sharp* and *Newport*, over into *England*; but at their first Audience they were accosted with such high Demands about the Herring-Fishing, the Business of *Amboyna*, and a free Trade in the *Scheld* from *Middleburgh* to *Antwerp*, that they were like to give but a lean Account to their Masters in what they came about. And tho' for a while some Messages past to and fro for the vindication of each others Actions, and the *Dutch* made great Protestations of Friendship for this Commonwealth, yet still Preparations for a War were making on both sides.

John Lil-
burn ba-
nished.

This year ended with an Act for the Banishment of *John Lilburn*, who being a turbulent Man, had with unweary'd impatience oppos'd all kinds of Govern-
ment

ment, infomuch, that it was pleasantly said of him, *That if all the World were depopulated to him alone, John would be quarrelling against Lilburn, and Lilburn would keep up the Feud against John.* In this Act it was provided, 'That if ever he return'd without leave from the State, he should suffer as a Felon.

A. D.

1651.

Now the States of *Holland* set out a great Fleet for the security of their Trade, ordering *Martin Harpez Van Trump*, their Admiral, not to strike his Flag to the *English* Admiral; and the same Instructions were given to all their Men of War, if occasionally they met with any *English* Ships that were not too numerous to engage with. The 17th of *May*, 1652. *Van Trump* came into *Dover* Road with 42 Sail of Ships, and there lay at Anchor, as if he had a mind to dare the *English* to fight; of which *Blake* the *English* Admiral having notice, he ply'd up towards him with fifteen Ships and Frigats; but as soon as *Trump* descry'd the *English* Fleet, he weigh'd Anchor, and stood towards the Eastward, and about two hours after bore directly upon the *English* Fleet, whereupon the *English* lay by, and put themselves in a fighting posture. Both Fleets being within a Musquet-shot of each other, *Blake* gave order to fire at *Trump's* Flag; which being thrice repeated, *Trump* let fly a Broadside, which was as briskly return'd by the *English* Admiral. After several Broadsides were exchange'd, Major *Bourn* came in to his assistance with eight stout Ships, and then both Fleets engag'd from four in the Afternoon till Night parted them: Then *Trump* drew his Fleet to the back of the *Goodwin* Sands, and next morning made sail for *Zealand*. In this Engagement one of the *Hollanders* Ships was sunk, and another taken, with the loss of about 150 Men: But the *English* had not one Ship disabled, and but very few of their Men kill'd. This Action the States of *Holland* endeavour'd to excuse, by blaming *Trump* for doing it, as their Ambassadors pretended, without Order, and therefore sent the *Heer Paw* in Quality of Ambassador Extraordinary: But he had no success; for the *Juncto* peremptorily requir'd, To be paid all the Charge and Damages they had sustain'd by their Preparations for War, before they would treat of any other Proposition. Of which the States being advised, they recall'd their Ambassadors, and the War was vigorously prosecuted on both sides. Not long after,

1652.

A War
begun by
the Dutch

A. D. 1652. *Van Trump* put to Sea with 120 Sail, but was not early enough to prevent *Blake's* sailing Northward with 70 Sail of Men of War, to interrupt their Trade of Fishing. June the 6th *Sir George Ascough* arriv'd in the Downs with the *Barbadoes* Fleet, consisting of 15 Men of War, having taken in his way 10 Dutch Merchant Ships and four Men of War, one of which was a Ship of Advice, to give notice to their Merchants that a War was begun with *England*.

Prizes taken by Ascough.

Blake's successful Voyage.

More Prizes taken.

Upon *Sir George Ascough's* Arrival, the *Juncto* sent him Orders to ride where he was, till a Fleet that was fitting out in the *Thames* should be ready to joyn him; Of which *Trump* gaining notice, he laid part of his Fleet between *Sir George* and the River, and sent the other part Westward, to prevent his going that way, resolving either to surprize those coming out of the *Thames*, or to sink or disperse those with *Sir George Ascough*; but the Wind disappointed that Project, and he return'd into *Holland*, while *Blake* came safe into *Yarmouth* with his whole Fleet, and six Dutch Men of War and 900 Prisoners, which he had taken in this short Voyage. *Sir George Ascough* having now about 40 Ships, sail'd to *Plymouth*, to secure our homeward bound Merchant-men; and there meeting with *de Ruyter*, a smart Fight began between them, till Night drew on, and parted them. The Dutch went into a French Harbour, and the English into *Plymouth*. *Van Trump* being aspers'd for want of Conduct in the late Expedition, desir'd to be discharg'd from his Employment, which unwillingly the States comply'd with, and *Wit Wittens* and *de Ruyter* supply'd his place by a Joint Commission. These two Commanders putting to Sea, took their Stations near the *Noth-Foreland*. As soon as *Blake* had notice where they were, they hasten'd towards them, having been to the Westward, to convoy some Merchant Ships homeward, and had taken in his way five Dutch West-India Ships of great value, and six Streights-men valu'd at 200000*l*. He divided his Fleet into three Squadrons, the first was commanded by himself, the second by Vice Admiral *Penn*, and the third by Rear Admiral *Bourn*. The Fight was begun by the Rear Admiral, and immediately after the whole Fleets engag'd with equal Courage and Bravery. The Dutch Rear Admiral was boarded and taken, two more of their Ships were sunk, and one blown up; so that *Wit Wittens* was glad to make

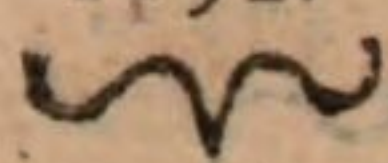
make all the Sail he could to get off, being chased by the *English* within twelve Leagues of the *Maes*, while he, with the remains of his torn and shatter'd Fleet, came to *Goree*; which *Blake* being acquainted with, he returned into the *Downs* in Triumph. In the *Levant*, Captain *Badily* had worse success; for he having there but four or five Ships, was set upon by *Van Galen* with sixteen sail of Men of War, and losing the *Phoenix* was forc'd to retire with the rest under the Protection of the Port of *Longone*; but *Galen* bought his Victory with the loss of his Life, and the *Phenix* was retaken afterwards by the Valour of Captain *Cox*, who had sometime been Lieutenant of her.

Van Trump being restor'd to his Office of Admiral, got together 80 Men of War and 10 Fireships, with which he sail'd directly to the back of the *Goodwyn*. *Blake* was in the *Downs* but with about 40 sail, and yet resolv'd to fight him; and for that purpose sent out seven Ships to find where he was, which were met by nine *Dutch* Ships sent on the same Errand. These began the Fight, and were seconded by the Admirals in a long and sharp Encounter. The *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* himself was, with the *Victory* and *Vanguard*, bore the brunt of the Fight, being engag'd at one time with twenty of the best *Dutch* Ships, and being overpower'd with Numbers, the *Garland* and *Bonadventure* were taken. The advantage fell to the *Dutch*: And indeed if the Night had not favour'd the Retreat of the *English*, the whole Fleet had been in danger. The next day *Trump* sail'd thro' the Channel with a Beesom upon his Main-Topmast, pretending he had swept the Sea of all the *English*. The Expence of this War made the *Juncto* contrive all ways to husband their Treasure; and because they thought the Entertainment of the Duke of *Gloucester* (whom since the Murther of the late King they had kept in the Isle of *Wight*) was too great an Expence, they sent him with two Servants to *Dunkirk*, promising to allow him a small Pension for his Maintenance, provided he would not come near his Brother, nor any of his Relations: But as soon as he came on the other side of the Water, he was receiv'd according to his Birth and Quality, and was attended to the Princess of *Orange* at *Breda*, to the great joy of her and all the Royal Family, who had been in continual fears that his Life would have been taken away by those that murder'd his Royal Father.

A Dutch
Victory.

The Duke
of Glou-
cester sent
beyond
Sea.

A. D.
1652.



ther. After he had been a while at *Breda*, he was conducted to *Paris* by the Earl of *Lauderdale* to the King his Brother, to his Mother the Queen, and his other Relations, to whom he was as welcome as one risen from the Dead, and was very civilly treated by the King and Queen-Mother of *France*.

The Reputation of the *English* Commonwealth was now grown so considerable, that Cardinal *Mazarine*, who manag' all Affairs in *France*, opposed the League that was offer'd by *Holland*, and rather endeavour'd an Accommodation with the *English*, and therefore in *December* Monsieur de *Bourdeaux* was sent as an Agent from the King of *France*, To acknowledge the States of *England*, which was a great surprize to all *Europe*.

Another
Sea-Fight.

The States of *Holland* having advice, that the *Juncto* were setting out a Fleet under the command of their three Generals, *Blake*, *Monk* and *Dean*, they sent an Express to *Trump*, who was then at *Rhee*, to hasten away with what Merchant-men were ready, to block up the River of *Thames*, to prevent their going out. *Trump* obey'd their command, but contrary to the expectation of the States, and to their amazement, the *English* Generals sail'd from *Queenborough* with 60 sail of Men of War on the 8th of *February*, and on the 11th of the same Month were joyn'd with 20 sail more from *Portsmouth*, and with his Fleet lay Half-Seas-over against *Portland*, to discover the *Dutch* Fleet. On *Friday* the 18th of *February* the *English* saw them, consisting of 76 Men of War, who had the charge of 300 Merchant-Ships under their Convoy. The *English* made what sail they could towards the Enemy, and *Van Trump* prepar'd to receive them. About eight in the morning the *Triumph*, wherein *Blake* and *Dean* were, with twelve Ships more, for the rest could not get up, engag'd Board and Board with the Body of the *Dutch* Fleet, and the *Triumph* was hard belay'd, having receiv'd 700 Cannon-shot in her Hull, but was gallantly releiv'd by *Lawson*, that commanded the *Fairfax*. By this time the whole *English* Fleet coming up, a bloody Fight follow'd, and continu'd while Night parted them. In this Encounter the *English* lost never a Ship, but had many disabl'd: Six of the *Dutch* Men of War were sunk and taken, whereof one was a Flag-ship, and most of the Officers in *Trump's* Ship were either kill'd or wounded.

On *Saturday* morning the *Dutch* Fleet were again dis-

discern'd seven Leagues off *Weymouth* and over against *Dungen-Ness*, whither the *English* plied, and soon engaged them, till both Fleets were environ'd with Fire and Smoak. *Trump* put his Merchant-men before him, and after the first shock drew off, and fought retreating towards *Bulloign*, and in his way thither the *English* took many of his Merchant Ships, and *Lawson* boarded a *Dutch* Man of War, and brought her off. The next day early in the morning the Fight was renewed, and continued till Four in the Afternoon: But the Wind being cross to the *English*, *Trump* got to *Calais* Sands, and so tided it home. In these three days Fight the *Dutch* lost 11 Men of War, 30 Merchants Ships, and about 1500 Men were kill'd. The *English* lost but one Ship, which was sunk, called the *Sampson*, but the Captain and most of her Men were saved. The number of the *English* that were killed are not computed; but by the most impartial Conjectures they were not much fewer than those of the Enemies.

This year ended with the safe arrival of Prince Rupert with the *Swallow* from the *Caribbee*-Islands, where in a Hurricane he lost his Brother Prince Maurice, a Person of as much Valour and Generosity as any one Prince could be Master of. The Prince landed at *Nants* in *Britanny*, where he fell sick, but upon his Recovery was invited to *Paris*, complemented by the *French* King, and heartily welcom'd by the King of *England*, where now almost the whole Royal Family were met together.

The next year, 1653. began with ominous Presages against the new Commonwealth, which having almost eradicated the *English* Monarchy, began to sink under its own weight, and ruin it self by intestine Divisions, which no adverse Power could hitherto accomplish. The Officers of the Army who effected the late Revolution, are now as weary of a Commonwealth as sometime they were of Monarchy, and therefore plot to change the Government. *Harrison* was one of the Heads of this Party, known by the Name of Fifth Monarchists, who could approve of no Government, but where Christ, as they said, must rule; which they explain'd as a Dominion to be exercised by Saints under him, till he came to reign himself. Cromwel mingled with these Zealots in their new Project, knowing the Inconsistency of their Intentions would introduce such a Confusion, as must necessitate his taking

A. D. 1653. the Government upon himself, to rescue the Party from Destruction. The *Juncto* were very sensible of these Proceedings, but knew not how to prevent them; and therefore took their opportunities of reasoning with the Officers, promising to make an Act for filling up the House with qualified Representatives, as the only Expedient for all their Securities. The Officers reply'd in short, *That there was no good to be expected from the present Members, nor any thing they should propose; and their Reasoning Pro and Con did but make the breach the wider.* In the mean time, the House went on according to their purpose, prepared an Act for settling the Qualification of Members to fill up their House, and made such speed in it, that on the 20th of *April* the Question was ready to be put to pass it into a Law; when *Cromwel*, *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and about eight more Officers of the Army, entered the House, and after a short Speech spoken by *Cromwel*, shewing some Reasons of the necessity of their Dissolution, he declared them to be dissolved, and requir'd them to leave the House immediately: But the Speaker would not quit the Chair till *Harrison* took him by the Arm: *Cromwel* commanded the Mace to be taken away, and not to be carried any more before him. Then they caus'd the Doors of the Parliament-House to be lock'd, and planted a strong Guard before it, to prevent their assembling for the future.

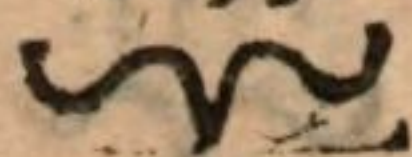
The *Juncto*
turn'd out
by *Crom*.
wel.

A New
Govern-
ment.

The next thing done by these Officers, was to constitute a Council of State, consisting of the chief Officers of the Army, and such of the late *Juncto* as were their Confederates, in whom the Supreme Authority was invested, till a Representative should be chosen; and all Writs were to run in the Stile of, *The Keepers of the Liberties of England*, as before. The *Dutch* thinking to get Advantage by this Revolution, made all possible speed to get out their Fleet, and our new Governours did the like. The *Dutch* put out their Fleet under the Command of *Van Trump*, assisted with *de Ruyter*, *Wit Wittens*, and the two *Evertsens*, consisting of 104 Men of War, 12 Galliots, and nine Fireships. The *English* Fleet was commanded by General *Monk* and *Dean*, both in one Ship, assisted by *Penn*, Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson*, Rear-Admiral, with about 100 Sail of all sorts. On the 2d of *June* both Fleets engaged, and *Dean* standing by General *Monk*, was shot off in the middle at the first Broadside the

Another
Sea-Fight.

Dutch



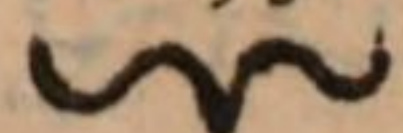
Dutch discharged, and not long after a Calm caus'd them to desist; but in two hours there sprung up a fresh Gale of Wind, and the Fight was renewed in so violent a manner, that it continued with little intermission till it grew dark. *Lawson* press'd so hard upon *de Ruyter* with his Squadron, that he had certainly carried him off, if *Trump* had not relieved him; however, he could not prevent *Lawson* from sinking a Ship of *Holm*, of 42 Guns, and 140 Men. Next day about Noon the Fight began again, and continued till Ten at Night. Ninety of *Trump's* Fleet were in such great Confusion in the heat of the Fight, and so unwilling to endure it, that he fir'd upon them, and sent his Boat to command them to come up: But nothing could persuade more than twenty of them to return; the rest steer'd away East and by South; but the Wind rising fresh Westerly, the General press'd so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, two were blown up among themselves, and 11 Ships and two Hoys were taken, with 1320 Prisoners, whereof six were Captains of Note; and of the Ships, one was a Vice-Admiral, and two were Rear-Admirals. At the end of the Fight General *Blake* came in with 18 fresh Ships; so that if the *Dutch* had not got upon the Flats of *Dunkirk* and *Calais*, where our great Ships could not get to them, the greatest part of their Fleet had been ruin'd or taken. The *English* lost not a Ship, nor one disabled, and, except General *Dean*, but one Captain was killed. *Van Trump* imputed this Overthrow to the Ignorance of his Captains: But his Masters were so mortified by it, that they took up a Resolution to sue for a Peace; and a Vessel with a White Flag, and a Messenger to prepare the way for 2 Ambassadors, was immediately sent into *England*.

The Council of Officers had now agreed upon the several Persons all over *England*, the most sanctified Creatures they could nominate, to form a Representative, and a Summons was sent to every one of them, in the Name of *Oliver Cromwel*, Captain General of all the Forces, &c. to take upon them the Trust to which they were summoned, and to meet at *Whitehall* on the 5th of *July* following. Accordingly they appeared, went to the Parliament-House, chose one *Rouse* a Cornish-Man, lately made Provost of *Eaton-College* to be their Speaker, and appointed Committees as other Parliaments use to do, to make their Business easie to them.

Another
New Mo-
del of Go-
vernment.

A. D.

1653.



Another
Sea-Fight.

While these Affairs were transacting, the *Dutch* had made Overtures of Peace to *Cromwel*, which were not received; but that they might make it upon better Terms, they resolved once more to try their Fortunes at Sea, to regain their lost Reputation. *July* the 29th 1653. the two Fleets were in sight of each other; but the *English* being a stern, could not get up till six in the Evening, and then the Fight was begun by a few of our nimblest Frigats, which were afterward reinforced to the number of Thirty, who continued the Battel till Night parted them, tho' the rest of the Fleet could not get up to assist them. The next day the Fight was renewed, the Air was quickly filled with the scatter'd Limbs of Men that were blown up, and the Sea was dy'd with the Blood of the kill'd and wounded. *Wit Wittens* and *Evertsen* bestirr'd themselves, and often attempted to board the General's Ship; but *Cornelius Evertsen's* Ship was sunk, he was taken, and the famous *Van Trump* himself, standing with his Sword in his Hand on the Poop of his Ship, was killed with a Musquet Bullet; which so disheartned the rest of the Fleet, that they crowded their Ships with Sails, and steer'd for the *Texel*. The *English* pursued them a while, but having bought the Victory at a dear rate, tack'd, and stood into *Sole-Bay* to repair their shatter'd Fleet, and dispose of their Prisoners, whereof five were Captains viz. *Evertsen*, *Zanger*, *Fomeen*, *Scotten*, and *D'Hayes*; and about 1200 Men by the Compassion of the *English* were taken out of Boats, and swimming in the Sea; thirty three Sail of Ships, out of which they were saved, were sunk to the bottom. The *English* lost 400 common Sea-men and eight Captains, viz. *Graves*, *Peacock*, *Taylor*, *Crisp*, *Newman*, *Cox*, *Owen*, and *Chapman*, all Men of great Resolution; and had 700 Wounded, whereof five were Commanders: But they lost but one Ship, which was called the *Oak*.

Van
Trump's
Character.

Van Trump was a Man of great Courage and Experience in Maritime Affairs, so that he justly merited the Reputation of being the most Renowned Sea-Captain of the Age, and peradventure there was scarce a better at any time before him. He was a Person of much Vertue, Honour and Fidelity, and a great Lover of his Country, which made him bear a great Respect to the Illustrious House of *Orange*, who laid the

Foun-

Foundation of that High and Mighty Greatness which they now enjoy, and by whose Prudence and Courage their Liberties were rescued, against one of the most Potent Princes of *Europe*.

A. D.

1653.

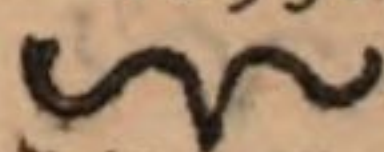
The new thing call'd a Parliament began to be so troublefom in their Consultations, that the whole Nation, and especially the Officers of the Army that named them, grew wearier of them than those which they had lately turn'd out. They were so fantastical and notional in their Debates, that they would have made the Magistracy and Ministry ridiculous: Therefore *Rouse* the Speaker acquainted them on the 12th of *December*, That their sitting was no longer necessary; and being seconded by some others privy to the design, he rose from the Chair, and went out of the House with the Mace carried before him, and with as many as would follow him, which was the major part of the Members, went to *Whitehall*, and resign'd the Instrument to *Crommel*, which he had given them at their first sitting. *Harrison* with a few others continu'd in the House when the rest were gone, but were quickly dispers'd by a Company of Soldiers sent to dissolve them. About four days after, the Officers of the Army had drawn up a new System of Government, on which another Dominion was erected, and intreated *Oliver Crommel* to accept of the Government, under the Title of *Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. *Crommel* at first put on a face of Modesty to deny the Dignity; but when the Exigence of Time, and the Necessity of Affairs were laid open to him, he accepted of it, and at One in the afternoon the same day was install'd at *Westminster* in this manner: He went from *Whitehall* to the Chancery-Court in *Westminsterhall*, attended by the Commissioners of the Great Seal, the Barons of the Exchequer, and the Judges in their Robes. After them went the Learned Council of the Commonwealth, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London* in their Scarlet Gowns; Then came the Protector, attended with many Chief Officers of the Army; there was a Chair of State set in the Court, and the Protector stood by it till the Instrument of Government was read; then an Oath was administred to him in these Words:

*The Mock
Parlia-
ment dis-
solved.*

I promise in the Presence of God not to violate or infringe the Matters or Things contained in the Instrument,
but

A- D.

1653.



but to observe, and cause the same to be observed, and in all things, to the best of my Understanding, Govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customs thereof, and to seek their Peace, and cause Justice and Law to be equally administred. Havingi subscrib'd this Oath, and the Instrument, he sate down in the Chair of State, and put on his Hat; the Commissioners of the Great Seal delivered up the Seal to him, and the Lord Mayor his Sword and Cap of Maintenance; all which he respectfully returned again, and then the Protector went back to the place from whence he came, in the State before-mentioned.

The Heads of the Instrument of the Protector's Government were these.

“ **F**irst, That a Parliament be called every Three
 “ Years. II. The first to assemble on the 3d of
 “ September, 1654. III. No Parliament to be dissol-
 “ ved till it has sate five months. IV. Such Bills as
 “ are offered to the Protector to be signed by the
 “ Parliament, if he sign them not in Twenty Days,
 “ they are to be Laws without him. V. That his
 “ Council shall not exceed the Number of One and
 “ Twenty, nor be less than Thirteen. VI. That im-
 “ mediately after the Death of the present Protector
 “ and his Successor, the Council shall chuse another
 “ before they rise. VII. No Protector after the pre-
 “ sent shall be General of the Army. VIII. The Pro-
 “ tector shall have Power to make War and Peace.
 “ IX. That in the Intervals of Parliament, the Pro-
 “ tector and his Council may make some Laws that
 “ shall be binding to the Subject.

The first Council chosen in pursuance of this Instrument, were Colonel *Edward Montague*, Colonel *John Lambert*, Philip Lord Viscount *Lisle*, Colonel *John Desborow*, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Ashly*

Ashly Cooper, Sir Charles Woolsey, Major General Skippon, Walter Strickland Esq; Colonel William Sydenham, Colonel Philip Jones, Francis Rouse Gent. John Lawrence, Richard Major, Esq;. And the first Act they did was to confirm all publick Magistrates and Officers in their places, till Order was given to the contrary.

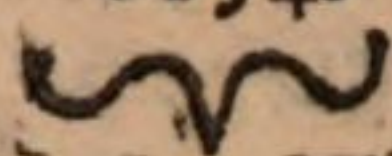
The States of the United Provinces were brought into so low a condition by the two last Fights, and their People so much dispirited, that a general Revolt was feared in all the United Provinces, and one Battle more might have brought us a blank Paper, to write down our own Conditions of Peace; but Cromwel was not so well settl'd on his Throne as to hazard any thing, and therefore the Dutch Ambassadors, *Newport, Youngstal, Bevering, and Vander Perre*, were well received by him; who were so diligent in their Negotiations, that coming but in the beginning of the Year, the Articles of Peace were signed in *London* on the 5th of *April*, and proclaimed in *London* and *Amsterdam* on the 26th of the same month; in which the King of *Denmark* was also included. The Articles of Peace are not very essential to be inserted at large in this History, however the two chiefest were these, viz. That the Men of War, and all other Ships of *Holland*, meeting the English Ships in the Narrow Seas, should lower their Sails to them. That the States should cause Restitution to be made by the King of *Denmark*, of all the Ships and Goods of the English by him seized, which were yet undisposed, and to make full compensation in value for such of them as had been sold, to be ascertain'd in a time prefix'd by six English Merchants, and as many Dutch, who should meet for that purpose.

The Spanish Ambassador was the first that congratulated the Protector's Authority. A Peace was also made with the Queen of *Sweden*; and the *Conde de la Sa*, the King of *Portugal's* Lord Chamberlain, came in a splendid Embassy to seek Peace for his Master. Nor were the *French* backward to own his Power, but translated their Resident here into an Ambassador, and join'd the Baron of *Baas* with him as a Colleague, to negotiate an Amity with the Protector. Now, agreeably to the said Instrument of Government, a Parliament summon'd by *Oliver's* Writs assembled at *Westminster*, and chose *William Lenthall* their Speaker, who had been Speaker to the Long Parliament:

Their

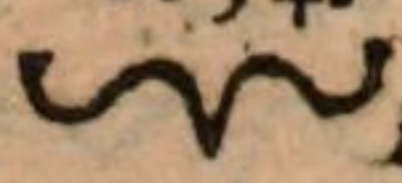
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1654.



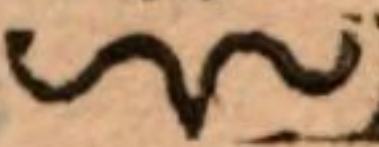
Their beginning was something bold, considering the slender Title they had to call themselves a Parliament; for at their first sitting down they began to question the Lawfulness of their Power by which they were called; upon which they were enjoin'd to sign a *Recognition of the Government, as it was settled in a Single Person and a Parliament*, before they could be re-admitted to their Places in the House. Then all of them that sign'd (for some refus'd) had liberty to sit; but so little did their Proceedings please his Protectorship, that they had scarce fate five months, (and so long they were to sit by one of the Articles in the *Instrument*) when he came and dissolv'd them. A day or two after which, Major *Wildman* was apprehended for publishing a Declaration, *proving the Lawfulness and Necessity of taking up Arms against Cromwel*: And of the Royalists Sir *John Packington*, Sir *Henry Littleton*, and others were taken up, about a new Conspiracy; And in truth, there was a Foundation laid of a general Rising for the King in every County; which had not been so easily suppress'd, if *Cromwel*, who spar'd no Cost to maintain his Instruments of Deceit, had not had his Spies about the King's Person, who gave him Intelligence of all the King's Affairs, and what was either said or done in order to his Restoration, and yet pretended themselves to be zealous Royalists; of which number Sir *Richard Willis* was at last too justly suspected to be one. But more particularly one *Manning*, Son of Colonel *Manning* that was slain in his Father's Service, being prefer'd to be one of the King's Secretary's Clerks, kept a constant Correspondence with *Thurlo*, Oliver's Secretary of State; who being suspected, Colonel *Samuel Tuke* forced open his Chamber-door, just as he had received a Packet, and took him in the very Act of returning Answers to *Thurlo's* Letters. This he had made his Weekly Practice a long time before this happy Discovery, and had large Pensions assign'd him by *Oliver* for his Pains; but now had the Reward of his Treachery, and was shot to death in one of the Duke of *Newburgh's* Castles. Yet notwithstanding this Discovery, some small armed Parties began to gather into a Body in *Shropshire* and *Wales*, but were soon dispersed. *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded, and the *Western* Prisons were crowded with the meaner sort of People, till they emptied themselves into

Foreign

Foreign Plantations. This year dy'd the famous Antiquary Mr. *John Selden*, whose Learned Works will be a more lasting Monument of his Worth, than that erected for him in the Temple-Church. 

Oliver now wanting Money, and finding he was like to get none from any Parliament, sets upon a Project of supplying himself from the Spanish Mines in the Indies: And for this purpose gather'd Souldiers, and set out a Fleet from *Portsmouth*, December the 27th, under the command of *Pen* and *Venables*, which put in at *Barbadoes* the 28th of *January*, and sail'd from thence the 30th of *March* towards *Hispaniola*, one of the richest Islands in the King of *Spain's* Dominions in *America*. Here they met with a considerable check in their first Enterprize; for General *Venables*, who might have landed his Men near *Santo Domingo*, the principal Town and Fortrefs of the Island, set them ashore above 10 Leagues to the Westward of it; whereupon the *Spaniards*, who had, in a manner, totally deserted it at the first approach of the *English* Fleet, gather'd fresh Courage, return'd, and betook themselves to the defence of their Garrison, which they had abandon'd. The *English* landing without opposition, fancy'd themselves absolute Lords of the *Indies*, and, in their Conceits, were sharing the Golden Mines to their own proper uses: When, contrary to their expectations, the General causing it to be proclaim'd in the Head of the Army, That none upon pain of Death should plunder any Gold, Silver, Jewels, or kill any Cattle: This sudden annihilating their hopes, with the excessive heat of the Climate, put such a damp upon their Spirits, as the other fatigue weaken'd their Bodies, that by that time they had march'd a tedious and disconsolate Journey thro thick sweltering Woods, and deep scalding Sands, oppressed with miserable Thirst, having not had one drop of Water for many Leagues, they were brought to such a feeble condition, that they needed no Enemy to kill them, being already almost dead with Faintness; so that the *Spaniards*, the *Negroes* and *Molattoes*, falling upon them, slew them with little or no resistance, till they were weary of killing, by which means some made a hard shift to fly to their Ships. In this Fight were lost above six hundred *English*, near as many more in stragling Parties, and all this Execution done by no greater number than sixty of the Enemy. The Remains of this Naval Army, that

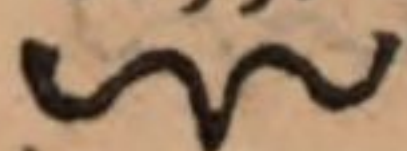
1654.



The sick
and weary
English
beaten.

A. D.

1655.



that they might be thought to do something, possess'd themselves of another Island call'd *Jamaica*, which with much Industry and Supplies from *England*, they render'd habitable, and have kept it ever since. Not long after *Pen* and *Venables* return'd into *England*: *Venables* upon his Arrival was committed to the *Tower*, for his ill management in *Hispaniola*; but his Offence being judg'd to proceed from Imprudence rather than any ill Design, he was at length released.

Blake's
success
gainst
Tunis.

General *Blake* was more successful in the *Streights*; for coming with his Fleet before *Tunis*, and summoning the *Turks* to give satisfaction for the Depradations they had made upon the *English* Merchants, and receiving an Answer full of Contempt from the Governor, viz. *Here are our Castles of Gulletto and Porta Ferina, well Mann'd, and Fortify'd with great Guns, do what you can, we fear you not*; and at the same time mann'd a Line all along the shoar, and planted it with Ordnance. Whereupon *Blake* with his great Ships and Seconds, fell down into the *Bay of Porta Ferina*, within Musquet shot of the Castle and their Line, and fir'd with so much Fury upon them, that in two hours time the Castle was indefencible, all their Guns were dismounted, and the Stones clatter'd so thick about their Ears, that they were forc'd to retire into the Town. Nine of their Ships were at Anchor in the Road, which the General set on fire with his Long-Boats, and in five hours time they were all consum'd. After this Exploit he sail'd to *Algiers* and *Tripoli*, and there made very advantageous terms for his own Nation, from thence coming back to *Tunis*, he found them now willing to submit to any Terms he propos'd.

A Collection
on for the
Prote-
stants in
Piemont.

An Army being sent by *Charles Emmanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, against his Protestant Subjects in the Valleys of *Piedmont*, upon some displeasure taken against them, and the Soldiers, being left to their own Liberty, committing many cruel Outrages and Massacres upon the poor miserable People; *Cromwel*, to ingratiate himself with the Foreign Protestants, acted vigorously for their Relief; appointed a day of Humiliation, and caus'd a large Contribution to be gather'd for them throughout the whole Nation. Besides this, he sent his Agents to mediate for them, *Mr. Pell* to the *Switz* Cantons, and *Mr. Samuel Moreland* to the Duke of *Savoy*; but his endeavours being slighted, he dealt
with

with the *French* King, now his great Ally, by whose Authority, with the Duke of *Savoy*, a Pacification was concluded between that Sovereign Prince and his Subjects, tho of the large Collection that was made, so small a share came to them (for some they had) that it was generally said, his pretence of Charity to the *Piemontese*, was but a Blind to get Money for himself. Another Stratagem he also set on foot to fill his Pockets; for, besides persecuting the poor Royalist Clergy, by prohibiting them from teaching School, enjoying a Benefice, or officiating as Chaplains; he also oppress'd the Laity by a Decimation of the small Estates the War and their Compositions had left them. He also set up Major-Generals in the nature of Præfects over Provinces, to curb and keep the Lay Royalists in awe. These upstart Officers, unknown to the Law of Eng-
A. D. 1655.

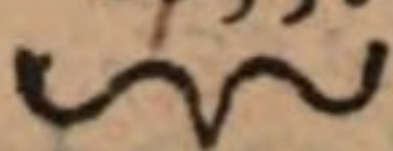
land, were eleven in number, viz. *Kelsey, Goff, Desborow, Fleetwood, Skipton, Whaley, Butler, Berry, Woosly, Lambert and Barkstead*, who was also Lieutenant of the Tower. Each of them had his several Counties allotted to his Government, in which they reign'd more insolently and arbitrarily than so many petty Kings, domineering over the Nobility and Gentry at their pleasure. An instance of this I once saw at the *Hind* in *Northampton*, where Major Butler committed the Earl of *Northampton* for keeping his Hat on in his Presence; but thro' great persuasions, at length was so gracious as to take Bail for the Earl's good Behaviour. But these Præfects were not long liv'd; for *Cromwel* suspecting the Limbs might grow too big for the Head, in complaisance to the next Parliament, he laid them all aside.

The *Spaniards* thinking it in vain to expect Peace on this side the Line, from those who had broke it on the other, by invading his Island of *Hispaniola*, began to make preparations for War, laid a general Embargo upon all the *English* Merchant's Goods in *Spain*, and secur'd many of their Persons; the like being done in *England*, War was openly proclaim'd at *Dunkirk*. The Denunciation of this War with *Spain* was the production of a Peace with *France*, which was proclaim'd in *London* and *Paris* on the 28th of *November*, and Colonel *Lockart*, who had marry'd *Oliver's* Niece was sent thither in Quality of Extraordinary Ambassador.

The Articles concluded between the Protector and Cardinal *Mazarine* were as follow. I. "That the

War with
Spain, and
Peace with
France.

Treaties

A. D.
1655.

Articles
of the
Treaty
concluded
between
Cromwel
and Cardi-
nal Maza-
rine.

Treaties between *Henry* the IV. Sirnam'd the Great
King of *France*, and Queen *Elizabeth*, and between
the late *Lewis* XIII and *James* Stuart, Successor to
the said Queen, shall be renew'd. II. That the
Summ of Nine Millions of Livres lent by the said
Queen *Elizabeth* to *Henry* the Great, with Interest,
amounting in all to Thirteen Millions of Livres shall
be repaid to the Commonwealth of *England*, as hold-
ing the Places of the said King and Queen. III. That
the said Payment being made, the Commonwealth
of *England* shall furnish and entertain at their own
Expence, Twelve Ships of War in the *Mediterra-
nean*, which shall there joyn the Royal Navy of
France, and receive Orders from its Admiral, upon
such Expeditions as shall be undertaken against *Spain*;
and Six others to cruize before *Dunkirk*, and hinder
Provisions from getting into the place. IV. That
the Commonwealth of *England* shall furnish the
King of *France* with 40 Ships of War, to assist in
the retaking of *Dunkirk* and *Gravelin*; which being
retaken, the said King shall assist the said Common-
wealth towards the retaking of *Ostend* and *Newport*
V. That there shall be an Offensive and Defensive
League between *France* and *England*; and that the
King of *England*, the Duke of *York*, the Duke of
Gloucester, and other *English* Lords shall depart the
Kingdom of *France*, without hopes of returning thi-
ther, so long as this Treaty shall last. And as for
the Queen of *England*, in regard that she is a Daugh-
ter of *France*, she shall not remove from thence, in
consideration of which, the Commonwealth of *Eng-
land* shall neither harbour nor protect any Enemies
of that State. VI. That the *English* Nation shall
have free Trade in all the Sea Port Towns and Bo-
roughs of the Kingdom of *France*, with the liberty
to build there Churches for the exercise of the Re-
form'd Religion; and that the *French* Protestants re-
siding thereabouts shall likewise be allow'd to
exercise their Religion there in *French*. VII. That
the Edicts of *January* and *Nantes* (in favour of the
Protestants of *France*) shall be punctually executed;
and that the whole *English* Nation shall stand Gua-
rantee for the performance of the same.

The King, upon foresight of what this Treaty would
amount to, had long before withdrawn himself into
Germany, and continued for the most part at *Cologne*,
till

till the King of *Spain* invited him into *Flanders*. During his stay at *Cologne*, being advertis'd that great endeavours were used in *France* to pervert his Brother the Duke of *Glocester*, his Majesty by the advice of Mr *Hide*, writ to him the following Letter.

" Dear Brother, I have received yours without a Date, King
 " in which you mention that Mr *Montague* has endeavoured to pervert you in your Religion. I do not doubt but you remember very well the commands I left with you at my going away concerning that point; and am confident you will observe them; yet the Letters that come from *Paris* say, that it is the Queen's purpose to do all she can to change your Religion, which if you hearken to her, or any body else in this Matter, you must never think to see *England* or Me again, and whatsoever Mischiefe shall fall on Me or my Affairs from this time, I must lay all upon you, as being the only cause of it; therefore consider well what it is, not only to be the cause of ruining a Brother that loves you so well, but also your King and Country. Do not let them perswade you either by force or fair Promises, for the first, they neither dare nor will use, and for the second, as soon as they have perverted you they will have their end, and will care no more for you.

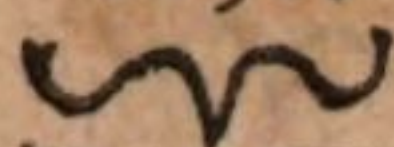
" I am also inform'd, that there is a purpose to put you in *Jesuits* Colledge, which I command you upon the same grounds, never to consent unto, and whensoever any body shall go to dispute with you in Religion, do not answer them at all, for tho' you have the reason on your side, yet they being prepar'd will have the advantage of any body that is not upon the same security that they are. If you do not consider what I say to you, remember the last words of your dead Father, which were, To be constant to your Religion and never be shaken in it. Which if you do not observe, this shall be the last time you shall ever hear from, Deau Brother, your most affectionate Brother,

Charles R.

Soon after the Marquis of *Ormond* brought the Duke of *Glocester* to *Cologne*, and the Duke of *York* notwithstanding the great Command he had in the *French* Army, was advis'd that he must depart that Kingdom; so little do the Ties of Blood and Religion signifie, when they stand in competition with Self-Interest, or Maxims of State and Policy! So the Duke went to *Flanders* also. This

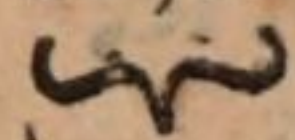
A. D.

1656.



year concluded with the death of that Reverend Pious and Learned Prelate, *James Usher*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, and sometime Primate of all *Ireland*. He dy'd on the 22d of *March*, but his Funeral was deferr'd till the 17th of *April*, 1656. and then was solemniz'd with all decent Pomp; most of the Nobility in *London* attended his Corps to *Westminster-Abby*, where his Funeral Oration was deliver'd by Doctor *Bernard*, who was then Almoner to *Cromwel*; besides *Cromwel* himself gave 2000 *l.* to defray the Charges of his Funeral.

1656.



Spanish
Prizes taken.

In our
Money

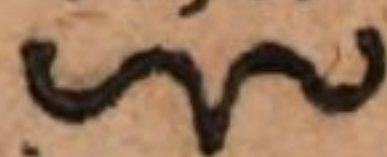
4 s. 6 d.

Notwithstanding the Protector's ill success with his last Parliament, he found a necessity of calling another, and Writs were issu'd out accordingly for one to sit on the 17th of *September*. In the mean while a part of the *English* Fleet of six Sail commanded by Rear Admiral *Richard Stayner*; set upon a Fleet of 38 Sail of *Spaniards*, about four Leagues from the Bay of *Cadiz*. The Admiral of *Spain's* Ship, in which was General *Don Marco del Porto*, with 600000 Pieces of Eight, run ashore in the Bay. The Vice Admiral, a Gallion, commanded by *Don Francisco de Esquevel*; and having in her 1200000 Pieces of Eight, and another Ship commanded by *Don Rodrigues Calderon*, were taken, and afterwards set on fire, (one willingly by the *Spaniards* in it, and the other by accident;) two others were taken and kept by the *English*. The Rear Admiral, a Gallion commanded by *Don Francisco de la Hayo*, having in her two Millions of Plate, and another Ship commanded by *John de la Torre*, very richly laden. Another Man of War of some Value, with a *Portugal* Prize, and a small Vessel of Advice from the Vice Roy of *Mexico*, escap'd to *Gibraltar*. This was a gainful Enterprize to those that perform'd it, as well as to *Cromwel*.

The 17th of *September* being come, the Parliament assembled at *Westminster*, and chose Sir *Thomas Widdrington* their Speaker. None were admitted in this Convention, but such as after their Election were approv'd of by *Cromwel* and his Council, so that till the 26 of *June* 1657. things run very smoothly, and on that day the Parliament adjourn'd to the 20th of *January* following. The chief Acts they passed were, One for Renouncing and disannulling the Title of *Charles Stuart* unto the Nations of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*. Another Securing his Highness, the Lord Protector's Person,

son, and continuing the Nation in Peace and Safety. A A. D.
 Vote, To assist his Highness in his War against the Spa- 1656.
 niard, which they declare to have been undertaken upon
 just grounds. An Act, For preventing the multiplicity
 of Buildings within ten miles of London; the substance
 of which was, That for every House built from such a
 time, within the compass, upon a new Foundation, a
 Years Rent should be paid to the Protector. The humble Oliver is
 Petition and Advice was a Model of Government ^{courted to}
 which they offer'd several times to the Protector at ^{be made a}
 Whitehall, wherein they desir'd him to take upon him ^{King.}
 the chief Government of the Nation under the Title of
 KING, which he had already the Power of, but
 wanted only the Name. This Offer was at last brought
 to an open Conference, tho' for a while, touch'd but
 very tenderly, till his Friends, to whom he had given
 these Instructions, and who must seem to court him to
 what he commanded them to propose, understood the
 sense of the Army in it; and therefore, as often as the
 Members address'd him with this humble Petition and
 Advice, he still desired farther time to deliberate in a
 matter of such great importance: Till at length, be-
 ing press'd to give them his final Answer, and he had
 known the Army's Aversion to it, he return'd, That
 he could not take upon him the Government with that Ti-
 tle: Thus openly refusing (when he saw it was not
 safe to venture) what was more than generally believ'd
 he strove for. It was but high time for Cromwel's In-
 vention to make Acts for the security of his Life, since A Plot a.
 there was now more noise than ever of desperate Plots ^{gainst his}
 against it. Miles Sindercomb; a cashier'd and discon- ^{Life.}
 tented Army-man; Toop, one of Cromwel's Life-Guard,
 with Cecil and Bois; the last of which was a Priest
 belonging to Don Alonzo, sometime Leiger-Ambassa-
 dor here from Spain, and who hir'd the rest to kill
 Cromwel, knowing his danger, fled beyond Sea. Cecil
 and Toop laid the blame upon Sindercomb, and were
 pardon'd upon confessing, and being Evidences for the
 Protector. Sindercomb stoutly deny'd the Fact; but
 his Confederates, who had left him in the lurch, wit-
 nessing against him, he was condemn'd to be drawn,
 hang'd and quarter'd at Tiburn; In the mean time be-
 ing kept close Prisoner in the Tower, the very morning
 he was to have been executed, he was found dead
 in his Chamber, being reported to have snuff'd up a
 poysonous Powder, to prevent a shameful Execution.

A. D.
1656.



However, as a *Felo de se*, he was dragg'd at a Horse's Tail with his Heels forward, to *Tower-hill*, and turn'd naked into a Hole under the Scaffold, (that then constantly stood upon the Hill) with a Stake spik'd with Iron driven thro his Body.

Memorable was the Trial of *James Naylor*, one of the first and principal Ringleaders of the impertinent Sect called *Quakers*, who having gain'd many Profelytes about *Bristol*, he was attended by several deluded Men and Women into that City, singing *Hosannah* before him, strewing his way with Herbs and Flowers, using the same Expressions, and paying him the same Honour, as the *Jews* did to our *Blessed Saviour* when he rode into *Jerusalem*. He was convented before the Parliament, which was then sitting, and by them sentenc'd. "To be Whipt, to be set upon the Pillory "before the *Royal Exchange* in *Cornhill*, to be burnt "through the Tongue, and branded with a hot Iron "in the Forehead with the Letter B for a *Blasphemer*. All which was executed upon him, but he shew'd no concern at the Sin or Punishment; which being done, one *Rich* a Merchant got upon the Pillory, embrac'd *Naylor*, and lick'd his Forehead with his Tongue. From whence he was sent down to *Bristol*, where he was whipt thro' the streets, and committed to *Guernsey* during life.

1657



Blake's
Expedition to Santa Cruz.

The *Spaniards* were now much distressed in all parts by the War with the Protector; and to add to their Troubles, so gallant an Action was perform'd against them by General *Blake*, on the 10th of *April* 1657. as scarce can be parallell'd in History. The General lying with a Fleet of Ships near *Cadiz*, to wait for the return of the *Spanish* Plate Fleet, had Intelligence, that they were put into the Bay of *Santa Cruz* in the Island of *Teneriff*: Hereupon he weighed Anchor on the 13th of *April*, and on the 20th rode in the Offin of *Santa Cruz*, where he discerned the *Spanish* Fleet, to the number of 16 Sail, semi-circularly barricado'd in the Bay. Near the Mouth of the Harbour was a Castle well fortified; besides which, there were 7 Forts round about the Bay, with 6, 4, and 3 great Guns, mounted in every one of them, united by a Line of Communication from Fort to Fort, well lin'd with Musqueteers; and *Don Diego Deagues*, the *Spanish* General of the Fleet, upon sight of the *English*, cau-
sed

fed all the small Ships to be moor'd close to the shoar, and plac'd six great Gallions, well mann'd, farther out at Anchor, with their Broadfides towards the Sea.

Blake having well consider'd the Posture of the Enemy, sent Captain *Stayner*, Commander of the *Speaker* Frigate, with a Squadron of Ships into the Bay, who by Eight next morning fell hard and fast upon the *Spanish* Ships; and *Blake*, who would have his share of the Toil and Glory of so brave an Enterprize, immediately seconded *Stayner*, and plac'd some Ships to pour their Broad-sides into the Forts and Castles, whilst he with *Stayner* fought the *Spanish* Fleet, which was not inferiour to the *English*, and much better mann'd, and by Two in the Afternoon gain'd an entire Victory; But the General percieving he could not bring off their smaller Craft, set them all on fire, except one that was sunk; and what seem'd almost miraculous, the Wind, which during the Engagement blew fresh into the Bay, suddenly veer'd about to the South-west, and brought all our Ships safe out to Sea. The News of this great Success was so grateful to the Protector and the Parliament, that they order'd *Blake* a Jewel of Five hundred Pounds value, a Hundred Pounds was given to the Messengers that brought his Letters, with proportionable Gratuities to most of the Officers and Mariners.

After this, *Cromwel* sent over 6000 Men to assist the *French* against the *Spaniards* in *Flanders*, commanded in chief by *Reynolds* one of *Oliver's* Knights, a Man of good Courage and Resolution. No sooner were they landed, but the *French* with their help took three very advantageous Places, *Mont Medi*, *Saint-Venant*, and *Mardike*; the last of which was entred by Colonel *Morgan*, and so strongly fortified, that it was desperately storm'd by 2000 *Scotch* and *Irish* Reformadoes, commanded by the Duke of *York*, yet they could not take it. Now *Cromwel* having refus'd the Title of King, he was on the 26th of *June* 1657. again invest-
ed with the Title of Protector, with much more Ceremony than formerly, wanting but little of Regal Installation. And now he began to govern in a more Monarchical manner, and to model his Family like a King's Court: He had his Yeomen of the Guard in Liveries of grey Cloth lined with black Velvet, whereof *Walter Strickland* was Captain; Sir *Gilbert Pickering* was his Lord Chamberlain; *Lambert* War-

A. D. 1657. den of the Cinque Ports; *Glyn* Lord-Chief-Justice of *England*, and *Steel* Lord-Chief-Baron. Being thus confirm'd Protector by Authority of his Parliament, and having fortified himself by Alliances abroad, his next care was in establishing Himself, strengthening his Friends and Relations, and matching his Children into the Noblest Families that would accept of such an Alliance. His eldest Son *Richard*, whom he design'd for his Successor in the Protectorship, he call'd out of the Country, to fashion him to a Court-life, and give him an insight into Publick Affairs. His second Son *Henry* he made Lieutenant of *Ireland*. His two youngest Daughters he match'd, *Frances* the youngest to Mr. *Robert Rich*. Grandchild to the then Earl of *Warwick*; and *Mary* to the Lord *Falconbridge*, of both which it is said, that the Ladies were so Vertuous, they deserv'd a better Father.

General
Blake's
Death.

About this time died at Sea, as he was entring into *Plymouth* Sound, that Valiant and Expert Sea-Commander, General *Robert Blake*, not long surviving his brave Exploit at *Santa Cruz*. The best Commendation that can be given of him is the rehearsal of his gallant Enterprizes; which, saving that it was his Misfortune to serve illegal Powers, never were any perform'd at Sea more conducing to the Glory of the *English* Nation, and better deserving Eternal Memory.

A Mock
House of
Lords.

On the 20th of *January* following the last Conventicle sate again at *Westminster*, wherein, according to the humble *Petition and Advice*, all the Members were admitted that were kept out of the House at their last Session; who being generally of the Commonwealth-Party, grew very troublesome to *Oliver*; for he having constituted a Mock House of Lords, under the Title of the *Other House*, consisting partly of his special Favourites and Officers of the Army, which he had dignified with the Title of *Lords*, and in which about half a score of the antient Nobility were nominated, but refused to come: the House of Commons would take no notice of them, except it were in Derision and Contempt. Besides this, they began to call in question all that was done in the last Session, as invalid without their consent: So that the humble *Petition and Advice*, which but lately made such a Noise, was like to come to nothing in a moment; which so nettled the Protector, that in a great Heat and Passion he rises from the Council, takes a Hackney-Coach for haste, and

and being come into his *Other*, or Lord's House, sent A. D. 1658. for the Commons to him, and in a long Speech, wherein he six times calls God to witness to apparent *Falsities*. He tells them, *That he had very comfortable Expectations that God would make the Parliament a Blessing*; for, says he, *the Lord be my Witness, I desire the carrying on the Affairs of the Nation to these Ends, The Blessing which I mean, and which we have always climb'd at, was Mercy, Truth, Righteousness, and Peace, which I desire may be improv'd.* Then blaming them for putting him into that high State, and for not supporting him in it, according to their Oaths and Promises, and the Instrument of Government, and now acting directly against it: He told them, *It was high time to put an end to their Sitting, saying, I do declare to you I do dissolve this Parliament; and let God be Judge between Me and You.* At which many of the Commons cry'd *Amen*; and so the Parliament was dissolv'd.

Cromwel being freed from the danger of this Parliament, he falls again upon the Royalists, who must still be sacrific'd to appease his Fury. Many were committed and charged with Treason; but upon their Trials, had either the luck to be acquitted, or to be pardon'd after Sentence, except Sir *Henry Slingsby*, Sir *Henry* who was cast by the Evidence of Major *Waterhouse*, *ry Slings-* Captain *Overton*, and Lieutenant *Thompson*, who were *by and Do-* put upon him by *Oliver* to betray him, and the Re-*ctor Hew-* verend and Pious Dr. *Hewet*, Minister of St. *Gregories*, *et behead-* who was condemn'd as a Mute, because he would not *ed.* own the Authority of the Court, therefore refus'd to plead; and on the 8th of June 1658. were both beheaded on *Tower-hill*.

In *Flanders* they had all the Success they could wish for: *Dunkirk* was besieg'd, and the *Spaniards* resolving to relieve it, tho' with the hazard of a Field Battle, they assembl'd 7000 Foot and 9000 Horse, commanded by *Don John* himself in Person, the Duke of *York*, the Prince of *Condé*, and the Marquis of *Carcene*; who were engag'd near *Furnes* by the Mareschal *Turenne* and Count *Schomberg*, joining with *Lockart* and his *English* Forces, who making their way up a Sandy Hill, against the whole Power of the *Spaniards*, were the sole Cause of their Victory: And no sooner was this Battle ended, but the *English* and *French* return'd again to the Siege of *Dunkirk*, which the Governour,

A. D. 1658. the Marquis of *Leda* seeing now more strongly environ'd by Sea and Land, made a desperate Sally, in which he lost his Life; which, with the terror of the Bombs shot into the Town, caused the *Spaniards* upon the 25th of *June* to surrender it upon Articles, and the *French* King, accompanied with Cardinal *Mazarin*, took possession of it, and immediately resign'd it to General *Lockart* in behalf of the Protector and the *English*, for a Reason you will be acquainted with in its proper time and place.

Dunkirk
taken.

He dies.

On the 6th of *August* *Elizabeth Cleypole*, the Protector's second Daughter, died at *Hampton-Court* of an Imposthume in her inward parts; which so much afflicted her Father, who lov'd her better than all the rest of his Children, that, together with the Discontents arising against him among the Officers of the Army on behalf of a Commonwealth, threw him into a *Tertian* Fever; which, growing upon him by degrees to be more violent, his Imagination was so far transported with Enthusiastick Ravings, that he affirm'd *God had reserved him to do greater things than he had yet perform'd*: In which Extasie he was heighten'd by Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*, one of his Independent Chaplains, who openly declared, *That God had heard the Prayers of his Servants for him, and given him his Life*. But it seems they were mistaken, for being brought from *Hampton-Court* to *Whitehall*, he found himself so much in danger, that he named his Son *Richard* to be his Successor upon the 31st of *August*, *The Protector*, and, for the Good of his Country, thought fit to die upon the 3d of *September*, the same day that he won the Victories at *Marston-Moor*, *Dunbar* and *Worcester*. Thus after so many hazards in the Field, and Plots against his Life, contrary to the belief of many, the ill-bodings of some, and the hearty Wishes of others, he died a natural Death, which was succeeded by as tempestuous a Night as had been known in any Age, as if the Elements had been in Combustion at the sight of a Spirit which had made so great a Concussion in the Affairs of the lower World.

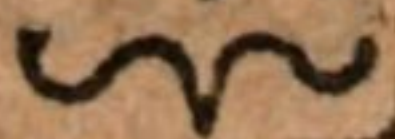
His Birth,
Rise, and
Character,

Oliver Cromwel was born in the Town of *Huntingdon*, the Son of a second Brother to Sir *Oliver Cromwel* of *Huntingdonshire*; his Mother was the Daughter of Sir *Richard Stuart*, of the Isle of *Ely*, and his Wife *Elizabeth* was the Daughter of Sir *James Bouchier*, by whom he had three Sons and four Daughters. He was certainly

certainly a great Man, and Posterity might have paid a just Honour to his Memory, *if he had not embred his hands in the Blood of his Sovereign, or had not usurp'd upon the Liberties of his Country.* He had an University Education, tho' nothing of a Scholar. When the Civil War broke out, he sided with the Parliament; and his first Employment in the Army was a Captain of Horse, whence by degrees he rose to be Lieutenant General under the Earl of *Manchester*; in which Post he was the chief Instrument in gaining the Battle of *Marston-Moor*, which proved the first remarkable stop to the King's Successes. Some time after the Earl of *Manchester* having refused to give an Order to *Cromwel* to charge a Party of Horse, where the King was personally present, he came up to *London* to complain against him, tho' he ow'd his Advancement chiefly to his Favour; which the Earl having notice of, and being by this time weary of a War, *of which he foresaw the fatal Consequences*, he took that opportunity to lay down his Command; wherein he was succeeded by *Cromwel*. Sir *Thomas Fairfax* also laying down his Commission some time after, he was declared *General of all the Forces rais'd and to be rais'd by the Parliament*; and having modell'd the Parliament and Army to his own mind, he dismissed the former when he had no more occasion for them, and upon their forc'd Resignation assum'd the Supreme Power as you have heard, under the Title of *Protector*. Being thus mounted to so high a Pinacle of Fortune, he became more formidable both at home and abroad than most Princes that had ever sat upon the *English* Throne; and it was said that Cardinal *Mazarin*, would change Countenance when ever he heard him nam'd, so that it pass'd into a Proverb in *France*, *That the Cardinal was not so much afraid of the Devil as of* French Oliver *Cromwel*. He had a manly stern look, and Proverb. was of an active healthful Constitution, able to endure the greatest Toil and Fatigue. Tho' brave in his Person, yet he was wary in his Conduct, and being conscious of what he had done to disoblige his Friends and enrage his Enemies, from the time he was first declared *Protector*, he always wore a Coat of Mail under his Cloaths, and a private Dagger. His Conversation, among his Friends, was diverting, but in publick grave and reserv'd. He was sparing in his Diet, but sometimes when he knew his Company, would take

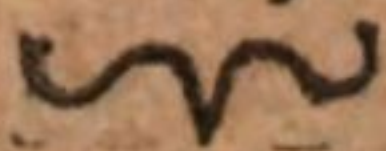
A. D.

1658.



A. D.

165.



A Tyrant
is never
safe-

The dili-
gence of
his Spies.

take his Bottle freely, tho', thanks to a strong Constitution, never to Excess. He writ but an indifferent Hand, but his Stile was Masculine, except he had a mind to cant and wheedle under the Masque of Religion, which he could do to the Life when his Affairs requir'd it. If he came to hear of a Man fit to serve his purposes, tho never so obscure, he would have him at any Price; *and thus modelling his Court till they were all of a piece, was the only Cement that kept it so long together, and render'd him successful.* In matters of greatest moment he trusted none but his Secretary *Thurlo*, and oftentimes not him. An instance of which, *Thurlo* us'd to tell of himself, That he was commanded by *Cromwel* to go at a certain hour into *Grays-Inn Walks* and at such a place deliver a Bill of 20000*l.* payable to the Bearer at *Genoa*, to a Man he should find walking in such a habit and posture as he describ'd, without speaking one word to him; which accordingly *Thurlo* did, and never knew either the Person or the Occasion.

At another time the Protector coming in late at night to *Thurlo's* Office, and beginning to give him directions about business of great importance and secrecy, he took notice that Mr *Morland*, one of the Clerks, afterward Sir *Samuel Morland*, was in the Room, which he had not observ'd before, and fearing he might have over-heard their Discourses, tho' he pretended to be asleep upon his Desk, he drew a Ponyard which he always carry'd under his Coat, and was going to dispatch *Morland* upon the spot, if *Thurlo* had not with great Intreaties prevail'd with him to desist, assuring him that *Morland* had sate up two Nights together, and was now certainly asleep. But his greatest Policy was in the number of his Spies and Intelligencers, by which means there was not the smallest Accident that befell King *Charles II.* in his Exile, but he knew it perfectly well; insomuch, that having given leave to an *English* Nobleman to travel, upon condition he should not see *Charles Stuart*, he ask'd him at his return, *If he had punctually obey'd his Commands?* Which the other affirming he had, *Cromwel* reply'd, 'Tis true, you did not see him; for to keep your word with me, you agreed to meet him in the dark, the Candles being put out for that end; and withal told him the particulars that pass'd in Conversation betwixt the King and him at their meeting. That he had Spies about King *Charles* was not strange;

strange; but his Intelligence reached the most secret Transactions of other Princes, and when the matter was communicated but to very few: Of which we have a notable instance in the business of *Dunkirk*.

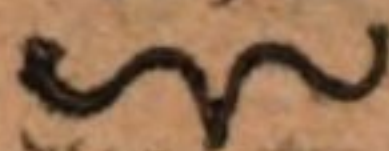
There was an Article in the Treaty betwixt *France* and the Protector, *That if Dunkirk came to be taken it should immediately be deliver'd up to the English; and his Ambassador Lockart had orders to take it into his possession accordingly.* When the *French Army*, being join'd with the *English Auxiliaries*, was in its march to invest the Town, *Cromwel* sent for the *French Ambassador* to *Whitehall*, and upbraided him publickly for his Masters design'd breach of promise, in giving secret Orders to the *French Generals* to keep possession of *Dunkirk* in case it was taken, contrary to the Treaty between them. The Ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begg'd leave to assure him there was no such thing thought of. Upon which *Cromwel* pulling a Paper out of his Pocket: *Here, says he, is the Copy of the Cardinal's Order; I desire you to dispatch an Express immediately, to let him know that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the Keys of the Town of Dunkirk to Lockart within an hour after it shall be taken, tell him, I'll come in Person, and demand them at the Gates of Paris.* There were but four persons said to be privy to this Order, the Queen-Mother, the Cardinal, the *Mareschal de Turenne*, and a Secretary. The Cardinal for a long time blam'd the Queen, as if she might have possibly tattl'd it to some of her Women: Whereas it was found after the Secretary's death, that he had kept a secret Correspondence with *Cromwel* for several years. Which is no wonder, for in *Thurlo's Office* there was one that held Correspondence with King *Charles*, and never was known till after the Restoration.

Few Princes ever bore their Character higher upon all occasions than *Oliver Cromwel*, especially in his Treaty with Crown'd Heads. And it's a thing without example, that's mention'd by *Puffendorf* in the Life of the late Elector of *Brandenburgh*, that in *Cromwel's* League with *France* against *Spain*, he would not allow the *French King* to call himself King of *France*, but of the *French*: Whereas he took upon himself not only the Title of Protector of *England*, but likewise of *France*. And what is yet more surprizing, and which

can

A. D.

1558.



can hardly be believ'd but by the Credit of the Author, in the Instrument of the Treaty : (*Simul Pateretur Cromwellum Instrumento suo Nomen titulumque ante Gallicum ponere ;*) The Protector's Name was put before the French King's. In all his Actions he seem'd to value himself upon his Care of the Publick, which shews him a Hypocrate in perfection ; for notwithstanding all his specious Pretences to the contrary, Cromwel invaded and betray'd the Liberties of his Country, and acted a more Tyrannical and Arbitrary part than all the Kings of England together had done since the Norman Invasion. And now those very Men that some years before had jostled out Monarchy for a supposed Encroachment upon the Rights of the People, were as zealous to restore it again, upon the visible Encroachments that the assuming part of the People had actually made upon the Rights of their fellow-Subjects.

Richard's
short Usur-
pation.

Richard
Cromwel
proclaim'd
Protector.

Oliver being dead, a Council was forthwith sum-
mon'd, where *Fiennes* and *Thurlo* giving an Account of
the Protector's Appointment of his Successor, which
was confirm'd by the Oaths of *Goodwin*, *Whaley* and
Goffe, the President and whole Council went to con-
gratulate *Richard Cromwel*, and to condole his Fathers
death. The next day he was proclaim'd Protector in
London and *Westminster*, and took an Oath to govern
according to Law. Then the People seeming to ap-
prove what they could not remedy, congratulatory
Addresses were fram'd and presented to him from all
parts of *England*. The only doubt remain'd in *Scotland*,
and therefore Mr. *Thomas Clarges*, who was supposed
to have the greatest Interest in his Brother-in-Law,
General *Monk*, was sent into *Scotland* to know how
he stood affected to *Richard's* Advancement, who re-
turning back with Letters of Approbation from the
General, and all the Officers of the Army, *Richard*
thought himself secure in the Throne, and, in the
next place, took care for his Father's Funeral, which
at length was perform'd with all the State and Solem-
nity accustomed at the Interment of Kings : His Body
was intomb'd in *Henry VII.* Chappel, and his Effigies
was set up for some time at the East-end of the Church
Some were of opinion that there were few real Mourn-
ers at his Burial ; but that defect was supply'd since by
great numbers that were ruin'd by trusting their Goods
and

and Labour to furnish the Funeral, which they were never paid a peny for.

1659.

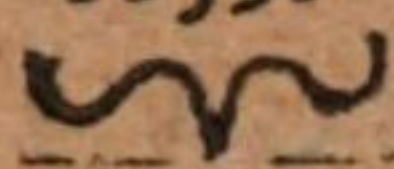
Now Addresses still crowding upon *Richard*, with Promises of spending Lives and Fortunes in his Service, *He calls* ~~a~~ he begins to fancy himself as great as his Father: But *Parlia-* Money being wanting, and no way to get any but by *ment.* calling a Parliament, he issues out Writs for their sitting at *Westminster* on the 27th of *January*. In these Elections it happen'd that many honest Gentlemen were chosen; but the Upper House were fill'd with the chief Officers of the Army, most of which were of such contemptible Extraction, that it irk'd the Commons to own them; and *Richard* rather siding with them than the Upstart Lords, the Army began to murmur against the Protector, finding fault with all his Actions, and from thence proceeded to arraign the Proceedings of the Commous, and never gave *Richard* any quiet till he had consented to dissolve them; which was accordingly done by Proclamation on the 22d of *April* 1659. *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* having gain'd this point, and ingratiated themselves with the Army, they kept their Cabals at *Wallingford-House*, in which they resolv'd to lay *Richard* aside, and re-assemble the Members of the Rump-Parliament. Accordingly the Officers of the Army drew up a Declaration, inviting them to sit on the 6th of *May* following, which was presented to the Speaker by *Lambert*, with about Thirteen or Fourteen other Military Officers. The Title was,

The Parli-
ament dis-
solv'd, and
Richard
depos'd.

A Decla-

A. D.

1659.



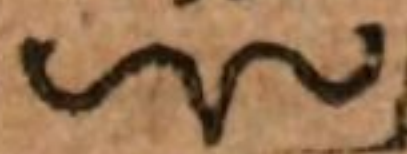
A Declaration of the Officers of the Army, inviting the Members of the Long Parliament, who continu'd Sitting till the 20th of April, 1653. to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trusts.

‘THE Publick Concernments of this Commonwealth being, thro a vicissitude of Dangers, Deliverances and Back-slidings of many, brought into that state and posture wherein now it stands; and we observing, to our great Grief, that the good Spirit which formerly appear'd among us does daily decline, and the *Good Old Cause it self* has become a reproach: We have been led to look back, and examine the cause of the Lord's withdrawing his wonted presence from us, and where we turn'd out of the way, that thro mercy we might return and give him the Glory.

‘And amongst other things, calling to mind that the *Long Parliament*, consisting of those Members who continu'd their sitting till the 20th of *April*, 1653. were eminent Asserters of that Cause, and had a special Presence of God with them, and were signally blest in that Work, the desires of many good People concurring with ours therein, we judge our Duty to invite the foresaid Members to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust, as before the said 20th of *April*, 1653.

‘And therefore we do hereby most earnestly desire the Parliament, consisting of those Members aforesaid, to return to the Exercise and Discharge of their Trust; and we shall be ready in our Places to yield them, as becomes us, our utmost Assistance to fit in safety, for the improving present opportunities, for fet-

‘ settling and securing the Peace and Freedom of the A. D.
 ‘ Commonwealth, praying for the Presence and Bless- 1659.
 ‘ ings of God upon their Endeavours.



6th of May.

*Signed by the Direction of the Lord
 Fleetwood, and the Council of
 Officers of the Army.*

Tho. Sanford, Secretary

This Instrument being deliver'd, many Members *The old*
 of the *Rump-Parliament*, who contriving the Scene, *Parlia-*
 were ready to act their Parts, made a Visit to their *ment sit*
 Speaker, to signify their willingness to return to the *again.*
 Discharge of their Trust, as they call'd it, and ac-
 cordingly met the next morning, being the 8th of May
 in the *Painted-Chamber*, and with their Speaker went
 into the Parliament-House, and took their places.
Thus ended the Usurpation of the Cromwels, being over-
thrown by the Malice and Ambition of those that assisted
the Aspirers in obtaining it, which you see was easily done,
the Power being left by the Father to a Son that had nei-
ther Heart nor Abilities to keep it.

The first thing done by this Fag-end of a Parlia-
 ment, was passing a short Declaration to cajole the
 People, which was order'd to be Printed and Pub-
 lish'd, in the Close of which they declare, *That they*
are resolved to settle the Commonwealth upon such a Foun-
dation, as shall Assert, Establish and Secure the Proper-
ties and Liberties of the People in reference to all, both as
Men and Christians, and that without a Single Person,
Kingship, or House of Peers: And will vigorously en-
deavour carrying on of the Reformation so much desir'd,
and so often declar'd for, to the end there may be a Godly
and Faithful Magistracy and Ministry upheld and main-
tained in the Nations, to the Glory and Praise of the Lord
Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the
hearts of the Upright in the Land. Sir George Booth,
 Colonel Rossiter, Mr. Pryn, and some other Members
 of the Commons House of this Parliament, that had
 been secluded by the Army, attempted to go into the
 House with the rest, but were all kept back by Adju-
 tant-General Allen, except Mr. Pryn, who slipped in
 thro' the Croud; but the House would do nothing
 while he continu'd among them, but adjourn'd to the
 afternoon, and then he was kept out by some Officers
 of the Army.

Four

A. D.

1659.

The Ar-
mies Pe-
tition and
Address.

Four days after the present Parliament assembl'd, the Officers of the Army presented them with their *humble Petition and Address*, wherein they desire, 1. 'That the Liberties and Properties of the free People of these Nations may be preserved inviolably, under the Government of a Free State and Commonwealth, without a *Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers*. 2. 'That there may be such a just and due Regulation of Law, and Courts of Justice and Equity, that they might be a *Protection* and not an *Oppression* to the People. 3. 'That by an Act of *Oblivion* all Persons that had acted since the 9th of *April 1653*. in the several Changes of Government, might be indemnified to all Intents and Purposes. 4. 'That such Debts as have been contracted for the Publick Service of this Commonwealth since the 20th of *April 1653*. may be carefully paid and satisfied. 5. 'That Liberty of Conscience be granted to Men of all Persuasions, provided that this Liberty shall not extend to *Popery* or *Prelacy*; and that all Laws, Statutes, or Ordinances to the contrary may be declared null and void. 6. 'That a godly, faithful and painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry may be every where encourag'd, countenanc'd, and maintain'd. 7. 'That such Persons that have assisted or adhered to the late King, or to *Charles Stuart* his Son, against the Parliament, may be speedily removed out of all Places of Trust in the Magistracy, and never be re-admitted. 8. That to the end the Legislative Authority of this Commonwealth, by their long sitting, may not become burdensom or inconvenient, there may be effectual Provision made for a due Succession of Legislators. 9. 'And for the better Satisfaction, and more firm Union of the Forces of this Commonwealth, we do Unanimously Own and Acknowledge the Lord *Charles Fleetwood* to be General, and Commander in Chief of the Land Forces of this Commonwealth. 10. 'That the Administration of all Executive Power of Government may be in a *Council of State*, consisting in a convenient number of Persons, qualified in all respects aforesaid. 11. 'That all Debts contracted by his late Highness or his Father since the 15th of *December 1653*. may be satisfied; and that an honourable Revenue of 10000 *l.* a year, with a convenient House, may be settl'd upon him and his Heirs for ever, and 10000 *l. per annum* more

' more during Life; and upon his honourable Mother A. D.
 ' 8000 l. a year during her Life, to the end, that a 1659.
 ' Mark of the high Esteem this Nation hath for the
 ' good Service done by his Father, our ever-renown-
 ' ed General, may remain to Posterity. This Petition
 was presented by *Lambert* on the 12th of *May*, ac-
 companied by *Desborough*, *Barkstead*, 12 Colonels and
 2 Lieutenant Colonels; at which time *Lambert* spoke
 as followeth: Mr. Speaker, *We are commanded by Lamberts*
the Officers of the Army to present before you their hum- Speech.
ble Petition and Address; there are several things con-
tained in it, which have been a long time upon their
hands, and no ways of visible redress: But now finding
to their great Joy and Satisfaction that you are return'd,
in discharge of their Trust, they thought it unfit to neg-
lect this opportunity, but have commanded us to present
this Petition.

Then they withdrew, and the House upon debating
 the matter, order'd their Speaker to return them this
 Answer: *I am commanded by the House to tell you,*
they have read the Petition and Address; and that as
they found your Affection before they came hither, so
they find that Affection continuing. The things contain'd
in your Petition are of great weight, and many more
things of great weight are lying before the House; and
it is concerning the Settlement, for which the Divine
Providence of God hath brought us hither, who we hope
shall never depart from us. The House finds in your Ad-
vice much of Love and Affection, and have commanded
me to acknowledge that Love and Affection you have
shewn, and to give you Thanks, very hearty Thanks, for
your Love, and expressions of it, and accordingly in their
Name, I do give you very hearty Thanks.

The House agreed to all the Articles of this Peti-
 on at the first Debate, except what concern'd the
 Publick Revenue, Government, and Protector, and
 therefore appointed a Committee to receive his Sub-
 mission to the Government before they would do any
 thing for him, and to take a state of his Debts. With
 both these Orders *Richard* comply'd, and to his Sub-
 mission annex'd a Schedule of his Debts; but what
 was contracted for his Father's Funeral they absolute-
 ly rejected, and delay'd settling any Revenue upon
 him or his Mother, only gave him 2000 l. to dis-
 charge part of his own private Debts, and requir'd
 him and all his Dependents to remove from *Whitehall*

A. D.

1659.

W

Fleet-

wood

made Ge-

neral.

in six days time. *Fleetwood* discover'd some Discontent at this slight put upon his Brother *Cromwel* and that Family: But as soon as he was made Commander in Chief of all the Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, he was less sollicitous in the Concerns of his Wife's Family. The next thing they did, was to call home *Henry Cromwel* from his Government of *Ireland*. This Gentleman had made himself very Popular in *Ireland*; he had the *Irish* Army under good Discipline, and was so well belov'd among the Officers, that it's probable he would not have consented to the change of Government, if he had had time to prepare against it; and in all Probability, if he had drawn his Army together, and confirm'd their Obedience to his Authority, and then declar'd against their Proceedings at *London*, he might have shaken the Foundation of their New *Commonwealth*; for the Armies in *England* and *Scotland* were not then modell'd, and many of the Officers were Relations and Dependents on the Family of the *Cromwel's*; but he was so doubtful of the Success, that he attempted nothing, but peaceably submitted to the Government.

Sir Geo.

Booth's

Rising and

Routing.

The Royalists were now ready to rise in all Parts of *England* to throw out these Usurpers, and a Declaration was publish'd in the Names of the *Lords*, *Gentlemen*, and *Citizens*, *Freeholders* and *Yeomen* of this once happy Nation: But in the midst of these Expectations Mr. *Baron* brought the News that the Design met with a Disappointment in the South and West Parts of *England*; so that the most considerable Body that got together was in *Cheshire* under the Command of Sir *George Booth*, who with the Earl of *Derby*, the Lord *Kilmury*, and Major General *Egerton*, met at *Warrington*, at first with a small Party, but they having the very Flower of the Gentry engag'd among them, their Numbers encreas'd every Minute. In the mean time, Colonel *Roger Whitley* deliver'd a Message to Sir *George Booth* from his Majesty, with an Account of his Majesty's Preparations beyond Sea, and that he was ready to come over at the first notice; which was no small satisfaction to the whole Party, being now about 500 Men. The first thing they resolv'd was to march to *Chester*, and in their way were met at *Fradsham* by Colonel *Worden*, who assur'd them that *Chester* Gates would be open'd for their Entrance. The next day they marched thither, and took possession

sion of the Town; but the Castle was defended against them by Mr. *Croxton*, the Governour of it for the Parliament. Major General *Egerton* was sent with a Party to *Chirk* Castle, when Sir *Thomas Middleton* hearing of his approach, open'd the Gates, and joyfully receiv'd him. Then Colonel *Whitley* put a Garrison into *Hardington* Castle in *Flintshire*. Colonel *Ireland*, at the same time, declared for him in *Liverpoo*; and Mr. *Brooks* and Mr. *Dunch*, two of the Members of the House, to atone for their former Disloyalties, join'd also with them.

While these Affairs were in agitation, Mr. *Nicholas Monk*, a Minister, and a Person of undoubted Loyalty, and only Brother to General *Monk*, came to *London* from Sir *Hugh Pollard*, and other of his Majesty's Friends in the West of *England*, to engage his Brother in his Majesty's Cause; and to that end, took a Journey to *Scotland*, being first instructed by Mr. *Clarges* how to manage his Negotiations with abundance of Caution, and to communicate his Design to none except Dr. *Samuel Barrow*, Physician to the Army, and Mr. *John Price* his Chaplain, two Gentlemen of great Integrity, both recommended to the General by Mr. *Clarges*, to be near his Person, at his first going into *Scotland*.

Sir *George Booth* hearing *Lambert* was drawing near him, thought to have got a days march before him into *Lancashire*, to gain time, and increase his Numbers: Therefore he and Sir *Thomas Middleton* sent a Trumpeter to him, with two Ministers, to shew the cause of their raising an Army, and desir'd a Treaty to save the Effusion of Blood: To which *Lambert* agreed, on Condition they would first lay down their Arms, and surrender their Garrisons to him. To this there was no Reply, But some of *Lambert's* Men pressing hard upon *Booth*, at *Winnington* Bridge near *Northwich* in *Cheshire*, a sharp Encounter began between both Parties, wherein *Booth* was routed, and Captain *Morris* a gallant Gentleman kill'd, with some few others; but Sir *George Booth* and Sir *Thomas Middleton* made their Escapes. The Lord *Kilmury*, *Brooks*, Major General *Egerton*, *William O Neale*, and others, were taken Prisoners, and all the Garrisons submitted immediately to *Lambert*: And tho' Sir *George* had the good Fortune to escape at the Battle, yet he was afterwards taken in disguise at *Newport Pagnel* in *Buckinghamshire*, being

*Lambert's
harmless
Victory.*

*Sir Geo.
Booth be-
trayed and
taken.*

A. D.

1659.

General
Monk's
Policy.

betray'd by one *Carter*, an Inn-keeper at the *George* where he lodg'd.

General *Monk* was so much prevail'd upon by the Report of Sir *George Booth's* Successes in the Enterprize, and the importunity of his Brother, that he resolv'd to march into *England*, in pursuance of *Booth's* Declaration, which was very agreeable to his own Principles. He consulted but very few besides his Brother, Major *Ralph Knight*, Captain *Jeremy Smith*, Dr. *Gumble*, and the two Gentlemen before named, in regard he had many seditious Officers in his Army, who were so many Spies upon all his Actions, which obliged him to the greater Circumspection; insomuch, that when Colonel *Atkins*, a Royalist of his antient Acquaintance, came into *Scotland* to him on the same Errand his Brother did, *Monk*, for fear of Awakening the Jealousie of the Factious Party about him, durst not shew him any Countenance, or pay him any common Respect, but rather on the contrary sent him away discourag'd: But when all was ready for his March, and a Declaration prepar'd, he demurr'd two days upon the stop of the *English* Pacquet, in expectation of Intelligence from his Agent *Clarges*, from whom two days after he receiv'd the fatal News of Sir *George Booth's* being defeated. General *Monk* being much afflicted at these Disasters, and seeing himself ready to be laid aside, or to be made a Prop to support other Men's Designs, he sent a Letter to *Lenthall* the Speaker, to be communicated to the Parliament, desiring to be dismiss'd from his Command, pretending he was infirm in his health, and had long continued in that remote Country; and since now all Insurrections were appeas'd that threatn'd Disturbances to the Peace of the Nation, he might be permitted to return into his own Country, to end his days in quiet. This Letter, tho' it was not sent to *Clarges* to be deliver'd, as generally all his Pacquets were, because *Monk* suspected he would oppose that Resolution, yet Mr. *Nich. Monk* giving him some intimation of it, it was so contriv'd among them, that *Clarges* deliver'd it to the Speaker, and prevail'd so far upon him as to delay the reading of it for ten days, till a Pacquet could come from *Scotland* to contradict it; and well it was advis'd, for otherwise under this Despondence he might have lost an Opportunity of doing that for which Providence seem'd to have design'd him,

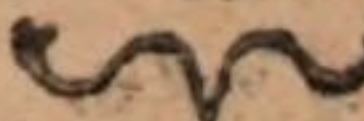
The Officers of the Army were so flesh'd with the Victory over Sir *George Booth* and his Party, that they began to contrive how to restore the Military Power to its former Grandeur, that had lately been much eclips'd by the Parliament. Now *Lambert* consults at *Derby* with the Officers of the Army, who complain'd of several Miscarriages in the Civil Administration of the Government, and concluded to draw up their desires in the Form of a *Petition to the Parliament*, to redress their Grievances, which Sir *Arthur Hazlerig* having notice of, exclaims against them in the House, as Persons that were attempting Alterations in the Government, and setting up a single Person over them. This put the House into a jealousy of *Lambert*, who was setting up *Fleetwood* as a Stale to his own Advancement. However, their Petition and Proposals were deliver'd to the House by *Desborough* and many others, and afterwards were sent into *Scotland* to be sign'd there by the Officers of that Army: But *Monk*, who intended to serve his own Designs by their Fanglings and Divisions, would not suffer it to be handed, but on the contrary, sent Mr. *Nicholas Monk* to tell *Clarges*, That he was resolved, if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own Authority against the Army, he would assist them in it, and if requir'd, would march into England in their Defence.

Monk's
Message to
the Parlia-
ment.

Mr. *Clarges* early next morning communicated this to *Walton*, *Hazlerig*, and *Scot*, who were so much encourag'd by it, that at their first sitting they mov'd, that the Doors might be shut, that none of the Members might go out of the House; and then, after a long and brisk Debate, Order'd, That *Lambert's Desborough's*, *Kelsey's*, *Ashfield's*, *Cobbet's*, *Packer's*, and *Barton's* Commissions, should be all void, and order'd the Serjeant at Arms to carry the Orders for discharge of these Officers, to the respective Persons whom they concern'd; That they should be succeeded by the next Officers in their several Degrees, and order'd, that Colonel *Morley's* and Colonel *Mosse's* Regiments should be Guards to the Parliament, who accordingly possessed themselves of the *Palace-Yard*, and the great Hall at *Westminster*. *Lambert* on the other side, seeing what was like to become of him if matters were carry'd on at such a rate against him, thought fit to play his Game while it was in his Power to prevent them, and to that end, drew some Regiments together,

Lambert
turns out
the Parlia-
ment.

A. D. who march'd into *Kingstreet*, and possess'd themselves
1659. of all the Avenues to the *Parliament-house*. Next

 morning the Speaker came in his Coach towards the House, but was stopt at his entry into the *Palace-Yard* by Colonel *Duckenfield*, and after a little Expostulation was forc'd to return. The Soldiers on both sides kept their stations till towards the Evening in a posture of Hostility, ready to have fir'd one upon the other, only expecting when the Word of Command should be given to begin the Onset, so that 'twas thought the matter would have come to Blows; but they were better advised, for the Council of State meeting at *Whitehall*, order'd them all to draw off to their Quarters; which both Parties, to save their Skins, agreed to, and *Lambert* gain'd his point in hindring the Parliament from meeting, which *Fleetwood* took care by planting Guards about the House to prevent for the future. The next day divers of the chief Officers of the Army met, and chose a Council of Ten Persons to carry on the Affairs of the Government till farther Order. These were *Fleetwood*, *Desborough*, *Lambert*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vane*, Sir *James Harrington*, Major *Salway*, *Berry*, *Sidenham*, and *Archibald Johnston*, a Scotch-man, commonly call'd the Laird *Warrestown*.

Another
New Go-
vernment.

The Lord *Mordaunt* and some others of the King's Friends being then at *Calais*, upon the News of these Disorders in *England* dispatch'd Mr. *Nicholas Armor* to his Majesty, who was then at *Fontarabia* soliciting for Supplies of Men and Money, of which he had large Promises from the *Spaniards*, and towards the defraying his Expences receiv'd a Present from *Don Lewis de Haro* of 20000 Crowns; and in this time Mr. *Eveling* of *Say's-Court* near *Deptford* in *Kent* won over Colonel *Herbert Morley*, one of the Parliament's five Commillioners for the Command of the Army, to the King's Interest.

A Com-
mittee of
Safety.

The General Council being now almost at the end of their Wits as well as Honesty, lay aside the Council of Ten, and nominate Three and twenty persons to be entrusted with the Administration of the Government, under the Title of *A Committee of Safety*, and gave them these Powers and Instructions. 1. 'To execute all the Powers of the late Council of State, together with Authority to call all Delinquents to account that were concern'd in the late Insurrection, to bring them to Justice, and to grant Indemnity to all

all Persons that had acted for the Service of the Commonwealth, since the Year 1649. 2. To oppose and suppress all Rebellions and Insurrections. 3. To treat with Foreign States and Princes. 4. To raise the Militia in the several Counties. 5. To dispose all places of Trust that are void, and to remove such as are scandalous. 6. To make Sale and Compositions for all Delinquents Estates. The Names of these Governours were, *Bulstrode, Whitlock*, Keeper of the Broad Seal, *Fleetwood, Lambert Desborough*, Steel Chancellor of Ireland, *Sir Henry Vane, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salway, Walter Strickland, Berry, Lawrence, Sir James Harrington*, the Laird of *Warreston*, Alderman *Ireton, Tichburn, Hughson, Clark, Bennet*, Colonel *Lilburn, Cornelius Holland, Henry Bandriff*, and *Robert Thompson*; Who published a Declaration to acquaint the World, That it was upon their hearts to settle a due Liberty upon the free-born People of these Nations, to make a thorough Reformation of the Law, and to establish a Faithful, Godly, Painful Gospel-Preaching Ministry, and to provide them a Maintenance less troublesome to them, and vexatious to the People, than that of Tythes, and prepare such a Form of Government as may best suit with a Free State and Commonwealth, without a Single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers. Then to cajole the Godly Party, as they call'd them, they proceeded to declare, That they doubt not but such, seeing the many Temptations besetting them on every hand, the great difficulties they labour'd under, and knew not what farther streights a day may bring forth, will say on their behalfs, *Who are sufficient for these things?* And out of former Experiences being taught, that the Lord is a present Help in time of Trouble, will cry aloud for them before the Throne of Grace, That the Lord himself may appear, and carry on his own Work in their hands: And if it shall please him by his Spirit to stir up those that fear his Name to be instant on their behalf, they shall not fear what Evil Man can do unto them.

But while they were running this Career, and canting the Nation into absolute Slavery, they met with a severe Check in a Letter from General *Monk* in Scotland to *Fleetwood* and *Lambert*, which came to their hands October the 20th, wherein he upbraided them with the Violation of their Faith to the Parliament, and declared

A. D.

1659.

Their Declaration.

Monk's

Letter to

Fleet-

wood and

red Lambert.

A. D. 1659. *red his Resolution to restore them to their Power against all Opposition. Fleetwood, Lambert and Desborough immediately met at Whitehall under a great Consternation, and about 12 at night sent Major Haines to desire Clarges to come thither to them; and when he came, press'd him with great importunity to go into Scotland with Colonel Talbot, to prevail with Monk for a Composure of Differences, to prevent the Effusion of Blood. Clarges was glad of this Opportunity to get away, and they were in so much haste, that they would allow him but three hours to prepare for his Journey. Monk had early Notice of the Army's Proceedings against the Parliament, and therefore dismiss'd the Anabaptist Officers, secur'd Berwick, and regulated his Army fit for the design he had resolv'd to enterprize: Then he call'd all his Officers together, and told them, That the Army in England had broke up the Parliament, for not humouring them in their Extravagancies, and that he was resolv'd to make the Military Power subordinate to the Civil; and since they had Protection and Maintenance from the Parliament, he had no reason to question their joining with him in restoring them to the Exercise of their Trust: but if any were dissatisfied with these his Intentions, he desired they would declare it, and they should have free Liberty, without Reflection, to leave the Service, and have Passports to return home: Upon which, Colonel Wilks, and his Lieutenant-Colonel, with all that were present, unanimously declar'd they would live and die with him.*

*His Speech
to his officers.*

Colonel Talbot and Clarges came to Edenborough on the 2d of September, and were well received by Monk, but especially Clarges, with whom he had a private Conference that night, at which Clarges frankly ask'd him, *What was the true End he aim'd at in this Enterprize?* telling him, it was impossible for him after this Rupture to be ever trusted again by the English Army. The General, who was then one of the most reserv'd Men living, was in some trouble to be press'd in that matter, and therefore then discover'd himself no farther, than that he resolv'd to free his native Country from the Slavery it was under, and to that end, would restore the Parliament; but in their Admission to sit, he would make no difference between them, but would let in the Secluded Members as well as others; and having said this, he conjur'd Clarges to Secrecy, being sensible that the Army were jealous of him, that a

King

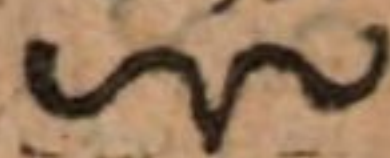
a King was in the bottom of his design, and therefore all A. D. he could contrive would be little enough to beget a 1659. Confidence with his own Party to engage with him. 

Lambert was by this time advanc'd with his Army Lambert as far as York, which consisted of near 12000 Men, and *advanc'd* Monk had not above half the number; only he had *as far as* this Advantage, that he paid his Soldiers, and the York. other did not. Major General Morgan, while he had lain sick of the Gout at York, had kept fair with Lambert, and offer'd him to use the Credit he had with Monk to bring him to an Accommodation, and thereupon was sent on that Errand into Scotland, where his Regiment was. Having thus got out of their Power, Morgan *join'd with* he came to Edenborough on the 8th of November, and Monk. upon his first Access to the General, ask'd him aloud, but merrily, *If he would lay down his Arms, and be Friends with Fleetwood and Lambert?* To which the General answer'd, *If they would restore the Parliament, he had little more to say; and if he pleas'd, he might let them know it.* Morgan reply'd, *I promis'd to ask you that Question, but not to return to them that sent me if you deny'd it. I am glad I am here to assist you, and now will follow your Fortune in all your Undertakings. You know I am no States-man, I am sure you are a Lover of your Country, and therefore I will joyn with you, and submit to your Conduct.* This generous Friendship was kindly receiv'd by Monk and all the Officers and Soldiers, for he was esteem'd, next to the General, to be a Person of the best Conduct of any then in Arms in the three Nations, having been near forty years a Soldier, and present at the greatest Battles and Sieges in *Christendom* for a great part of the time; and particularly in *Flanders*, where he commanded a Brigade of Foot, and acquitted himself to the amazement of his Enemies, and the Admiration of Mareschal *Turenne* and all the *French* Commanders in the Service with him. In the evening *Morgan* was private with the General, and deliver'd him a Letter from Mr. *Bowles* a Minister in York, a considerable Man in those parts, and in great Reputation with the Lord *Fairfax*, and many other persons of good Quality in that Country. The Letter imported, *That the Lord Fairfax and many others of good Interest in Yorkshire were willing to joyn with the General, but disapprov'd his Declaration, which was restrain'd to that part of the Parliament only which sate after the rest were secluded, and was fill'd* with

330

A. D.

1659.



with Protestations for asserting no other Government but a Commonwealth. To this the General answer'd, That Clarges could witness with him his intentions in those particulars, that what was Printed in his Name as Affairs then stood, was not to be regarded as the results of his own Reason, and till he had got more Power into his own hands, it was unseasonable and indiscreet to do otherwise. With this Apology Clarges was sent to the Lord Fairfax, but first to discourse Mr. Bowles, who desir'd Mr. Clarges to continue private in York, while he, for fear of discovery, transacted the Affair with the Lord Fairfax; which he did so effectually, that at his return he acquainted Clarges, that the Lord Fairfax, Bethel and Smithson would rise in January, and joyn with Monk.

The Apprentices
rise.

About this time Nine of the old Council of State met privately in London, wrote a complemental Letter to Monk, and sent him a Commission to be General of all the Forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland: And the Apprentices of London, with several others in favour of Monk's Proceedings, rais'd Disturbances, and petition'd the Lord Mayor and Common-Council to interpose for restoring the Parliament and Preservation of Magistracy; which so much displeas'd the Committee of Safety, that they publish'd a Proclamation against gathering Hands to Petitions; and this so much incens'd the Young Men, who were acted by wiser Heads, that they rose up in a tumultuous manner in divers places. Hewson was sent into London to suppress them, which rais'd a Rumour that the Soldiers came to plunder them. All Shops were shut up, and many reproachful words pass'd in the Streets between the Souldiers and Apprentices; which rose to such a heat, that two Apprentices were kill'd, twenty wounded, and the rest disperst for that time: But the Soldiers were so villify'd, scorn'd, and hiss'd at, they were asham'd to march; and the Officers afterward durst not wear their Swords when they went into the City, for fear of being affronted.

Monk was now march'd to Berwick, and both sides prepar'd for War; but Lambert was so daily alarm'd with the success of the Commissioners at Portsmouth, and the daily submission of several Troops and Companies of Men, that he thought it more advisable to march Southward to assist his Friends in London, than to hazard a Battle with General Monk. Fleetwood and the rest

rest of the Committee of Safety were in no less disorder A. D. than *Lambert*; but that which most amased them was, 1659. a Declaration from *Lawson* and his Fleet, for restoring the Parliament; for by his Defection, added to the rest, their Authority came to be generally despised, even by their own Soldiers, who abandoned them; and *Fleetwood* with great Contrition and Submission, in the behalf of himself and Confederates, sent to the Speaker, desiring him to send the rest of the Members of Parliament to re-assemble for the exercise of their Trust, acknowledging, *that the Lord had blasted their Councils, and, to use their own words, spit in their Faces.* Two days after, towards the evening, the Speaker and Members met in the Parliament-House, and re-assum'd the Government, who appointing Commissioners to order the Army, they sent to *Lambert* to disperse his Forces.

The Committee of Safety broken.

Their Recantation.

The General hearing that the Lord *Fairfax*, and several of his Friends of the best Quality were rising in Arms in *Yorkshire*, and that *Lambert* having kept his Brigade together, intended to oppose them, *Monk* march'd forward with his whole Army, consisting only of 5000 Foot and 2000 Horse: But by that time he came to *Morpeth*, he had information that *Lambert's* whole Party were dispers'd into several Quarters, in obedience to the Parliament's Orders, and at the same time receiv'd a Letter from the Speaker (dated the 27th of *December*) of Thanks for his Service, wherein the Restitution of their Authority was wholly attributed to his Fidelity, Care, and Courage. This over-hasty Resumption of their Power was a great Blow to his Designs; for he thought they would not have fate till he was arriv'd at *London* with his Army, and then he would have restor'd the Secluded Members with them, without undertaking to judge of the differences between them.

The new-restor'd Members began to act very briskly in appointing a Council of State, and giving them Instructions to govern by; among which it was provided, That none should sit but such as should take an Oath of Abjuration of the King, his Family and Government, in these words:

‘I Do hereby Swear, That I do renounce the pretended Title of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole Line of the late King *James*, and of every other Person, as a Single Person, pretending, or which shall

The Oath of Abjuration.

pre-

A. D. 1659. *W* pretend to the Crown or Government of these Nations of *England, Scotland or Ireland*, or any of them, and the Dominions and Territories belonging to them, or any of them; and that I will, by the Grace and Assistance of Almighty God, be true, faithful, and constant to the Parliament and Commonwealth, and will oppose the bringing in, or setting up any single Person or House of Lords, and every of them, in this Commonwealth. When this Oath came to be debated in the House, at least a 3d part of their number refus'd it, and therefore were not suffer'd to Sit and Act, The leading Members of Parliament finding this difference growing among themselves about the Oath of Abjuration, contriv'd how to draw the General to their Party; and in order to it, *Scot and Robinson*, two of their Members, were sent to meet him upon the Road, to congratulate his Return; but with private directions to engage him to take the Oath as soon as he came to *London*, before he took his place in the Council of State.

Monk at
Notting-
ham.

When the General came to *Nottingham*, his Brother *Clarges* met him, and in a private Conference acquainted him with the state of Affairs, and the truest way to do his Country Service; and that he might be able to accomplish his Designs, the General writes a Letter to the Parliament, *to remove all the Regiments out of London, except Colonel Fag's, that were Quarter'd there; for he thought it not for their Service that those Soldiers now in London, and lately in Rebellion against 'em, should mingle with those that had approv'd themselves faithful to 'em.* It was agreed this Letter should not be sent till he came to *St Albans*, that those in the House of the Faction for the Oath of Abjuration might suppose it came with the privity of *Scot and Robinson*; and seeing him so near, might be less apt to oppose his desires. At *Leicester* the General expected to be attack'd about the Oath of Abjuration, and was much troubl'd to think how to divert it. *Clarges* told him, he had a plain and full answer to make them, which was, *That he heard many Men, of undoubted Integrity, had refus'd it, and till he came to London to hear the Reasons on both sides, he could not in prudence resolve upon it.* This Advice he follow'd, and succeeded in it. *Scot and Robinson* told him at their first Interview, *That the Parliament had order'd 1000 l. a year to be settl'd on him for ever; that they were sensible of his Services, were providing*

Money

Money for his Souldiers, and were glad to hear of his marching towards London. A. D. 1659.

The General was never more put to it to dissemble his Inclination than at this time, *Scot* and *Robinson* did so watch him. At *Harborough*, Alderman *Fowke*, Alderman *Vincent* and Mr *Bromfield* met him, as Commissioners from the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common-Council of *London*; and at the same time, Sir *John Norris*, with many of the chief Gentry of *Northamptonshire*, welcom'd him to their Country. The Citizens, after the first Civilities, fell upon particulars, and Mr. *Bromfield* in a generous Speech, after enumerating the Calamities the Nation laid under, propos'd the Re-admission of the Secluded Members, that the Parilament might be Full and Free. To the same purpose was the Address from the Gentlemen of *Northamptonshire*, *Buckinghamshire*, *Oxfordshire*, *Norfolk*, and almost all the Counties of *England*; all which were answer'd by him with Respect, tho he durst not discover his Approbation of their Desires. At *St Albans* the General sent his Letter to the House by Colonel *Lidcot*; and the Parliament complying with his desires, the other Army march'd out of *London*, and he entred the City in the Afternoon at the head of three Regments of Horse, attended by his principal Officers, and many Persons of Honour and Qualiity, to *Whitehall*, where an Apartment was provided for his Reception. On *Monday* he was invited to the Parliament House, where he receiv'd their Thanks by the Speaker, to which he return'd an Answer in the same strain, tho it had not the luck to please them. But that which most troubl'd them was the discontented carriage of the City, who in Common-Council resolv'd to pay no publick Taxes till the House was fill'd up with equal Representatives; for they thought it unreasonable to be govern'd by a Parliament wherein they had no Members sitting. Now to give a timely check to the City's obstinacy, the Council of State gave an Order to the General to enter the City next morning with a good part of the Army, to seize eleven of the most active Common-Council, to commit them to the *Tower*, to pull down the City Posts and Chains, take down the Gates and Portcullices, and quarter his Soldiers in the City, till they were reduc'd to Obedience.

A. D.

1659.

*He pulls
down the
Gates.*

*That Acti-
on was ge-
nerally dis-
approv'd.*

The General was surpriz'd and astonish'd at this Command, and debated many things with them for the mitigation or suspension of it; but seeing he could not prevail, he march'd into the City, pull'd down the Posts and Chains, took into custody nine of the Citizens which he had order to secure, the other two having absented themselves. The City was much alarm'd at these Proceedings, and the Chiefs apply'd themselves to him to moderate his Actions, for the whole City seem'd to be confounded with Wonder and Anxiety. His General Officers were also so much troubl'd, that they offer'd up their Commissions rather than be employ'd in such horrid Actions: But he having conjur'd them to comply, and given them private Intimation, that it would produce better Effects than was convenient at that time to be explained, they went away better contented, tho' not fully satisfied. To please the Citizens, he also wrote to the Parliament to permit the City-Gates to stand; which so much displeas'd them, that they reprimanded him for it, and therefore, lest they should vacate his Commission, he commanded his Soldiers to break the Gates and Portcullises to pieces, and on *Friday* in the Evening went back to *Whitehall*. While these Indignities were offer'd to the City, 'tis very observable that the Phanatick Party in the City presented a Petition to the House by *Praise God Barebone*, countenancing this Action, and pressing that the Oath of Abjuration might be taken by all employ'd in Civil and Military Affairs.

*He pro-
poses fil-
ling up the
House:*

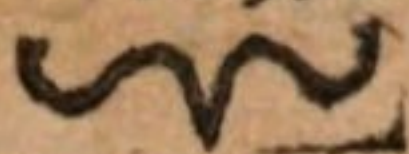
The General, apprehending the ill consequence of this Action in disobliging the City, to recover that Slip, by the advice of his Friends, writes a Letter to the Parliament, *complaining of several Irregularities committed by them, and desires them by Friday next to issue out Writs to fill up their House, and to rise at the appointed time, to give place to a full and free Parliament,* and then returns again with his Army into the City. This Letter more displeas'd them than all the rest of his Actions, and therefore pass'd an Act, *That the Army should be divided among five Commissioners, namely, General Monk, Sir Arthur Haslerig, the Colonels Morley, Walton and Allured; and made the Quorum of them to be Three Persons.* This was oppos'd by the General's Friends, but they were not enough to hinder it, and therefore mov'd that *Monk* might be always One of the Three, but 'twas carry'd in the Negative, which

put

put him into great Indignation at this Example of their Ingratitude, and therefore met the Lord Mayor and Common Council at *Guildhall*, telling them, *That the Employment whereon he was sent at his last being in the City was so ungrateful to him, that to redeem his Credit with them, he had that morning sent to the Parliament to issue out Writs within seven days to fill up their House; and when fill'd, to sit no longer than the 6th of May, and then give place to a full and free Parliament.* The News whereof was quickly disperst through the City, and was entertain'd with all the usual Demonstrations of Joy, express'd in Ringing of Bells and Bonfires.

A. D.

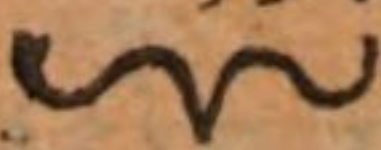
1659.



On the 18th of *February* the General appointed a Conference to be held before him of the Sitting and Secluded Members; which came to no conclusion, because the Sitting Members durst not undertake for the rest of the House without their Consent, which could not be known but by a Vote, tho' several of them were satisfyed with that Moderation and Temper which they found in the other Gentlemen with whom they conferr'd, but seeing they could not agree, the General resolv'd to admit them without it. Accordingly on *Tuesday* morning following he gave the Secluded Members a meeting at *Whitehall*; where, after a short Speech, recommending to them *the Settlement of the Nation, and promising to impose nothing on them*, they took their Places in Parliament, being conducted thither by Captain *Miller*, who commanded the Guards. These Transactions were manag'd with so much Secrecy, that the Sitting Members knew nothing of it, till they saw the Secluded Members come and sit among them. Upon which, being much Surpriz'd, they demurr'd among themselves whether they should keep their Seats, or quit the House, till at length the grand Sticklers for a Commonwealth, knowing it would not be in their Power by staying to make good their Interest against those that were now the Major part of the House, they immediately departed; but the more moderate kept their Seats among the new-admitted Members; where, the first thing they did was to vindicate the Honour of the House, by Expunging all the Votes out of the Journals that disabl'd them from sitting as Members, releas'd Mr *Vincent*, Mr. *Bromfield*, and the rest of the Citizens that were imprison'd by the Council of State, with Sir *George Booth* and others; By Act of Parliament made General *Monk* General of all the Ar-

*Restores
the Secluded Mem-
bers.*

mies

A. D. 1659.  *A new Council of State.* mies in *England* and *Ireland*; repeal'd the Act for the former Council of State and the Oath of Abjuration; and pass'd an Act for another Council to consist of one and Thirty Persons, viz. General *George Monk*, *William Pierpoint*, *John Crew*, Colonel *Rossiter*, *Richard Knightly*, Colonel *Popham*, Colonel *Morley*, Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *Anthony Ashly Cooper*, Sir *Gilbert Gerrard*, the Lord Chief Justice, Sir *Johnson*, Sir *John Temple*, Lord Commissioner *Widrington*, Sir *John Evelin* of *Wilts*, Sir *William Waller*, *Richard Onslow*, Sir *William Lewis*, Colonel *Edward Mountague*, Colonel *Edward Harley*, Colonel *Richard Norton*, *Arthur Annesly*, *Denzil Hollis*, Colonel *George Thompson*, *John Trevor*, Sir *John Holland*, Sir *John Potts*, Colonel *John Birch*, Sir *Harbottle Grimstone*, *John Swinfin*, *John Weaver*, Serjeant *Maynard*.

The Army reform'd. The Life-Guard, and the rest of the Troops under *Lambert* having no Commanders in Chief, the General gave the Command of it to Captain *Philip Howard* and *Desborough's* Regiment to Colonel *Charles Howard* of *Naworth*, whom he also made Governour of *Carlisle*, and Colonel *Jones* Governour of *Beaumaris* Castle. But notwithstanding all the Parliament's and the General's care, Colonel *Overton* was designing to make Disturbances in *Yorkshire*, by dispersing Seditious Writings among the Army; and if Colonel *Fairfax*, *Smithson* and *Bethel* had not been very active in suppressing 'em, his Practice might have perverted many Soldiers: To prevent which, the General made Colonel *Fairfax* Governour of *Hull*, with Orders to draw some Companies to *Beverly*, which *Overton* submitted to, and the same night began his Journey towards *London*, to attend the General's farther Pleasure. Besides these Regulations, the General about the same time, made Mr. *Clarges* Commissary-General of the Musters of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, constituted Mr. *Morris* Governour of *Plymouth*, and made Major-General *Morgan* Commander in Chief of the Army in *Scotland*. The Parliament well resenting the General's Care and Conduct, gave him, by Act of Parliament, a Present of 20000 *l.* in Money, conferr'd upon Commissary-General *Clarges* the Hamper-Offices, and on the 13th of *March* order'd, That the Engagement *To be true to the Commonwealth of England without a King or House of Lords*, should be taken off the File, and made void, to all intents and purposes.

Scot, Haslerig, and others, look'd upon these Proceedings as inevitable Prognosticks of introducing the King; and to prevent it, courted the General to take the Dominion of the Three Kingdoms upon Himself; telling him, that the Parliament's Actions tended to ruin him and all the good People of England. His Overthrow, they said, must needs succeed the King's Admission; for a Merit too great to be rewarded could have no Recompence but Death. They bid him remember that Stanley, who set the Crown upon Henry the Seventh's Head, had his own struck off upon frivolous Pretences, when the true Reason was Excess of Merit. To these Allegations the General answer'd, That the Parliament were best Judges of their own Proceedings; and as to taking the Government upon himself, he said, The Experience of Cromwel's Fate gave him sufficient Reasons to shun the Rock on which that Family was Shipwreck'd. They reply'd, That Oliver usurp'd the Government against the Suffrage of the Army, and the Consent of the good People: whereas he should have it by their unanimous Consent, and under what Name or Title he pleas'd to accept it. But the General would hear no more of these Temptations, nor stain an antient Family of Gentry by such a treacherous Prostitution of it.

Now Affairs looking favourably upon the King's Interest, he sent Sir John Granville to the General, who knowing his wary Temper, made use of his Neighbour Mr. Morris to introduce him; for tho' he was the General's near Relation, yet by reason of his Youth, and the General's long Absence, they were almost Strangers to one another. Mr. Morris acquainted the General with it, who made answer, That unless he would send him Information of his Business by him, he could not admit of Intercourse with him. Mr. Morris told him he had already propos'd that to him, but he refus'd it. The General approving this Reserv'dness in Sir John, order'd him to come to him to St. James's at Nine in the Evening. Accordingly Granville came, and begging pardon for his Importunity, desir'd his leave to deliver a Message to him from the King: The General seem'd surpriz'd at this, but being alone, bid him say what he pleas'd. Then Sir John presented a Letter to him from the King, and told him, That his Majesty had great Confidence in him, and since he had so far complied with the Desires of the King-

A. D. 1659. *dom, for the Admission of the Secluded Members in order to a free Parliament, the consequences of it could not be less than the Restoration of His Majesty, if he concurr'd with their Councils.*

The General reply'd, *That he had long lamented the Miseries of his Country, and waited an opportunity to redeem them from Vassalage; and as to the King's Majesty, none wish'd him greater Felicity than he, or with greater Passion desir'd his Restoration: But if it were not cautiously attempted, it would be out of his Power to serve him in it.* Then he conjur'd him to acquaint no Person with it but the King, and desire Him also to conceal it; but above all things, he intreated him to desire the King to remove out of the King of Spain's Dominions to *Breda*, for he had certain Intelligence he would otherwise be detain'd by the King of Spain's Ministers. When Sir *John* had deliver'd his Message to the King, he consulted his Council about his Removal, and in two or three days took his Journey to *Breda*, where we shall leave His Majesty, and return to the Transactions in *England*.

*A new
Engage-
ment.*

*Lambert
makes an
Insurrec-
tion.*

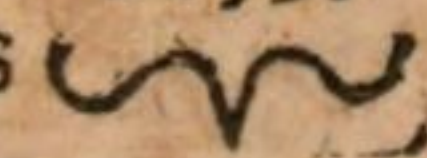
The Council of State took care for the speedy Execution of the Act for electing Members to serve in Parliament, and putting the Militia into sober hands; and Commissary Clarges drew up an Engagement to be subscrib'd by the Officers and Soldiers, *To acquiesce with whatsoever the next Parliament should do, and to displace all that he should refuse;* which being approv'd by his Lordship, Colonel *Howard*, and Sir *Anthony Ashly Cooper*, Mr. *Annesly* and Col. *Knight*; the Officers of three Regiments sign'd it immediately, and so did all the Officers about *London* that came out of *Scotland* with the General, and all that refus'd it were cashier'd. This mightily enrag'd the Factious Party, and *Lambert* having escap'd out of the Tower, went into the North, where he hover'd about, and entertain'd all the discontented Officers and Soldiers, till he had got together about seven Troops of Horse and a Company of Foot; which the Council of State being acquainted with, they proclaim'd him, and all his Adherents, Traitors, commanding all Officers Civil and Military to apprehend him. *Ingoldsby* and *Streater* were sent to *Northampton* to watch his Motions, and fight him; who hearing that *Lambert* was at *Daventry*, they march'd thither, and there being inform'd that he was march'd

march'd two miles from thence, they hasten'd to meet him, which they did in a plain Field where a little Brook parted them. *Lambert* had with him, besides the Troops of Horse before-mention'd, Colonel *Okey*, Col. *Axtel*, Col. *Cobbet*, Lieutenant Colonel *Young*, Major *Creed*, Captain *Timothy Clare*, Captain *Gregory*, Captain *Spinage*, and several private Soldiers who were Anabaptists. The two Parties fac'd one another near 4 hours, and *Streater* seeing *Lambert* make Delays, they resolved to advance. When the two Bodies came near, just as Colonel *Ingoldsby* was going to charge, Colonel *Streater* commanded six Files of Musqueteers to advance; One File gave Fire, and hurt one or two of *Lambert's* Horse, His Drums beat, and he advanc'd in good Order; but *Lambert's* Men held the Muzzles of their Pistols toward the Ground, and *Nelthrop's* Troop came over to *Ingoldsby's*, *Hazlerig's* Troop having deserted him before. *Ingoldsby* rides up to *Lambert*, and tells him he was a Prisoner; whereupon *Creed* and the rest intreated him to do what he pleased with them, but to let *Lambert* escape; which *Ingoldsby* absolutely refusing, *Lambert* turn'd his Horse, and attempted to escape; but *Ingoldsby* pursu'd him so close, that he quickly came up with him, vowing to pistol him if *Lambert* he did not yield immediately: *Lambert* in great Dejection of mind twice begg'd him to let him escape; but when he saw he could not prevail, he submitted, as all the rest did, except *Okey*, *Axtel* and *Clare*, who made their Escapes.

General *Mountague*, who by *Monk's* Advice, had been made one of the Generals of the Fleet, and sent to take Charge of it, wrote an Account to the Council of State, That Vice-Admiral *Lawson* and the whole Navy receiv'd him with great Satisfaction, were all fix'd to their Authority, and resolv'd to submit to the Determinations of the next Parliament. After this, was publish'd A Declaration of the Nobility and Gentry that had adhered to the late King; which was so mildly and affectionately worded towards the Composing of all Differences, and burying all former Animosities, that it proved a wholesome Preparative to usher in the Session of Parliament, who assembl'd on the 25th day of April 1660. and after appointing Committees, gave all due Acknowledgment to General *Monk* for his eminent Service and great Wisdom, in subduing his Enemies without Blood, and in being instrumental to pre-

A. D.

1659.

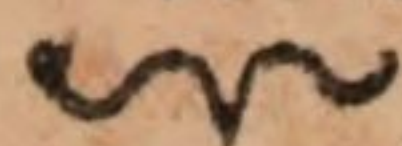


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soner.

A Parlia-
ment as-
sembled.

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serve the Nation from Ruin, when no way appear'd from whence Deliverance should arise. On the 27th Sir *John Granville* attended the General again, and presented him with a Letter from His Majesty to be communicated to the Council of State and the Officers of the Army, with a Commission from His Majesty, constituting him *Captain General of the Armies in England, Scotland and Ireland*: Acquainting him also, that he had Letters from His Majesty to both Houses of Parliament, the City, and the Navy. Sir *John Granville* went next to the House of Lords, and sent in word that he had a Letter for their Lordships from the King; which the Earl of *Manchester*, their Speaker, went down to the Clerk and received. The Letter had a Declaration inclosed in it, which were both read in the House. The Letter first, in these Words:

*The King's
Letter to
the Lords.*

CHARLES R.

Right Trusty and Well beloved Cousins, We greet you well. We cannot have a better Reason to promise Our self an end of Our common Sufferings and Calamities, and that Our own just Power and Authority will, with God's Blessing, be restored to Us, than that We hear You are again acknowledged to have that Authority and Jurisdiction which hath always belong'd to you by your Births, and the Fundamental Laws of the Land: And We have thought it very fit and safe for Us to call to you for your help in composing the Distempers and Distractions of the Kingdom, in which your Sufferings are next to those We have undergone Our Selves; and therefore you cannot but be the most proper Counsellors for removing these Mischiefs, and for preventing the like for the future. How great a Trust We repose in you, for the Restoring and Establishing a blessed Peace and Security in the Kingdom, will appear to you by Our inclosed Declaration; which Trust We are most confident you will discharge with that Justice and Wisdom that becomes you, and must always be expected from you; and that upon Experience how one Violation succeeds another, when the known Relations and Rules of Justice are once transgressed, you will be as zealous for the Rights of the Crown, and for the Honour of your King, as for your selves: And then you cannot but discharge with good Success, and provide for, and establish the

the Peace, Happiness and Honour of King, Lords, and Commons, upon that Foundation which only can support it, and We shall all be happy in each other: And as the whole Nation will bless God for you all, so We shall hold our Selves oblig'd in an especial manner to thank you in particular, according to the Affection you shall express towards Us. We need the less to enlarge upon this Subject, because We have likewise writ to the *House of Commons*, which We suppose they will communicate to You: And We pray God to bless your joint endeavours, for the Good of Us all, and so we bid you very heartily Farewel. *Given at our Court at Breda this 14th of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of our Reign.* The Declaration was next read; which was entituled, *His Majesty's Declaration to all his loving Subjects, and ran thus:*

CHARLES R.

CHARLES, by the Grace of God, King of *England, Scotland, France and Ireland*, Defender of *The King's* the Faith, &c. To all our Loving Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever, Greeting. If the general Distraction and Confusion which is spread over the whole Kingdom, doth not awaken all Men to a desire and longing that those Wounds which have so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all We can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, We thought it Our Duty to Declare how much We desire to contribute thereto; and that as We can never give over the hope, in good time, to obtain the possession of that Right which God and Nature had made Our due; so We do make it Our daily Suit to the *Divine Providence*, that He will, in Compassion to Us and Our Subjects, after so long Misery and Sufferings, remit, and put Us into quiet Possession of that our Right, with as little Blood and Damage to Our People as is possible. Nor do We desire more to enjoy what is Ours, than that all Our Subjects may enjoy what by Law is Theirs, by a full and entire Administration of Justice throughout the Land, and by extending Our Mercy where it is wanted or deserv'd.

And to the end that the fear of Punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in Guilt for the future, by opposing the Quiet and Happiness of their Country,

A. D.

1660.



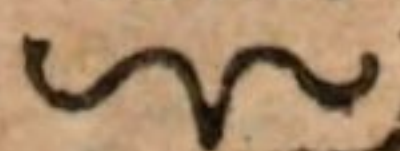
' in the Restoration both of King, Peers, and People,
 ' to their Just, Antient, and Fundamental Rights: We
 ' do by these Presents Declare, That We do grant a
 ' Free and General Pardon, which We are ready upon
 ' demand to pass under our Great Seal of *England*, to
 ' all our Subjects, of what Degree or Quality soever,
 ' who within forty days after the publishing hereof,
 ' shall lay hold upon this Our Grace and Favour, and
 ' shall by any publick Act declare their doing so, and
 ' that they return to the Loyalty and Obedience of
 ' good Subjects, excepting only such Persons as shall
 ' hereafter be excepted by Parliament. Those only ex-
 ' cepted, let all our Subjects, how faulty soever, rely
 ' upon the Word of a King, solemnly given by this
 ' present Declaration, That no Crime whatsoever
 ' committed against Us or our Royal Father, before
 ' the Publication of this, shall ever rise up in Judg-
 ' ment, or be brought in question against any of them,
 ' their Lives, Liberties, or Estates, or (as far forth as
 ' lies in Our Power) so much as to the prejudice of
 ' their Reputations, by any Reproach or Term of Di-
 ' stinction from the rest of our Subjects: We desiring
 ' and ordaining, That henceforth all Notes of Dis-
 ' cord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, be ut-
 ' terly abolish'd among all Our Subjects, whom We
 ' invite and conjure to a perfect Union among them-
 ' selves, under our Subjection, for the Re-settlement
 ' of Our just Rights and Theirs, in a Free Parliament,
 ' by which, upon the Word of a King, We will be
 ' advised.

' And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of
 ' the Times have produc'd several Opinions in Reli-
 ' gion, by which Men are engag'd in Parties and Ani-
 ' mosities against each other; which, when they shall
 ' be hereafter united in a Freedom of Conversation,
 ' will be compos'd or better understood: We do de-
 ' clare a Liberty to tender Consciences, and that no
 ' Man shall be disquieted, or call'd in question for Dif-
 ' ferences of Opinion in Matters of Religion, which
 ' do not disturb the Peace of the Kingdom; and that
 ' we shall be ready to consent to such an Act of Par-
 ' liament, as upon mature Deliberation shall be offer-
 ' ed to Us, for the full granting that Indulgence.

' And because in the continued Distraction of so
 ' many Years, and so many and great Revolutions,
 ' many Grants and Purchases of Estates have been
 made

A. D.

1660.



‘made to and by many Officers and Soldiers, and
 ‘others who are now possess’d of the same, and who
 ‘may be liable to Actions at Law, upon several
 ‘Titles: We are likewise willing, that all such dif-
 ‘ferences, and all things relating to such Grants, Sales,
 ‘and Purchases, shall be determined in Parliament,
 ‘which can best provide for the just satisfaction of
 ‘all Men who are concern’d.

‘And We do farther declare, That We will be
 ‘ready to consent to any Act, or Acts of Parliament
 ‘for the purposes aforesaid, and for the full satisfaction
 ‘of all Arrears due to the Officers and Soldiers of the
 ‘Army, under the Command of General *Monk*; and
 ‘that they shall be received into our Service, upon as
 ‘good Pay and Condition as they now enjoy. *Given*
under our Sign-Manual, and Privy-Signet, at our Court
at Breda, the 14th of April, 1660. In the twelfth Year
of Our Reign.

Both these being read, the Lords order’d Thanks
 to be given to Sir *John Granville*, for bringing that
 gracious Declaration and Letter; and resolv’d by
 Vote, *That they do own and declare, that according to*
the Antient and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, the
Government is, and ought to be, by King, Lords, and
Commons. Then Sir *John Granville* went to the House
 of Commons, who before his coming were acquaint-
 ed with the Letter he deliver’d to the Council of State;
 and upon notice of his attending at the Door, he was
 call’d in, who presented the House with a Letter from
 His Majesty. The Letter contain’d in it a Duplicate
 of the same Declaration which was inclos’d in a Letter
 to the Lords, and superscribed, *To our Trusty and*
Well-beloved, the Speaker of the House of Commons.

CHARLES R.

‘**T**Rusty and Well beloved; We greet you well. *The King’s*
 ‘In these great and insupportable Afflictions and *Letter to*
 ‘Calamities, under which the poor Nation hath been *the House*
 ‘so long exercised, and by which it is so near exhaust- *of Com-*
 ‘ed, We cannot think of a more natural and proper *mons.*
 ‘Remedy, than to resort to Them for Council and
 ‘Advice, who have seen and observ’d the first begin-
 ‘ning of Our Miseries, and the Progress from Bad to
 ‘Worse; which Mistakes and Misunderstandings have
 ‘produc’d inconveniences which at first were never intend-
 ‘ed; to repair the Breaches, and provide Remedies for
 their

A. D.
1660.

‘ their Evils, and for settling the lasting Peace, Happiness, and Security of the Kingdom.

‘ We do assure you, upon Our Royal Word, that none of Our Predecessors have had a greater Esteem for Parliaments, than We have in Our Judgments, as well as from Our Obligations, and do believe them to be so Vital a Part of the Constitution of the Kingdom, and so necessary for the Government of it, that neither Prince nor People can be in any tolerable degree happy without them: And therefore you may be confident that We shall always look upon their Councils as the best We can receive, and shall be as tender of their Privileges, and as careful to preserve and protect them, as of that which is most near to Our Self, and most necessary for Our Own Preservation. And as this is Our Opinion of Parliaments, so We believe you will find, that the Preservation of the King’s Authority is necessary for the Preservation of Parliaments, and that it is not the Name, but the right Constitution of them, which can prepare and apply proper Remedies for those Evils which are grievous to the People, and which can thereby establish their Peace and Security: And therefore We have not the least doubt but that you will be as tender in, and jealous of, any thing that may infringe our Honour, or impair our Authority, as of your own Liberty and Property, which is best preserved by preserving the other.

‘ How far We have trusted you in this great Affair, and how much it is in your Power to restore to the Nation what it hath lost, and to redeem it from any Injury it hath undergone, and to make King and People as happy as they ought to be, you will find by Our inclosed Declaration, a Copy of which We have likewise sent to the *House of Peers*; and you will easily believe that We would not voluntarily, and of Our selves, have reposed so great a Trust in you, but upon an entire Confidence that you will not abuse it; and that you will proceed in such a manner, and with such due Consideration of Us, who have trusted you, that We shall not be ashamed of declining other Assistance (which We have assurance of) and repairing to You for more natural and proper Remedies for the Evils We would be freed from, nor sorry that We have bound up our Own Interest so entirely with that of Our Subjects, as that We re-

fer

fer it to the same Persons to take care of Us, who
are trusted to provide for Them.

A. D.

1660.

We look upon you as wise dispassionate Men, and
good Patriots, who will raise up those Banks and
Fences which have been cast down, and who will
most reasonably hope that the same Prosperity will
again spring from those Roots from which it hath
heretofore, and always grown; nor can We apprehend
that you will propose any thing to Us, or expect
any thing from Us, but that We are as ready to
give, as You to receive.

If you desire the Advancement and Propagation
of the Protestant Religion, We have by our constant
Profession and Practice of it, given sufficient Testimony
to the World, that neither the unkindness of
those of the same Faith with Us, nor the Civilities
and Obligations from those of a contrary Profession,
could in the least degree startle Us, or make Us swerve
from Our Zeal and Affection for it: And We hope,
in due time, to propose something to you Our selves
for the Propagation of it, that will satisfy the World
that We have always made it both Our Care and
Study, and have enough observed what is most like
to bring disadvantage to it.

If you desire Security for those who in this calamitous
Times, either weakly or wilfully have transgressed
those Bounds which were prescribed, and have invaded
each others Rights, We have left it to you to provide
for their Security and Indemnity in such a way as you
shall think just and reasonable. In a word, there is
nothing that you can propose, that may make the Kingdom
happy, which We will not contend with you to compass;
And upon this Confidence and Assurance, We thought fit
to send you this Declaration, that you may, as much as
is possible at this distance, see Our heart, which when
God shall bring Us nearer together, will appear agreeable
to what We have professed, and that Our Subjects shall
be the better for what We have seen and suffered.
We shall add no more, but Our Prayers to Almighty
God, That He will bless your Councils, and direct your
Endeavours, that his Glory and Worship may be provided
for, and the Peace, Honour and Happiness of the Nation
may be establish'd upon those Foundations which can best
support it. And so We bid you Farewel. *Given at our Court at
Breda,*

A. D. Breda, this 14th of April, 1660. in the Twelfth Year of
1660. Our Reign.



The King
proclaim'd

After reading these, the Lord General desir'd the Letter that was sent to him might be read also; which being to the same purpose with the former, is here omitted. Then the House took into consideration, that the King being long depriv'd of his Revenue, he might be in want of Money, they order'd that 50000*l.* should be speedily rais'd, and presented to his Majesty, with 10000*l.* to the Duke of York, and 5000*l.* to the Duke of Gloucester; and now the Lords and Commons appointed Committees to draw up their severall Answers to his Majesty's Letters, Resolv'd, that the Superscription should be, *To the King's Most Excellent Majesty*, and order'd that all the Acts and Orders should be razed out of the Journals, that were inconsistent with the Government of King, Lords, and Commons. Both Houses having drawn up their Answers, Six Lords and Twelve Commoners were appointed to attend His Majesty with them, and to desire His Majesty to make a speedy Return to his Parliament, and to the Exercise of his Kingly Office. Three days after, the Lords and Commons having agreed upon a Proclamation to that purpose, His Majesty was proclaim'd with great Solemnity in the Cities of London and Westminster, the Lords and Commons, and the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, being present. Wednesday the 23d of May the King and his two Brothers took Shipping in Holland, and upon Friday about One in the afternoon landed at the Beach near Dover-Pier, with the Duke of York, the Duke of Gloucester, and many Noblemen and Gentlemen. Dover being incapable of entertaining so great Numbers as came to attend His Majesty, he took Coach immediatly; the Duke of York sat next the King, at the other end sat the Duke of Gloucester and the General, and the Duke of Buckingham sat in the Boot. About two miles from Dover the King took Horse, his Brothers riding on his right hand, and the General on his left, after whom rode the Duke of Buckingham, with severall other Noblemen and Gentlemen, followed by a gallant Equipage into Canterbury, where the next day the General was made Knight of the Garter, and Master of His Majesty's Horse.

On Monday following His Majesty came into Rochester, from thence to Black Heath, where the Army
was

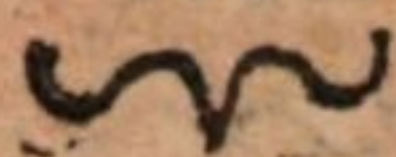
was drawn up, a Sight that extremely pleas'd His Majesty, being for their number as gallant Troops as were to be seen in the world. At *St. George's Fields* the Lord Mayor with a profound Reverence deliver'd the Sword to his Majesty, and receiv'd it again with great Respect. From thence the King was conducted through *London* to his Royal Palace of *Whitehall*, with all the Joy and Magnificence imaginable, and paid his Devotions and Thanks to God in the Presence Chamber, because his Chappel was not prepar'd for his Reception. The first thing attempted after his Majesty's Arrival with respect to the Publick, was constituting the Great Officers at Court, and appointing the members of his Privy-Council, whilst the House of Commons applied themselves to perfect an *Act of General Pardon*, which consisting of several Particulars, took up long Debates. The Lords would have excepted all that Sate and Acted in any High Court of Justice; but the King's Clemency extended to all who were not Guilty of his Father's Murther: Therefore on the 13th of *July* he went to the House, and in a pathetic Speech hasten'd the perfecting of it. The next thing was, appointing a Committee of Estates for the Regulation of the *Scotch* Affairs; who where no sooner assembled, but a Spirit of Discontent was discover'd among some Sticklers for the Kirk Party there, who had drawn up a Remonstrance of Things, wherein they thought themselves aggrieved; for which they were imprisoned, and the Marquis of *Argile*, being thought the Head of them, was committed to the *Tower*, together with the Marquis of *Antrim*, Sir *Henry Vane*, and Sir *Arthur Haslerig*, besides several others that follow'd after.

August 29 the King pass'd the *Act for General Pardon*, with four other Bills, without excepting any Person from the Benefit of it but those that acted or sate as the King's Judges, Sir *Henry Vane*, *Lambert Hugh Peters*, and those two Persons that were disguised upon the Scaffold on the 30th of *January 1648*. And those that were of the number of the King's Judges, but did not sign the Warrant for summoning the pretended Court, nor the Warrant for the King's Execution, their Lives were spar'd. And now all things being ready for an Adjournment, the King came to the House of Lords where he pass'd eight publick Acts, and then the House adjourn'd themselves till the 6th of *November* following,

Besides

A. D.

1660.



A Re-
encounter
between
the Spani-
ards and
French
on Tower
Wharf.

The Prin-
cess of
Orange
comes into
England,

Besides the many *Addresses* that were made to the King by his own Subjects, there came over several Agents and Ambassadors from the greatest Princes and States in *Europe*, to complement his Majesty upon his happy Restoration to his Royal Dignity and Government. Between the Ambassadors of the Crowns of *Spain* and *France* there has been long and frequent Contests in point of Precedence in the Courts of Foreign Princes; but none more remarkable than that which happen'd near the *Tower*; for they both striving whose Coach should go next the King's, His Majesty's Coach moving forwards, the *Spaniards* stepping nimbly on either side the hinder Wheels of their Master's Coach, drew their weapons and gave a Shout, which caus'd the *French* to make a pause: But when they saw the advantage the *Spaniards* had got, they came up to them and at once pouring in their shot upon them, their Foot fell to it with their Swords, which the *Spaniards* receiv'd without removing one Step from their Stations. During the Encounter, in which the *French* suffer'd some Repulse a bold and dexterous fellow, and as some affirm, with a particular Instrument as well as Address, stooping under the Bellies of the *French* Ambassadors Coach horses, cut the Ham-strings of two of them, and wounded others; and the Horses falling, hinder'd the Coach from advancing farther, the Coach-man fell out of his Box, and the Postillion was mortally wounded. This Disorder, wherein several were wounded, and some kill'd, caus'd those in the *French* Coach to alight, and so encourag'd their Party, that it occasion'd a second brisk Assault both of Horse and Foot; which being receiv'd with extraordinary Gallantry, many of their Horse retreated and wheel'd off to *St. Catharines*. In this interim, the *Spanish* Coach went forward after His Majesty's, with about Twenty of its Retinue following, still looking after the *French* as long as they staid upon the Warf, and the narrow passage of the Bulwark, where the Contest was very fierce without Disorder. The first that appear'd on *Tower-Hill* was his Majesty's Coach, follow'd by the *Swedes* Ambassador, next by that of *Spain* with about thirty of his Liveries, still disputing with a less number of *French* that followed 'em in the Rear, till they pass'd the Chain that leads into *Crouched-Friers*, and then they gave it over.

A litle after this time, the Princess-Royal of *Great Britain* having recommended the Interest of her Son the Prince of *Orange* to the Care of the States General

who

who had now, at length, agreed to invest the young Prince with the Dignity and Trust which his Ancestors formerly held in that Commonwealth, which they had

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1660.

so highly merited, was pleas'd to come into *England* to visit her Brother, and once again to see her Native Country: But the Joy of seeing the King her Brother peaceably enthron'd, was much allay'd by her Sorrow for the Loss of her third Brother, *Henry of Oatlands, Duke of Gloucester*, who died the 13th of September in the 20th year of his Age; much lamented by the King, and all that knew him, as a Prince excellently Qualified, Religious, Learned, Valiant, Wise above his years, an affectionate Brother, a wise Councillor, a good Master, and a true Friend.

The Duke
of Gloucester's
Death.

Commissioners appointed by the Parliament having made a great progress in paying off and disbanding the Army and the Navy, the Militia or Train'd-Bands were settl'd under good Officers, that the Nation might be in a Posture of Defence, and freed from the Charge and Danger of a Standing Army. Civil and Military Affairs being in part provided for, Ecclesiastical Matters were taken into consideration; and His Majesty judging that Form of Government which had been establish'd in *England* from the Reformation till the late unhappy Troubles, to the most antient, decent and true Worship, and tending most to Peace and Uniformity in Religion, he restor'd Episcopacy to its former Dignity and Authority in the Church of *England*.

Episcopacy
restor'd.

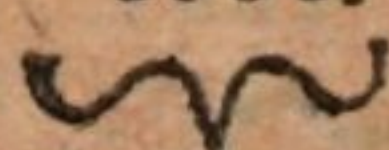
In the month of *October*, Owen Row, Austin Garland, and Twenty seven more of the Regicides, Murderers of the King, excepted out of the Act of Indemnity, were arraign'd and try'd by a Commission of Oyer and Terminer at the Sessions-house in the Old Bailey, where the Prisoners all pleaded Not Guilty, except Sir Hardress Waller and Mr. George Fleetwood, who pleaded Guilty: But the Crimes were so odious, and the Proofs so clear, that the Jurors scarce went from the Bar to deliberate, but found them all Guilty, and Ten of them were Executed, viz Harrison, Carew, Scot, Clement, Jones, Scroop, Cook and Peters, at Charing-Cross, and Hacker and Axtell at Tyburn. All the rest were respited till the King and Parliament should order their Execution, according to the Direction in the Act of Indemnity for that purpose. At the same time the King call'd a Parliament in *Scotland*, assuring them, he would receive Addresses and Informations only from his Parliament and Committee of State; as and they should advise,

The Regicides
Executed.

his

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1660.



his own Honour being first vindicated, and the antient Prerogatives of his Crown asserted, he would grant such a Free Pardon and Indemnity as should make all People easie. He also settled the Government of Ireland, and appointed a Magistracy there that exercis'd their Authority with great Candour and Moderation.

Both Houses of Parliament met again on the 6th of November, and applied themselves to make several Laws for the Augmentation of the King's Revenue and other Matters of Importance; in which they made more than ordinary speed, because they had intimation from the King, that he intended to dissolve them on the 19th of December following. In the mean time, both Houses ordered that the Bodies of *Oliver Cromwell*, *Henry Ireton*, and *Thomas Pride*, should be taken out of their Graves, be drawn on a Hurdle to Tyburn, and to be bury'd, under the Gallows. Soon after this the King pass'd *An Act for Settling the Excise upon Beer and Ale and other Liquors*; and another for taking away the Court of Wards and Liveries; which had been long complain'd against as an Oppression to the Subject, and accepted the Excise in lieu of it, as an Hereditary Duty to the Crown of England for ever.

The Court
of Wards
and Live-
ries taken
away.

Whilst the King was passing these Acts, the Vertuous Princess, the Lady *Mary* Princess of *Orange*, his dear Sister, and Mother to *William III.* King of *England*, died at *Whitehall*, and five days after was buried in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Westminster*. The same day the Parliament was dissolv'd.

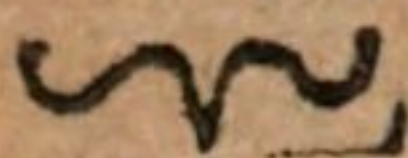
Venner's
Rebellion.

Whilst things now seem'd to be in a prosperous condition, under the smiles of Peace and Plenty, and being restored to our Primitive Constitution, the Government was alarm'd by a sort of Madmen call'd *fifth Monarchists*, who broke out into open Rebellion under the Conduct of one *Thomas Venner* a Cooper, who was Preacher to a Conventicle of those of that Opinion, who usually met in *Coleman street, London*. Their first Pretence was against the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and that they had no Protection in the Exercise of their Religion, but were exposed to all manner of Contempt in practising it. Whereupon about Fifty or Sixty of them on Sunday night, sallied out of their Meeting house well Arm'd, march'd to *St. Thomas Apostles* to call some of their party, and from thence into *White-Cross street*. Sir *Richard Brown*, then Lord Mayor, having Notice of their being abroad, got together some Files of the Train'd Bands; of which they having notice

tice, and also that the Life-Guard was coming against them, fled into *Cane-Wood* betwixt *High-gate* and *Hampstead*, and on a *Wednesday* morning very early return'd again to *London*, dividing themselves into two Parties, one whereof appear'd about *Leaden-hall*, from thence march'd into *Little-Eastcheap*, where they fought obstinately enough, but were dispers'd by the Train'd-Bands. *Venner* and another Party came to the Lord Mayor's House, thinking to have taken him, but missing him they march'd into *Woodstreet*, where they were met by Colonel *Corbet* and about Twenty Horse. *Corbet* and Nine of his Party charg'd through the Rebels and broke them, and the Train'd-Band Foot had little else to do but pursue them. They fought with Courage to Admiration; and if they had not been hinder'd by the Lord Mayor from increasing their Numbers, a Thousand Men so resolv'd might have given such a Disturbance to the City, as in a short time might have had an Influence farther. *Venner* himself was much wounded before he could be taken, and five or six kill'd that refus'd Quarter, some of which were such obscure Persons, that their Names were never known. Eight or ten days after, *Venner*, with about 16 or 17 of the most notorious, were arraign'd at the *Old-Baily*, found Guilty and executed in several places in *London*. With this and the Death of Sir *Arthur Haslerig* in the *Tower*, (who was thought to die for meer anguish and trouble of Mind, to see his great Designs in an instant come to nothing, and himself at the mercy of a Power over which he had so long and successfully triumph'd,) and with the solemn Coronation of the King, we shall conclude this Wonderful Year. Which Formalities being too long to be inserted in an Abridgment, is omittid here, and the Reader referred to the Copy written by *Elias Ashmole* Esquire, *Windsor-Herald*, to whom it more properly belongs than any Historian; and I shall only take notice, that the King took the accustomed Oaths to administer Justice, and protect his People

A. D.

1660.



The King's
Coronati-
on.

Soon after the Coronation, began the first Parliament that was called by the King's Writ, an Essential wanting to the last Parliament, and therefore the Acts made by that were confirm'd by this. The Commons chose Sir *Edward Turner* their Speaker, and on *Monday* the 13th of *May* both Houses attended His Majesty at *Whitehall*, expressing their humble Acknowledgments and Thanks for communicating to them his intentions to marry with the Infanta of *Portugal*, which they received with

great

A. D. 1667. venue upon him by Parliament during Life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the Case of a War, or some such extraordinary occasion. The Earl of *Southampton* Lord Treasurer came heartily into it, out of a meer Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* privately oppos'd it. It happen'd that both these Great Men had a private Conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the Treasurer to his Opinion, took the freedom to tell him, *That he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclination than Southampton could reasonably expect to be, having had a long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that if such a Revenue was once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use, and that they were not in probability to see any more Sessions of Parliament during that Reign.* Southampton was brought over; but this Passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to King *Charles's* Ear; which, together with other things wherein *Clarendon* was represented to him, prov'd the true reason why he abandon'd him to his Enemies.

1669. In the Spring 1669. the Prince of *Tuscany* having undertaken a Visit to all the Courts of *Europe*, arriv'd in *England*, and was receiv'd by the King with extraordinary Kindness and Magnificence; as also by both the Universities. The same Summer arriv'd here Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who has since been happily grafted into the Royal Stock of this Kingdom. But this year was still more memorable for the loss of the Queen-Mother *Henrietta-Maria*, who, after nine years Banishment, came to *London*; and having settled her Revenue here, return'd into *France* with her youngest Daughter the Lady *Henrietta*, and bestowed her in Marriage to the then Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King's only Brother. In *July* 1662. she came again into *England*, and settled her Court at *Somerset-House*, where she resided till *June* 1665. and then cross'd the Seas again into her Native Country, which in fours years after became the place of her Burial. She departed this Life in her House at *Colombe*, four Leagues from *Paris*, on the 10th of *August*, N. S. Her Heart was inclosed in a Case of Silver, and sent to the Monastery of *Chaillot*, and her Body was buried at *St Dennis*. The Duke of *Albemarle* died at the *Cock-Pit* by *White-hall* on the 3d of *January* 1669. in the 62d year of his

The Queen-Mother's Death.

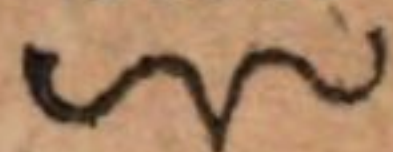
The Duke of Albemarle's Death.

his age. After his Body had lain in State some time in *Somerset-House*, his Funeral was magnificently celebrated in a solemn Procession from thence to *Westminster-Abbey* on the 30th of *April*, 1670. accompanied by many Barons, Bishops, Earls and Persons of all Degrees and Qualities, with all the Trophies of Honour becoming so great a General, and was buried on the North side of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel: The whole Ceremony being perform'd at the King's Expence, as the last Mark of His Majesty's Love and Favour to a Person of so great Merit.

However some, with the greatest Injustice imaginable, would deny him the greatest share in the King's Restoration; tho' it cannot be imagin'd he had a mind to set up for himself, as his Enemies have given out: for he could not but see the whole Nation was returning apace to their ancient Monarchical Principles, and therefore he Politickly complied a while with the Times, till by declaring for a free Parliament, he pav'd a way for the King's Return. It's certain the People that then assum'd the Supreme Power were jealous of his Intentions, and it was within an Ace he escap'd a Trap laid for him just at the time when he was ready to march from *Scotland*, which would have inevitably ruin'd his Design, if a meer Accident had not interven'd. For *Monk* keeping his ordinary Residence at *Dalkeith*, the *London Packet* touch'd generally there, that the General might have his Letters before it reach'd *Edinburgh*. The Committee of Safety being resolv'd to secure *Monk*, dispatch'd secret Orders to *Scotland* by the ordinary Packet, lest an Express might give suspicion; and instead of directing the Label to *Dalkeith* as was usual, it was order'd strait for *Edinburgh*. It happen'd that one of *Monk's* Life-Guard accidentally met the Post turning out of the Road that led to *Dalkieth*, and finding he had not touch'd there, he brought him back, notwithstanding the Label was directed otherwise. *Monk* suspecting something, open'd all the Letters that he found directed to the Officers of the Army; among which there was one from the Committee of Safety to Collonel *Thomas Wilks*, ordering him to use the most effectual, speedy and secret way to secure the Person of General *Monk*, and to send him up to *London* under a strong Guard in a Frigot that lay in *Leith-Road*, and then take upon him the Command of the Army till further Order. Having taken out this, and what o-

*A Trap laid
for General
Monk.*

*The Plot
discover'd.*

A. D.
1661.

The
Scotch
Covenant
burnt by
the Hang-
man.

great Joy and satisfaction, and with all earnestness begg'd a Blessing upon it, and a speedy Accomplishment of it. By Order of this Parliament the *Solemn League and Covenant* was publickly burnt at *London* and *Westminster* by the common Hangman on the 22d of *May*, and afterwards all over *England*; and the pretended Act for the Trial of King *Charles I.* was burnt in *Westminster-hall*, by the Order of the same Parliament, on the 28th of the same month. While these things were transacting in *England*; some Reparation was made to the Memory of the most Noble Marquis of *Montross*; for on the 11th of *May* this year his Body was taken up from the place it was laid in, and buried in a Decent and Magnificent manner. The like Solemnities on the 7th of *June* were given to the Bodies of Sir *Charles Lucas* and Sir *George Lisle*; formerly shot to Death or rather murder'd in cold Blood, for serving their King at *Colchester*

The Bish-
ops restor'd
to their
Rights.

November 20 the Parliament met again in which Session the Bishops were restored to their Rights, and re-instated in the House of Lords. *Episcopacy* was also restored in *Scotland*, and the Duke of *Ormond* was made Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, which great Office of Trust he enjoy'd great part of this reign. Among other welcome Guests that came into *England* at and after the Restoration, was *Elizabeth* Queen of *Bohemia*, the King's Aunt, and only surviving Daughter of *James I.* A Princess that had endured all the Storms that Fortune could raise against her, and now being so happy to see her Nephew in his Throne; that satisfaction also lasted but a small time; for she arrived here on *May* the 17th and dy'd at *Leicester-House* the 13th of *February* following, in the 66th year of her Age, and was privately buried in the same Vault with Prince *Henry* her eldest Brother, under King *Henry VII's* Chapple.

The King
Marry'd

Now comes on the Consummation of the Royal Nuptial formerly intimated to the Parliament, between K. *Charles* and the Princess *Donna Catherina*, Infanta of *Portugal*, born the 14th of *Novemb.* 1638. Daughter of *Juan*, the 4th of that Name of *Portugal*, only Sister of *Don Alphonso* the VI. and *Don Pedro*, successively Kings of *Portugal*. The Marriage was solemniz'd at *Lisbon* by his Excellency the Earl of *Sandwich*. She embark'd for *England*, *April 23*, 1662. attended by a Squadron of the Royal Navy, was met at the *Isle of Wight* by the D. of *York*, L. H. Admiral. At *Portsmouth* she was receiv'd by the King, and marry'd there by Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, B.

of London. From thence the Royal Pair removed to *Hampton-Court*, and from thence to *Whitehall* with great Pomp and Magnificence, being received at *Chelsey* by the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London. The Portion (as 'twas said) the Queen brought with her, was Two Millions of Croisadoes, which is about 300000 l. Sterling, with the Inheritance of *Tangier* and the Isle of *Bombay* in the *East Indies*; in consideration whereof, a Jointure of 30000 l. a year was settl'd upon her. On the 19th of *May* the King Prorogu'd the Parliament to the 18th of *February*, and passed several Bills, among which one was for settling an Annual Revenue of Two Shillings upon every Fire-hearth in the Nation upon the Crown for ever; and another enjoyning all Ecclesiasticks, by a certain day prefix'd, to renounce the Covenant, and sign a Declaration, that it was not lawful to take up Arms against the King upon any Pretence whatsoever, nor to endeavour any Alteration in Church or State. Which the Presbyterian and Independant Clergy refusing to comply with, they lost their Preferments, were after called *Non-Conformists*, and set up for Preachers in Conventicles. Afterwards the House of Commons address'd the King to bring Sir *Henry Vane* and *John Lambert* Esq; to their Trials, who accordingly were Arraign'd upon several Indictments for compassing the Death of the King and Subversion of the Government; and being both found Guilty of High-Treason, Sir *Henry Vane* urg'd in his own behalf, That the King being at that time but King de Jure, and not de Facto, he could not be Indicted for Treason committed before his Restoration: But the Court of King's-Bench over-rul'd his Exception, and they both received Sentence of Death. Sir *Henry Vane* was beheaded on *Tower-Hill* the 14th of *June*, but *Lambert's* Execution was deferred, and he was sent to *Guernsey* to continue there a Prisoner during Life, and liv'd about thirty years after under Confinement. This year the King concluded a Peace with *Tunis* and *Tripoli*, and the Archbishops, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, to their eternal Praise, collected a great Sum of Money among themselves, and sent it by two of their own Body, viz. a Prebendary and the Archdeacon of *Bath*, to *Argiers*, with which they redeem'd 152 Christian Slaves, English, Scotch, and Irish, from the Misery of a Turkish Captivity.

A. D.
1662.The Queen's
Portion.Sir Henry
Vane and
Lambert
tryed and
cast.Slaves Re-
deemed
from Al-
giers.

A. D.

1663.



May the 26th, 1663. the Parliament was prorogued till *August* the 20th, from thence to the 24th of *November*; and then made several Acts, among the rest, *An Act* for assembling and holding a Parliament once in three years at least, &c. *An Act* to prevent and suppress Seditious Conventicles. *An Act* against disorderly and excessive Gaming, that if any person, by Fraud, Cozenage, Deceit, or unlawful Devices, should win or obtain any Money at any Game, he should forfeit three times as much, to be recovered in any of the King's Courts at Westminster; and that no person should play upon Tick for more than One Hundred Pounds at one time.

1664.

War a-
gainst the
Dutch.

1665.

The Merchants in Parliament complaining to the King of the great Losses they sustain'd by the *Hollanders*, the King during the recess order'd his Ambassador at the *Hague* to deliver the States a Memorial of the Damages; but receiving no satisfactory Answer, the King represented the state of that Affair to the Parliament at their next Meeting, who granted him a Supply of two Millions five Hundred Thousand Pounds to be raised in three years, to enable him to War against the *Dutch*, and on the 2d of *March* War was proclaim'd against them. To omit lesser Actions at the beginning of the War, as taking Prizes, and loss of Ships on both sides, *June* the third 1665. the *English* Fleet, under the Command of his Royal Highness the Duke of *York*, Lord High Admiral of *England*, engaged with that of *Holland* under the Command of *Opdam*. Both sides fought with Resolution, till *Opdam* happen'd to be blown up, and his Ship sunk, for then followed a glorious Victory to the *English*, the *Dutch* losing near thirty of their best Ships, which were either burnt, sunk, or taken, and about 8000 of their Men killed or taken Prisoners. The Principal that were killed of the *English* were, the Earl of *Falmouth*, the Lord *Muskerry*, and Mr *Boyl*, all three kill'd with one Cannon shot; the Earls of *Portland* and *Marlborough*, Captain *Sampson*, Rear Admiral to Prince *Rupert*, slain in the Fight, and Sir *John Lawson* who died of his Wounds not long after.

The great
Plague.

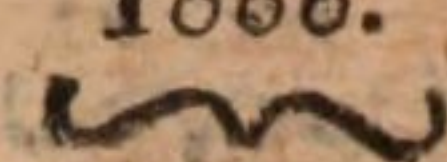
In *May* this year there began a terrible Plague in *London*, the greatest that ever that City felt; for in one years time it swept away 97306 persons. In *June* the Queen-Mother return'd into *France*, and the King and

and Court first remov'd to *Salisbury*, and from thence to *Oxford*; but the Duke of *Arbemarle* and the Earl of *Craven* continued in *London*, and did great Service there, especially the last, by his extraordinary Acts of Charity in relieving the Poor and Diseased.

The *Hollanders* finding themselves too weak to cope with the *English*, drew in the *French* to their Assistance, in hopes by that accession to prevail against so formidable an Enemy as they were at War with. Prince *Rupert* and the Duke of *Arbemarle* being appointed Admirals for this Summer's Expedition, it happen'd that part of the Fleet under the Command of the Prince were divided from the rest, some say by Treachery from the Court, others, that it was by accident; but however it was occasion'd, it might have prov'd fatal to the rest of the Fleet; for that part of it under the Command of the Duke fell in with the whole *Dutch* Fleet, when for two or three days together the Duke maintain'd a sharp Fight against double his number, and must at last of necessity have been worsted, if the Prince had not happily come in to his Assistance; after which, they so warmly ply'd the *Dutch*, that they fled before them with great loss of Ships and Men. Our greatest loss was the Ship called the *Royal Prince*, which was unfortunately stranded on the *Galloper-Sand*, then burnt by the *Dutch*, and her Commander Sir *George Ascough* taken Prisoner.

After our Fleet had re-fitted at the *Buoy in the Nore*, and the *Hollanders* had repaired their Losses at home, both Fleets put to Sea again, and came to a second Engagement on the 25th of *July* off of *Orfordness*, where the Red and White Squadrons put two of the *Dutch* Squadrons to flight; but the Blue had a more obstinate Engagement with that of *Zealand*, in which the *Resolution* was burnt, being the only Ship we lost; but at length the Blue prevail'd against their Enemy, and the whole *Dutch* Fleet were put to flight, our Ships pursuing, burning and taking their Ships to their very Shoars, and afterwards rid in Triumph before the *Maese* and the *Texel*, alarming the Country with continual apprehensions of their landing; and that they might not expect it in vain, on the 7th of *August* Sir *Robert Holmes* landed on the Island of *Schelling* in the *Vlie*, burnt the chief Town in it, call'd *Bandaris*, consisting of about 1000 Houses, and at the same time burnt and destroy'd above 150 Ships that lay at Anchor in *Vlie-Road*; a-
mong

A. D. mong which were two of their Men of War that endeavour'd to defend the rest.

 On the 2d of September this year 1666. began that *The Fire of* sad and dreadful Fire in London, of which I will give *London.* you an Account from the Words of the *Latin* Inscription on the Monument erected near the place where the Fire began, with an Addition of a few words. *It began in a Bakers House in Pudding-lane behind Fish-street-hill about midnight, and being driven by a high Wind, consum'd not only the adjacent parts, but places far remote, and with incredible noise and fury destroy'd Eighty nine Churches, among which was the Cathedral of St. Paul's, City-Gates, Guild-Hall, many publick Structures, Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a vast number of stately Edifices, 13200 Dwelling-houses, 400 Streets; of six and twenty Wards it utterly ruin'd fifteen, and left eight others shatter'd and half burnt. The Ruines of the City were 436 Acres, extending from the Tower along the Thames side to the Temple Church, and from the North-East-gate along the City Wall to Holbourn-Bridge or Fleet-Ditch. It was merciless to the Estates and Fortunes of the Citizens, but favourable to their Lives, that it might in all things resemble the last and great Conflagration, the Destruction was sudden, for in a short time the same City which was seen in a flourishing Condition was reduc'd to nothing; and after three days, when this fatal Fire had in appearance overcome all means of Resistance, and Humane Councils, by the Will of Heaven it stopt and was extinguish'd.*

Hubert
hang'd.

Various were the Opinions how this Fire began; some say, it was contriv'd and carried on by Conspiracy of Papists; others are of Opinion, that it was only the Hand of God in a terrible Judgment. One Man, and but one, was tried at the Old Baily for setting fire to it, who was convicted by his own Confession, and hang'd (for doing it) at Tyburn. His Name was Robert Hubert, a French Hugonot of Rohan in Normandy: But in Allay to this, he is said to be *Non compos mentis*, and that he had the Dead-Palsie on one side. Others as confidently affirm, that Hubert was on board a Ship in the Hope before, at, and after the Fire began. However, this is certain, that in April, about six months before, John Rathbone, William Saunders, and six others, formerly Officers or Soldiers in the late Rebellion, were executed for conspiring the Death of His Majesty, and the Subversion of the Government, in order where-

unto the City was to be burnt by them on the Third of *September* then next following. This being notorious, and printed in the *Gazette*, *April* the 30th, 1666. A. D. 1666.

Number 48. was called to Remembrance by many People, because the Fire happen'd on the same day. But that which is yet more wonderful, and pleasanter to discourse, is, that from the Ruin made by this Fire the glorious and magnificent Structures which we now behold, like another *Phenix*, should rise out of his own Ashes, and be compleated in three years, which was supposed would be the Business of an Age.

Both sides now growing weary of the War, upon 1667. application made by the States General for a Peace, *A Peace* His Majesty consented to it without a Cessation of *concluded* Arms. *Denzil* Lord *Hollis*, and the honourable *Henry* *with Hol-* *Coventry* Esq; were appointed Extraordinary Amba- *land.* *sadors* for that Treaty, and accordingly had begun their Conference at the Castle in *Breda*; when the *Dutch*, taking advantage of our too great Security, and laying up our great Ships, sent a Fleet to Sea, which arriving in the mouth of the River *Medway*, and having made themselves Masters of the Platform at *Sheerness*, on the 10th of *June* sailed up the River, broke the Chain, and with their Fire-ships burnt the *Matthias*, *Unity*, and *Charles* the Fifth, three *Dutch* Ships that had been formerly taken from them, greatly damaged three others, and carried off with them the *Jonathan*, a small *Dutch* Prize, and the Hull of the *Royal Charles*, which was twice fir'd by the *English*, and as often quench'd by the Enemy: And on *Sunday* the 9th of *July* the Peace was concluded at *Breda*, and proclaim'd at *London* the 24th of *August*. About this time, upon the Resignation of the Lord *Gerrard*, the Duke of *Monmouth* was made Captain of His Majesty's Life-Guard of Horse, who turn'd out several Papists that rode in that Troop.

August the 31st, His Majesty thought fit to take the Great Seal from the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Chancellor, and give it to Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*; and the late Chancellor being impeached in Parliament, withdrew into *France*, and died at *Rohan* the 19th of *December* 1674. Now the Cause of Chancellor *Clarendon*'s Disgrace on the King's part being little known in *England*, I thought fit here to give this Relation of it. Among other Designs form'd at Court to please His Majesty, one was to settle a Re-

A. D.

1667.

venue upon him by Parliament during Life, as should place him beyond the necessity of asking more, except in the Case of a War, or some such extraordinary occasion. The Earl of *Southampton* Lord Treasurer came heartily into it, out of a meer Principle of Honour and Affection to the King; but Chancellor *Clarendon* privately oppos'd it. It happen'd that both these Great Men had a private Conference about the matter; and the Chancellor being earnest to bring the Treasurer to his Opinion, took the freedom to tell him, *That he was better acquainted with the King's Temper and Inclination than Southampton could reasonably expect to be, having had a long and intimate Acquaintance with his Majesty abroad; and that he knew him so well, that if such a Revenue was once settled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther use, and that they were not in probability to see any more Sessions of Parliament during that Reign.* *Southampton* was brought over; but this Passage could not be kept so secret, but it came to King *Charles's* Ear; which, together with other things wherein *Clarendon* was represented to him, prov'd the true reason why he abandon'd him to his Enemies.

1669.

The Queen-
Mother's
Death.

In the Spring 1669. the Prince of *Tuscany* having undertaken a Visit to all the Courts of *Europe*, arriv'd in *England*, and was receiv'd by the King with extraordinary Kindness and Magnificence; as also by both the Universities. The same Summer arriv'd here Prince *George* of *Denmark*, who has since been happily grafted into the Royal Stock of this Kingdom. But this year was still more memorable for the loss of the Queen-Mother *Henrietta-Maria*, who, after nine years Banishment, came to *London*; and having settled her Revenue here, return'd into *France* with her youngest Daughter the Lady *Henrietta*, and bestowed her in Marriage to the then Duke of *Anjou*, afterwards Duke of *Orleans*, the *French* King's only Brother. In *July* 1662. she came again into *England*, and settled her Court at *Somerset-House*, where she resided till *June* 1665. and then cross'd the Seas again into her Native Country, which in fours years after became the place of her Burial. She departed this Life in her House at *Colombe*, four Leagues from *Paris*, on the 10th of *August*, N. S. Her Heart was inclosed in a Case of Silver, and sent to the Monastery of *Chaillot*, and her Body was buried at *St. Dennis*. The Duke of *Albemarle* died at the Cock-Pit by *White-hall* on the 3d of *January* 1669. in the 62d year of his

The Duke
of *Albe-
marle's*
Death.

his age. After his Body had lain in State some time in *Somerset-House*, his Funeral was magnificently celebrated in a solemn Procession from thence to *Westminster-Abbey* on the 30th of *April*, 1670. accompanied by many Barons, Bishops, Earls and Persons of all Degrees and Qualities, with all the Trophies of Honour becoming so great a General, and was buried on the North side of King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel: The whole Ceremony being perform'd at the King's Expence, as the last Mark of His Majesty's Love and Favour to a Person of so great Merit.

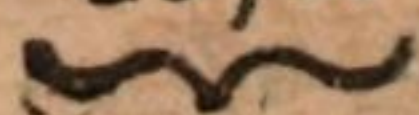
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*A Trap laid
for General
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*The Plot
discover'd.*

A. D.

1670.



ther Letters he thought fit, together with his own from the Committee full of high Complements and Expressions of Trust, he sent away the Packet as directed. But having communicated the matter to some of his Friends, he gave Orders for a general Review of the Army to be made next morning at *Edinburgh*, where he arrested Collonel *Wilks* and some other Officers he had reason to suspect, and sent them Prisoners to the Castle, filling up their Commissions with others of his own Creatures. In his March through *England*, and after he came to *London*, as you have already seen, he exercised his Politicks with great dexterity, till all things were fully ripe for throwing off the Mask, and calling home the King: And as he was singularly happy in being the chief Instrument of that happy Revolution, he was no less happy in the sense the King continued to express of so great an Obligation; and it shew'd him to be a Man of great Sincerity and true Judgment, that the Duke of *Albemarle* behaved himself in such a manner to the Prince he had thus oblig'd, as never to seem to over-value the Services of General *Monk*.

The Prince
of Orange
came into
England.

October the 29th his Highness the Prince of *Orange* arriv'd at *Margate*, having two days before embark'd at the *Brill* upon one of His Majesty's Yachts, which attended there for his Transportation. At *Gravesend* he was attended by Sir *Charles Cotterel*, Master of the Ceremonies, with the King's Barges, and so conducted to *Whitehall*; where being landed, he was received at the Stairs by the Lord Chamberlain, and conducted to the Presence of both their Majesties, who received him with all possible Demonstrations of Joy and Affection; as did likewise their Royal Highnesses, to whom he was in like manner conducted by the Lord Chamberlain, and from thence to his Apartment in the *Cock-Pit*. On the 10th of *November* the Lord Mayor, Sheriffs and Aldermen of *London* came and complemented his Highness upon his Arrival in *England*. On the 26th of *November* being at *Newmarket*, he visited *Cambridge*, where he was honourably received by the whole Body of the University, entertain'd in Congregation, and treated at Dinner by the Provost of *King's College*. *December* the 6th his Highness was treated with extraordinary Magnificence by the Lord Mayor and City at *Drapers Hall*. *December* the 18th his Highness went to *Windsor*, and from thence next day to *Oxford*, where he was received at the

the East-Gate by the Mayor and Aldermen, and at St *Maries* was attended by the Vice-Chancellor and the whole Body of the University, and at the great Gate of *Christ-Church* was receiv'd and complemented by the Dean, Canons, and the whole Society of that College, and by them conducted to his Apartment. In this University he was Nobly treated, and in a Convocation held in the New Theatre was pleas'd to accept of a Degree, as did several other honourable Persons of his Retinue. On the 13th of *February* his Highness the Prince of *Orange* parted from *Whitehall*, in order to his return into *Holland*, being infinitely sensible of the Tenderness and Affection that their Majesties express'd to him during his stay in *England*; and no less satisfied with the universal Esteem and Respect shew'd him by the Court, and all the People here where-e'er he came. He was attended into *Holland* by the Noble Earl of *Ossory* by his Majesty's particular Appointment. To conclude this Year, his Majesty, at the Parliament's request, issued out his Proclamation for the Banishing all *Romish* Priests and Jesuits, except those who were under any Restraint by Imprisonment, or such as by Contract of Marriage were to attend the Queen, or by the Law of Nations were to serve Foreign Ambassadors; and also for putting the Laws in Execution against all *Popish* Recusants, and such as were suspected to be so, in order to their Conviction.

On *Friday* the 31st of *March*, 1671. Her Royal Highness *Anne* Dutches of *York* died at St *James's* after a long Indisposition. She was the eldest Daughter of *Edward* Earl of *Clarendon*, late Lord Chancellor of *England*. She died in the Thirty fourth year of her Age, and was interr'd with several of her Children, in the Vault of *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel. Her Body was accompanied from the *Painted Chamber* at *Westminster*, by his Highness Prince *Rupert* as Chief Mourner, and by most of the Nobility, the Heralds and Officers at Arms attending, with the Solemnities usually practised on the like occasions.

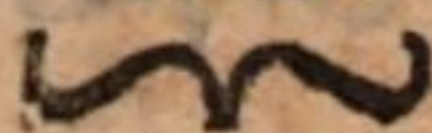
May the 9th, one *Blood*, that had been Outlaw'd for the Rebellion in *Ireland* eight years before, with his eldest Son and two other persons, made a bold and unprecedented Attempt to steal the Crown out of the Tower, where

1671.
A Proclamation.

The Crown
stolen by
Blood.

2671.

A. D.



where it was kept: Being admitted to see it, they knock'd him down that shew'd it, wounded and gagg'd him, and went away with it as far as to the last Centinel, unsuspected of having done any Injury; for *Blood* himself was apparelled in the Habit of a Clergy-man, and had certainly carried off the Crown, if, by accident, the Son of the person that shew'd it had not come to see his Father, and finding him lying on the ground ungagg'd him; and being told what had hapned, rais'd a Noise that the Crown was stoln; and pursuing *Blood*, took him and another of his Confederates at the entrance upon *Tower-Hill*, and so the Crown was recover'd. Some of these, with *Blood* at the Head of them, had some months before made an insolent Attempt upon the Person of his Grace the Duke of *Ormond*, forc'd him out of his Coach, and with the help of *Ralph Alexander*, mounted him behind his eldest Son, *Blood* himself following with a Blunderbuss to keep off the people; but his Grace's Porter seeing what had happen'd, run after his Master, pull'd him off the Horse, and carried him safe to his own House in *Pickadilly*, at the very Gate of which this bold Attempt was made. *Blood's* pretence was, that he intended no injury to his Grace's Person, but only to keep him private on the other side of the Water, till his Grace had signed some Writings to surrender an Estate to *Blood*, that he had forfeited by Rebellion.

The Exchequer shut up, and Conventicles opened.

War Proclaim'd against the Dutch.

About this time were put in practice two great Stretches of Authority, which were shutting up the *Exchequer* from paying the Crown Debts, and issuing out a Declaration of *Indulgence*, which granted *Liberty of Conscience* to all Dissenters; which being done meerly upon the Authority of the King's Prerogative, that it dispens'd with several Acts of Parliament, and was supposed to have a farther Reach in it than *Indulgence to tender Consciences*, gave great Distastes to the People, that consider'd the Tendency of it; and to compleat their Discontents, a Declaration of War against the *Dutch* follow'd it; the occasion whereof was, that some of His Majesty's Frigots, under the Command of Sir Robert *Holmes* and the Earl of *Ossory*, cruising near the *Isle of Wight*, fell in with the *Dutch Smirna Fleet* of about fifty Sail, convoy'd by six Men of War, who refusing to strike their Topsails, a Fight began, which lasted till night and all the next day, in which we took five of their rich Merchant-men, and sunk the Rear-Admiral.

Admiral. This Declaration of War was proclaim'd at *London* and *Westminster* on the 28th of *March*; and on the 7th of *April*, S. N. which was the same day War was proclaim'd at *Paris* against the States General of the United Provinces; so that after a short breathing time we see these three Nations in Arms again, as in the year 1667. only with this difference, that the *French*, who then took part with the *Hollanders*, now side with the *English*.

A. D.

1672.



Nothing could more astonish the World, than this unexpected Declaration of War against *Holland*, since by the late Articles of Peace six months Notice was to be given in case of a future War, and the *Dutch* would never believe we were in earnest till the Blow was given. Nor could the Neighbouring Princes imagine, that after having sav'd *Flanders* out of the hands of *France*, we should suffer *Holland* to fall into the same danger. In the beginning of *May*, 1672. the *English* Fleet, under the Command of the Duke of *York* in Person, join'd the *French*, commanded by Count d' *E- free*, and in *Southwold-Bay* had a sharp Dispute with the *Dutch* for eight hours, who then stood off for their own Coasts, with great loss both of Ships and Men. Our great loss was that of the Noble Earl of *Sandwich*, a Renowned Commander, whose Ship the *Royal Catherine* being fired, and he unwilling to leave her while there was any hopes of saving her, was left almost alone in her, and then leaping through the Flames into the Sea, was drown'd. His Body was afterwards found, and honourably Interr'd in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel.

The War
disliked by
every one.

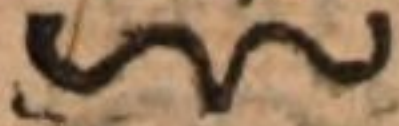
The Earl of
Sandwich
drown'd.

On the Continent the *French* were so successful, that they carried their Arms into the very Bowels of their Enemies Country, and made themselves Masters of *Arnheim*, *Zutphen*, *Deventer*, *Utrecht*, and several other places of importance, being on the 28th of *June* advanced within four Leagues of *Rotterdam*, and about the same distance from *Amsterdam*, with a Royal Army of at least 118000 Foot and 26000 Horse; which Army was compos'd of the best Troops that had been seen together for several Ages before, and was made up of several Nations. Over and above the *French* themselves, there were 3000 *English*, 3000 *Catalans*, 3000 *Genoese* and other *Italians*, 6000 *Savoyards*, 1200 *German* Horse, 10000 *Switzers*, without reckoning those into the number that served the *French* before; and, which was al-

toget-

A. D.

1672.



The misera-
ble conditi-
on of Hol-
land.

together new and extraordinary, there was a Regiment of *Swiss* Horse. Under the King in Person, this Army was commanded by two of the greatest Generals of the Age; the late Prince of *Conde*, and the *Mareschal Turenne*, who, like an impetuous Torrent, carry'd all before them. Never was any State nearer its Ruin than that of *Holland* was upon this Irruption, and in the Opinion of all the World the end of that flourishing Republick was then at hand. It were in vain to attempt to express the deplorable Condition of the *Hollanders* at that time; it's enough to say, the approach of a Trimmphant King, flesh'd with Victories, put them into so deep a Consternation, that a great many of their richest Families abandon'd their Country, and retir'd to *Hamburgh*, *Antwerp*, and other places of Security. This horrid Fright, which spread itself every where, and grew every day greater, was sufficient of itself to occasion the entire Ruin of their State, tho it had not been accompanied, as it was, with Seditions, Divisions, and Tumults in every Town and Province. Those alone naturally tended to the Dissolution of the *Belgick* Union, without any other concurring Circumstances to hurry it on.

The Prince
of Orange
Restored.

Matters standing thus with the United Provinces, they came to see, when it was almost too late, their former Errors, and more particularly that of *Abolishing the Office of Stadtholder*; and now, as the last Cast for their Liberty, they applied to the Prince of *Orange*, young tho he was, as the only Person capable to support their tottering State, and to put a stop to the Miseries that overwhelm'd their Country; and with the Universal Consent and Approbation of the People and the publick Sanction of the States, he was declared *Stadtholder, Captain and Admiral-General*, and restor'd to all the Dignities of his Family. It's hard to determine whether the Misfortunes of his Country, or the Universal Love the People bore him, contributed most to his Restauration; however, he was restor'd in spite of the *Barneveldt* Faction, and had the pleasure to see *De Wit*, the greatest Opposer of his House, among the other Deputies that waited upon him with the Resolutions of the States General, and deliver'd him his first Commission. But the Popular Commotions ended not thus in *Holland*; for, besides the Plundering and Wounding of several of their Magistrates, the Burgers and common people at the *Hague* seiz'd on the Heer

A Hol-
land's Mob

John De Wit, late Pensionary of *Holland*, his Brother *Cornelius de Wit*, and *Ruward Van Putten*, who had been concern'd in the perpetual Edict, and not only murder'd them with the greatest Fury and Indignation, but drew their dead Bodies up and down the Streets, hung up their naked and mangl'd Carcasses by the Heels on the Gallows, and after sold their Fingers, Toes, and pieces of their Flesh at ten or twelve Stivers, or more.

To return into *England*, the first thing that occurs is, That *Sir Orlando Bridgman* having resign'd the Broad Seal, the King conferr'd the Keeping of it on *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*, under the Title of *Lord Chancellor of England*, which was followed by the King's Proclamation, shewing a necessity of raising more Forces. On the 4th of *February* the Parliament, which had been long continued under several Prorogations, met at *Westminster*, and having chosen *Sir Job Charlton* Speaker, in the room of *Sir Edward Turner*, who was made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, the King next day came to the House of Lords, and in his Speech acquainted both Houses, That he had entered into an expensive War, and wanted Money to support it, and pay his Debts, which he left to their special Care. He acquainted them also, That he had granted an Indulgence, and was resolv'd to stand to it. The Lord Chancellor *Shaftsbury* was much larger in his Speech, and very bitter against the *Dutch*, applying to them *Carthago est Delenda*; farther adding, That the States of *Holland* were *England's Enemies* both by Interest and Inclination; and magnified our Happiness in a League with *France*, as the greatest Advantage that could happen to *England*.

The Lord
Shaftsbury's
memorable
Speech.

The House of Commons, having first Voted the King a Supply, made an humble Address to him, wherein they say, That considering his Declaration of Indulgence, they found themselves bound in duty to inform him, that Penal Statutes in matters Ecclesiastical cannot be suspended but by Act of Parliament. To which the King

1673.

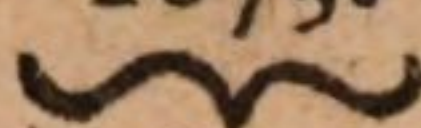
made an Answer; but it being not satisfactory, the House made a Reply that had its effect; for the King revok'd and cancell'd his Declaration of Indulgence, and, upon the Petition of the Lords and Commons, issued out his Proclamation, commanding all *Jesuits* and *Romish Priests* to depart the Kingdom, and that the Laws be put in Execution against *Popish Recusants*. During these Debates, *Sir Job Charleton* thinking fit to be indispos'd in his health, *Edward Seymour Esq;* was chosen

The Declaration of
Indulgence
cancell'd.

chosen Speaker of the House of Commons in his place, and approv'd of by the King.

A. D.

1673.



The Duke of
York's
Marriage.

On the 28th of *May*, 1673. the *English* and *French* Fleet, under the Command of Prince *Rupert*, had a smart Engagement with the *Dutch* on the Coast of *Holland*, to their great loss, and two of our Ships only disabl'd. On the 4th of *June* they had another Engagement, and on the 11th a third, which was very sharp on both sides, each claiming the Victory, and giving Publick Thanks to God for it. The *French* were successful on Land; for after a short Siege *Maastricht* was taken, in which the Duke of *Monmouth* assisted in the honourable Post of one of the Lieutenant Generals of *France*, and shew'd his Personal Valour in a high degree. On the 19th his Majesty took the Great-Seal from the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and gave it to Sir *Henneage Finch*, then Attorney General, with the Title of *Lord Keeper*. A Match having been this Summer treated and concluded by his Majesty's consent, tho' it was strongly oppos'd by two Addresses from the House of Commons, between the Duke of *York* and the Princess of *Modena*. She arriv'd at *Dover* on the 21st of *November*, was there receiv'd by his Royal Highness, and from thence well attended to *Whitehall*.

1674.

The Battel
of Seneff.

August the 1st, 1674. was fought the bloody Battel at *Seneff*, between the Confederate Army commanded by his Royal Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and the *French* under the Command of the Prince of *Conde*. Both Armies engaged in the morning, and continued a desperate Fight, till the setting of the Moon parted them. The Allies kept the Field, and the *French* retir'd. Both sides claim'd the Victory, but certainly there is no greater mark of it, than to remain in the Field of Battel. The loss the *French* sustain'd is almost incredible, and this melancholy consideration made the *French* King say, "That he should be sorry to buy another Victory at such a Rate. This was the first Battel the Prince of *Orange* fought, in which he shew'd such Prudence, Conduct and Bravery, that the great Prince of *Conde*, who was a good Judge in these matters, said, *That he fought Twenty Princes of Orange that Day; for, says he, He was everywhere; He shew'd the Experience of an Old General, and the Bravery of a Soldier: The only fault I think he was guilty of, was in exposing his Person too much. In short, I have reason to believe,*

lieve, That this Young Prince will equal, if not exceed, the Williams, the Maurices, and Henries, his Glorious and Renowned Ancestors. Count de Souches, General of the German Army, who behaved himself with extraordinary Bravery in that Action, does also thus express himself in a Letter to the States General: The Event of this Battel is turn'd to the Glory of his Highness the Prince of Orange, who, on this occasion has shewn the Prudence of an Old Captain, the Valour of Cæsar, and the Intrepidity of Marius. This I say without flattery; and if I have any way contributed towards gaining this Victory, I have but followed the Example of his Highness.

January the 7th, the Parliament met again, where the King and the Lord Keeper Finch, having set forth the great things he had done in their absence, giving them large assurance of crushing Popery, and maintaining the Protestant Religion in its Purity and Glory; the House of Commons Voted him Thanks for those Assurances, and on the 27th of January, upon perusing the Proposals made by the States General of the United Provinces, which the King had laid before them, agreed, That his Majesty be humbly desir'd to proceed in a Treaty with the said States, in order to a speedy Peace, which was soon after concluded to the great satisfaction of both Nations. It consisted of five

Peace concluded with
Holland.

Articles: By the first, the States agreed to the Rights of the Flags, to be paid to all the King's Ships. The second was, for settling Trade in the Indies. The third related to the Colony of Surinam. By the fourth, both sides were obliged to restore all Places taken from each other, during this War: And by the fifth, the States bound themselves to pay our King eight hundred thousand Patacoons: But that which halted the conclusion of this Peace, was, That the Prince of Orange, with an Army of forty thousand Men, had put a sudden stop to the French Career and Conquests in those Parts, having taken Naerden, three Leagues from Amsterdam, in spite of all opposition, either from the French or the Season of the Year; and leaving his Posts there well guarded, he march'd with the rest of the Army, took Bonn, and open'd a passage for the German Forces to come over the Rhine into Flanders; upon which the French abandoned all their Conquests upon Holland, in less time than they made them, and began to wish the War at an end, tho' they made shew to the contrary.

A. D.
1675.

An Address
against
Lauder-
dale.

North-
ampton
burnt.

An Address
against
France.

On the 13th of *April*, 1675. the Parliament met, according to the Prorogation, and made an Address to the King, against the Duke of *Lauderdale*, as having declared, *His Inclination to Arbitrary Councils, to the terror of his Majesty's good Subjects*; and therefore desir'd his Majesty would be pleas'd to remove the said Duke from all his Employments, and from his Majesty's Presence for ever; *as a Person obnoxious and dangerous to the Government*: But the King excus'd it, by sending them notice, That the Words of which the Duke was accus'd in the Address, if spoken at all, were spoken before the last Act of General Pardon. And now an unhappy difference arose between the two Houses, in a Case of Judicature and Privileges, occasion'd by Dr *Shirley's* bringing an Appeal in the House of Lords, from a Decree in *Chancery* against Sir *John Fagg*, a Member of the House of Commons: The dispute was carried to such a height, that Serjeant *Pemberton*, Serj. *Peck*, Sir *John Churchill*, and Mr *Charles Porter*, being concern'd as Council in this Cause, were taken up in *Westminster-Hall* by the Speaker's Warrant, and committed to the *Tower* for Breach of Privilege. The Transactions in this Affair growing still more vehement, his Majesty, to allay the dangerous heats between them, prorogu'd the Parliament to the 13th of *October*, and afterwards upon the same occasion, to the 15th of *Feb.* come twelve-month, only passing one Publick Act, For the better, and more easy Rebuilding the Town of *Northampton*, which had been almost wholly reduced to Ashes by a lamentable Fire that happen'd there on the 20th of *September* before.

On the 19th of *December*, His Majesty having Created Sir *Heneage Finch*, Baron of this Kingdom, by the Title of Lord *Finch*, Baron of *Daventry*, was pleas'd also to change his Title of Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, into that of Lord High Chancellor of *England*. On the 26th of *May*, 1676. about four in the Morning, broke out a violent Fire in the Borough of *Southwark*, which Consumed six hundred Houses before it could be extinguish'd. On the fifth of *February*, the Parliament address'd the King, setting forth that his People were much disquieted with the manifest Danger arising to these Kingdoms, by the Growth and Power of the *French King*, by his Acquisitions in the *Spanish Netherlands*; in the Preservation whereof, they humbly conceived, the Interest of His Majesty, and Safety of his Peo-

sought the King to take it into his Care, and strengthen himself with stricter Alliances; to which the King answered, *That he was of the same Opinion with both Houses; and that he would use all means for the Preservation of Flanders, that could consist with the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom.* This was followed by another Address on the 13th of May. 'That he would be pleas'd to enter into an Offensive and Defensive League with the States General of the United Provinces, and make such other Alliances with other Confederates as His Majesty should think fit, against the Growth and Power of the French King, for the Preservation of the Netherlands. Upon Delivery of this Address, the King grew very Angry, and sent them an Answer, 'That in some parts of their Address, they intrench'd so far upon the Undoubted Right of the Crown, that he is confident it will appear in no Age, that the Prerogative of making Peace and War, has been so dangerously Invaded. That they do not content themselves with desiring him to enter into such Leagues, as may be for the Safety of the Kingdom; but they say what sorts of Leagues they must be, and with whom; that should he suffer this Fundamental Power of Peace and War to be so far Invaded, as to have the Manner and Circumstances of Leagues to be prescribed him by Parliament, no Prince of State would any longer believe that the Sovereignty of England rests in the Crown; whereof they may rest Assured, that no Condition shall make him depart from, or lessen so essential a part of this Monarchy, and he is willing to believe so well of the House of Commons, that he is confident the ill consequences are not intended by them. These are the reasons why he can by no means approve of their Address; however he will apply himself, tho they have denied him a Supply, to let the World see his Care, both for the Security and Satisfaction of his People; and then Pro- rogued the Parliament.

A. D.

1676.

*The Kings
angry An-
swer.*

*Dislik'd by
the King.*

This Summer a Match being concluded between the Prince of Orange and the Lady Mary, Eldest Daughter of the Duke of York, his Highness came over on the 9th of October, accompanied with many persons of the best Quality in Holland, and the Nuptials were Celebrated on Sunday the 4th of November, being his own and his Mother's Birth Day, at St James's, by the Bishop of London, in the Presence of His Majesty, (who gave

*Prince of
Orange
Married.*

A. D.

1677.

Another
Address.The King's
Answer.The Treaty
at Nimi-
guen.

the Bride,) their Royal Highnesses, and some of the chief Nobility, and was followed by the mighty Rejoycings all over the three Kingdoms, who look'd upon it as a strengthening of the Protestant Interest.

January 31st, the Parliament being Assembled, the House of Commons Address'd the King with Thanks, for Marrying his Niece to the Prince of Orange, and besought him to make no Treaty of Peace with France, whereby the French King should be left in possession of any greater Power or Dominion, than was left him by the Pyrenean Treaty. This again mightily offended the King, who look'd upon it too bold an Invasion of his Prerogative. The Earl of Shaftsbury being now released from his Confinement in the Tower, where he had been close Prisoner ever since last Spring, first making a Submission to the Lords, took his Place in the House. On the 27th the whole Kingdom being alarm'd at the French King's taking of Ghent, the House of Commons Address'd the King, *That he would forthwith enter into an actual War with France, &c.* To which this Answer was read in the House, by one of the Secretaries of State. *CHARLES R. His Majesty having been acquainted with the Votes of the fourteenth instant, is very much surprized both with the Matter and Manner of them: But if his Majesty had Exception to Neither, yet his Majesty having Ask'd the Advice of both the Houses, doth not think fit to give any Answer to any thing of that Nature, till he hath the Concurrent Advice of both Houses.* Monday, May the 27th, it was Resolved in the House of Commons; *That the Army lately rais'd and now in being, was a Great Charge and Burden to the Nation; that if his Majesty thought fit to enter into a War against the French King, this House is always ready to assist him in it; but if otherwise, they will proceed to the Consideration of providing for the speedy Disbanding of the Army.*

And here it will not be amiss to take a view of Affairs abroad: There was a Treaty of Peace began at Nimeguen in February, 1676. between the French and the Dutch with their Confederates, wherein our King was Mediator, who committed the Management of his part of the Treaty to his Plenipotentiaries, Sir William Temple and Sir Lionel Jenkins. The French managed their part with great Prudence and Temper, and the Dutch finding the Councils of England at such great uncertainties,

tainties, that they were not to be trusted to in any thing, and being weary of a War, that lost their Trade and drain'd their Treasure, they took Resolutions of making a Separate Peace; which the *French* fearing the King of *England* might obstruct, by their Ambassador offer'd his Majesty a great sum of Money for his Consent, tho the *French* Terms were already accepted by the *Dutch*, and consequently his Majesty unconcern'd. The offer, tho Relishing well at any time with our Court, yet now seeing the violent Dispositions of the *Dutch* to run into the Peace, whatever should be the Consequence of it, the King lookt upon this Proposal as a very profitable Offer, saying, If the *Dutch* will have a Peace upon the *French* Terms, and *France* would give him Money for his Approbation of what he could not hinder, he knew no Reason why he should not take the Money; and therefore required Sir William Temple, who was then in *England*, to treat with the *French* Ambassador about it; but Sir William refused such a dishonourable Employment, and retired to his own House at *Sheen*.

While the Separate Peace was just upon concluding, The Battel there came News of the Battel of *Mons*, between the Prince of *Orange* and the *French*, under the Command of the Duke of *Luxemburgh*, who had posted himself with the Strength and Flower of the *French* Forces, so as to prevent the Prince's Design of Relieving *Mons*. I need not be particular in an Action so well known in the World, and therefore shall only say, that in spite of many disadvantages from an Army so suddenly drawn together, so hasty a March as that of the *Dutch*, and Posts taken with so much skill, and fortified with so much Industry by the *French*, as it was believ'd would frustrate any attempt that could be made against them; yet the Prince upon the 14th of *August* attack'd them with so much Resolution and Vigour, that first surpriz'd them, and after an obstinate and bloody Fight so disorder'd them, that tho' the night prevented the end of the Action, yet it was generally concluded, that if the Prince had been at liberty next Day to pursue it with seven or eight thousand *English*, that were ready to join his Army, he must in all appearance, not only have relieved *Mons*, but made such an Impression into *France* as had been often design'd, but never attempted since the War began. But in the Morning after the Battel, the Prince receiv'd Advice from the States

A. D. 1678. States that the Peace was concluded and sign'd at *Nimiguen* the Day before. After Compliments pass'd on both sides, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* desired to see the Prince, which was agreed to, and they met in the Field at the Head of their Chief Officers, where all pass'd with Civilities that became the occasion, and with great curiosity of the *French* to see and crowd about a Young Prince, and who had made so much Noise in the World, and had the day before given Life and Vigour to such a Desperate Action as all men esteem'd the Battel of *St Denis*. The Prince could not have ended the War with greater Glory, nor with greater Spight, to see such a mighty occasion wrested out of his Hand, by the sudden and unexpected signing of the Peace, which he had assured himself the States would not have consented to without the *Spaniards*. Yet upon the certain News of it he drew back his Army, return'd to the *Hague*, and left the States to pursue their own paces, in order of finishing the Treaty between *France* and *Spain*, wherein the *Dutch* at *Nimiguen* employed themselves with great Zeal and Diligence; and no longer as Parties or Confederates, but as Mediators; whilst Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, who continued still there in that Figure, declined the Function, as in a matter wherein he found our Court would not take any share, nor allow themselves to have any in the Peace between *France* and *Holland*, where the Confederate Princes were exempted.

Oates's
Plot.

And now let us return to *England*, where a Cloud was gathering that threatned us with such a Storm as might endanger the Ship, whatsoever Hand was at the Helm. On *Saturday*, *Sunday*, *Monday* and *Tuesday*, the 28th, 29th, and 30th of *September*, and first of *October*, 1678, the Privy Council sat twice a day; the business was a Popish Plot, discover'd by one *Titus Oates*, who had been educated a while in *Cambridge*, and admitted into Orders in the Church of *England*; but afterwards (seemingly at least) was reconciled to the Church of *Rome*; who going to *St Omers*, was entered into the *English* Colledge there, and being sent into *Spain*, ingratiated himself with the *Jesuits* and Priests in those parts, with a Design (as he pretended) to discover what they were Plotting against *England*; and returning about this time, informed the King of a Plot, carrying on by the *Jesuits*, and other Roman Catholics, against his Life, the Protestant Religion, and the Go-

vernment of the Kingdom. And to gain better Credit, he named divers Persons of Quality engaged in this Design. Hereupon several persons were Examined and Committed, viz. Sir George Wakeman, Mr Cole-^{Several} man, Mr Langhorn, Tho. Whitebread, John Gavan, An-^{Persons} thony Turner, William Ireland, William Marshal, Willi-^{Confined.} am Rumley, James Corker, Thomas Pickering; which last eight were Jesuits, Popish Priests, and Monks, with divers others.

On the 21st of October the Houses met, and the King's Speech, with relation to the Plot, contain'd only these words: *I have been informed of a Design against my Life, by Jesuits, of which I shall forbear my Opinion, lest I may seem to say too much or too little, but leave the matter to the Law.* To strengthen the Credit of this Plot other Witnesses came in, such as William Bedlow, Stephen Dugdale, one Smith, who had been a Romish Priest, Thomas Dangerfield, Miles Prance, and several others. The Examination of this Plot, and the concurrent Murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, employed the Commons so assiduously, that they sat whole days from morning till late at night, the product of which was, a Fast Voted, and the Minutes and Votes of the House of Commons forbid to be divulged, Lord Bellasis, Lord Arundel of Warder, Lord Powis, Lord Petre, Lord Castlemain, &c. were committed; and on the thirty first of October the House of Commons Resolved, upon the Evidence that hath already appeared to this House, this House is of Opinion, *That there hath been and is an* ^{A Vote up} *Execrable and Hellish Design, contrived and carryed on on the dis-* ^{by} *Popish Recusants, for Assassinating and Murdering* ^{conspiracy of} *the King, for Subverting the Government, and for De-* ^{the Plot.} *stroying the Protestant Religion by Law Establisht.*

Monday the fourth of November, it was moved in the House of Commons, That an Address be made to the King to remove the Duke of York from his Presence and Council; but tho it was often moved that week, and the Debate adjourn'd from day to day, it was at last dropt. On Saturday the ninth of November the King came to the Lords House, and made a Speech to both Houses, wherein he assured them, *That he was ready to Sign any reasonable Bills to make them safe in their Religion in the Reign of his Successor, so they did not Impeach the Right of Succession, nor Intrench upon the Prerogatives of the Crown.* Monday the eighteenth of November, the House of Commons being informed that Sir Joseph

A. D. *Williamson*, Secretary of State, had lately countersign'd
 1678. several Commissions for *Popish* Recusants, with a *Non*
Obstante to the Oaths and Test, they committed him to
 the *Tower*; but the next day the King sent for the House
 of Commons to attend him in the *Banqueting House*,
 and told them, *Tho they Committed his Servant without*
acquainting him, yet he intends to deal more Freely with
them, and acquaint them with his Intentions to release his
Secretary: And did it accordingly. In the mean time,

Oates Ac-
 cuses the
 Queen.

Oates, the great Discoverer of the Plot, *Accuses the*
Queen; which made a stricter Guard be put upon him;
 but the House of Commons address'd his Majesty, that
Oates might be freed from Restraint, be attended by
 his own Servants, and have a Competency allowed for
 his Maintenance; and that the Queen, with all her
 Servants, and all *Popish* Recusants, or such as are sus-
 pected so to be, may be removed from *White-hall*.
 Both Houses sat incessantly without Adjourning, or
 allowing themselves any other Holy Day than *Chistmas*
Day; requiring a full Appearance of all their Members
 not disabled, as well Lords as Commons; Enjoyn-
 ing all in Town not to depart under great Penalties; and
 sending their Messengers for all that are absent in the
 Country. Mr *Coleman* having been tryed and executed,
 the King gave all his Estate to his Wife and Children,
 and order'd his Quarters to be buried; and seeing
 things running into Heats and Parties, first Prorogued
 both Houses till the fourteenth of *February*, then till
 the twenty fifth, and at last Dissolved them; promising
 however to issue out Writs for a new Parliament on
 the sixth of *March* following. Thus ended the Par-
 liament, that continued under several Prorogations
 and Adjournments, seventeen years, eight months and
 seventeen days.

Green,

Berry and
 Hill Exe-
 cuted.

In further Prosecution of these matters, *Green* the
 Cushion-man at *Smerfet-house*, *Berry* the Queen's Por-
 ter there, and *Hill*, Dr *Godden's* man, were Tryed at
 the *King's-Bench* Bar for the Murder of Sir *Edmund Bury*
Godfrey, who all being convicted, chiefly on the Evi-
 dence of *Miles Prance*, were Condemn'd and Executed,
Green and *Hill* at *Tyburn*, *February* 21st, but *Berry* was
 repriev'd a week longer, all three Denying the Fact in
 as positive terms as Words could express: The last dying
 a Protestant, of which Perswasion he had always been,
 before and whilst he was in the Queen's service. A-
 bout this time Sir *Joseph Williamson* surrendred his Of-
 fice

fice of Secretary of State to the Earl of *Sunderland*. On the twenty eighth of *February* 1678, the King by Letter advised the Duke of *York* to absent himself for some Time beyond Sea; and accordingly, in pursuance to his Majesty's Pleasure, the Duke, Dutchess and Family left the Kingdom; retired for a while at the *Hague*, and from thence to *Brussels*. On the sixth day of *March* the New Parliament met, at which time the King acquainted them what had been done in Prosecution of the Plot, and what ought to be done for the Security and Common Good of the Nation; concluding with the Earnest Desires to have this a Healing Parliament; assuring them he would Defend the Protestant Religion with his Life; and Expects to be defended by them from the Calumny as well as Danger of these Worst of Men, who endeavour to render both Him and his Government Odious to the People. The Chancellor enlarged on all the Heads, and in reference to the Plot, reminded the Two Houses not to overdo their Business, and by being too far transported with the Fears of Popery, neglect the Opportunities of making Sober and Lasting Provisions against it; which, says he, are the only Hopes of Papists, thus to see our Zeal outrun our Discretion, and that we our selves should become the unhappy Occasion of making our own Councils abortive.

April the 20th the King declared his Pleasure to Dissolve his Council, and that for the future it should consist of the constant Number of 30 Persons, of which 15 *A new Privy Council* to be certain, and the rest elective at his Pleasure. *May* the fifteenth a Bill was brought in To disable the *formed*. Duke of *York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of England; which being Read the same day, it was Read again the 21st, and committed to a Committee of the whole House, yet the House divided upon the Question. Yea's 207, No's 128: But the Parliament being soon after prorogued, it proceeded no farther at that time. The *A Scotch Rebellion*. Troubles which about this time broke out in *Scotland* occasion'd much Discourse, and gave a great Alarm to *England*. They began with the Barbarous Murder of Dr *Sharp*, Arch-Bishop of *St Andrews*, on the third of *May*, as he was Travelling from *Edinburgh* to his own Residency. But the Assassins stopt not at Murder; but gathering to a Body in the West Parts of *Scotland*, fell into open Rebellion and Acts of Treason. On the 29th a Party of Rebels well mounted and arm'd came to *Rugland*, proclaim'd the Covenant, burnt several Acts of

A. D.
1679.

Parliament, and publisht an insolent and treasonable Declaration; insomuch that their Army daily encreasing, the King sent his Grace the Duke of *Monmouth* as Generalissimo to suppress them, which he did in one Battel, killing some, and taking several hundred Prisoners; of which some few being hang'd, especially those concern'd in the *Arch-Bishop's Murder*, the rest were transported.

Five Jesuits
executed.

On the thirteenth of *June*, *Thomas White* alias *Whitebread*, Provincial of the *Jesuits* in *England*, *William Harcourt*, *John Fenwick*, *John Gavan* and *Anthony Turner*, all *Jesuits*, were tryed and condemn'd at the *Old Baily* of High Treason, as Conspirators in the late Plot. The next day *Dr Richard Langhorn* Esquire, a Barrister in the *Inner Temple*, was tryed for the same Crime, and being found Guilty and sentenc'd, they were all executed, the five *Jesuits* on *Friday* the twentieth of *June*, and *Mr Langhorn* on the fourteenth of *July* following, all protesting upon their Salvation at the very Moment of Death, that they were wholly Innocent of the Crimes Objected against them, and for which they were about to Suffer. But now arrives the tenth of *July*, on which day the King dissolv'd the present Parliament by Proclamation, Promising to call another in *October* following. *January* the eighteenth, *Sir George Wakeman*, the Queen's Physician, *William Marshal*, *William Rumly* and *James Corker*, *Benedictine Monks*, were tryed for High Treason relating to the Plot, the Evidences were *Oates*, *Bedlow* and others, but the Prisoners were acquitted by the Jury. In *August* the King fell sick at *Windsor*, and upon Notice given to the Duke of *York*, he posted over into *England*; but his Majesty recovering, they both with the whole Court return'd in great state to *Whitehall*. Much about the same time the Duke of *Monmouth*, partly by the insinuations of the Duke of *York*, and partly by his Affiliating with those that were thought the King's Enemies, fell into the King's Displeasure, insomuch that he took from him his Commission of Captain General, and for a time expell'd him the Kingdom; soon after which the said Duke went over to *Utrecht* and the Duke of *York* returned to *Brussels*, but not with Design to continue long there, for on the twelfth of *October*, he, his Dutchess and Family, arrived at *St James's*, to the great Surprize of some, and Joy of others.

The Duke
of Monmouth
displaced.

The Parliament assembled on the seventeenth of
Octo-

October 1679, and were adjourned till the twenty sixth of January following. About which time there were great Discourses, and many *Narratives* printed and published concerning a new Plot, which the *Papists* had contrived to lay upon the *Dissenters*. The principal Discoverer was one *Dangerfield* alias *Willoughby*, upon which several were accused and imprisoned, among others the Countess of *Powis*, Mrs *Celier*, Sir *Robert Payton* and *John Gadbury* the *Astrologer*. On the seventh of November, in the Night time, the Duke of *Monmouth* arrived at *London*, and was welcom'd by Bonfires, Ringing of Bells, and Fireworks: And the Duke of *York* was sent Lord High Commissioner into *Scotland*, where he laid a Foundation for what he attempted to finish when he came to be King. Now all Affairs seem to be disjointed and out of order. The People loudly complain of Grievances, and that the Court was designing to invest the King with an Arbitrary Power; to prevent which, they gather Hands to Petitions in *London* and *Westminster*, (and at length all over the Kingdom) to present to the King for the sitting of the Parliament, according to the last Prorogation. Which manner of Petitioning, being in those Times call'd tumultuous and unlawful, the King in Council, December the tenth, Order'd the Lord Mayor of *London* to suppress them, and punish those that went about Collecting Hands to such Petitions. The King also publish'd a Proclamation, wherein he call'd this way of Petitioning a Method set on foot by ill Men, to promote Discontents among the People, and to raise Sedition and Rebellion: strictly commanding all his Loving Subjects, of what Rank or Degree soever, that they Persume not To promote any such Subscriptions, nor in any Ways join in any Petition of that manner, to be preferred to his Majesty, upon Peril of the utmost Rigour of the Law that may be inflicted for it. Afterwards the King Issued out another Proclamation, declaring a Resolution to prorogue the Parliament till November, yet still the business of Petitioning went forward; several were perfected and delivered, but the King received them very Coldly, and often reprimanded those that brought them.

In the beginning of Hilary Term, Sir Thomas Gascoign, a Knight of *Yorkshire* of eighty five Years of Age, was tryed at the King's Bench Bar, for Conspiring the King's Death, and the Subversion of the Government. The Jury were all *Yorkshire* Gentlemen. The Witnesses
Sir Thomas Gascoign
 Tryed and acquitted
 against

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A Procla-
nation
against Du-
elling.

against him were one *Balron*, who had formerly been Bailly of the Cole-pits, and one *Mombray*, who had also belong'd to his Family: but their Testimony it seems was not of Weight or Credibility to convict him, and therefore the Jury brought him in Not Guilty, and the Prisoner was immediately discharg'd. *February* the twenty fourth the Duke of *York*, with the Dutchess and his Family, return'd out of *Scotland* to *St James*, and two days after was attended by the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Recorder, and Common Council of *London*, where the Recorder made a Speech, and in all their Names congratulated their safe Arrival, and having Kiss'd their Highnesses Hands departed. *February* the 11th, Mr Secretary *Coventry*, having obtain'd the King's Consent, resign'd his Office, and Sir *Lionel Jenkins* succeeded in the Employment, and took his Place at the Council Board accordingly. *March* the 9th his Majesty issued out his Proclamation against Duelling, and to deter Men from such unlawful single Combats, declar'd he would not grant a Pardon to any Man that should Kill another in that manner. The Parliament met again the 25th of *April*, and were Prorogued from thence to *May*, *June* and *July*. Now the Tables seem to be turn'd, and many in those Counties which had been active in promoting Petitions for the sitting of the Parliament, began to change their Notes. The City of *Westminster* was the first, whose Grand Jury by their publick and formal Act at their Sessions, disown'd the promoting Petitions, and charged it upon certain Factionous Persons unknown to them. The same Addresses were sent from the Counties of *Surry*, *Essex*, *Middlesex* and *Norfolk*, that Country particularly giving the King their humble Thanks for recalling the Duke of *York* from *Flanders*.

About this time a Report flew abroad concerning a *Black-Box* reported to be found, wherein was a Writing that imported a Marriage or Contract between his Majesty and the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother; which coming to the King's Ear he declared the Report was utterly false, and commanded the matter to be farther enquired into. Sir *Gilbert Gerrard* was reported to have seen some such Writing, who being examined in Council, answer'd upon Oath that he never had any such Writing committed to his keeping, or did know of any such thing, or had ever seen any such Writing, to all which he subscribed his Name. On the first day of

of *Trinity Term* Mrs *Celier* was tryed for High Treason at the *Kings Bench Bar*; but the chief, and indeed the only Evidence against her, *Dangerfield*, being proved by Records then produced such an Infamous Criminal that the Court would give no Credit to his Testimony, she was acquitted by the Jury, and *Dangerfield* committed to Custody. Now it was that his Majesty, in pursuance to what he had done in *April*, and to remove all Pretences of the Disaffected in the point of Succession, published his Declaration, wherein he protested, on the Word of a King, and the Faith of a Christian, that he was never married to Mrs *Barlow* alias *Waters*, the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mother, nor to any other Woman whatsoever besides the now Queen. Which Declaration was recorded in the High Court of *Chancery*.

Mrs Cel-
lier Tryed
and ac-
quitted.

On the 30th of *October* the Parliament sat, and chose Mr *Williams* of *Grays-Inn* for their Speaker. And the Commons not being satisfied in Punishing their own Members, who had appear'd against *Petitioning for the Parliament's Sitting*, they fell upon Sir *George Jefferies* Recorder of *London*, for the Crime above-mention'd, and on the 13th of *November* 1680, Voted him *A Betrayer of the Rights of the Subjects*, and order'd an Address to the King to remove him from all Publick Offices, appointing a Committee to enquire after all such Persons as were Advisers to Publish the late Proclamation, stiled a Proclamation against Tumultuous Petitioning.

The Bill of
Exclusion.

After this Matter of great Consequence was thus manag'd, on the 11th of *November*, a Bill entituled An Act for securing the Protestant Religion, by Disabling *James Duke of York* to Inherit the Imperial Crown of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Territories thereunto belonging, pass'd the House of Commons, and on the 15th was carryed up to the House of Lords by the Lord *Russel*, attended by almost the whole House of Commons: At the first reading in the House of Lords, and being put to the Vote, whether it should be read a second time, it was carry'd in the Affirmative by two Votes. On the second reading it was debated till eleven a Clock at Night, the King being present all the while, and then was thrown out of the House by a Majority of 30 Voices, of which 14 were Bishops. Soon after, *William Lord Viscount Stafford*, one of the five Popish Lords in the Tower, was brought to his Tryal before his Peers in *Westminster-Hall*. The Tryal lasted a whole week: The Witnesses against him were *Gates*,

Tur-

A. D.

1680.

Viscount
Stafford
beheaded.

No Money
without
passing the
Bill.

No Money
to be lent
the King.

Turberville and Dugdale. Of the Lords, 31 pronounced him Not Guilty, and 55 Guilty, and Judgment was pronounced against him on the 7th of *December*, but his Execution was deferr'd till *Wednesday* the 29th of *December*, and then was Beheaded on *Tower-hill*, Protesting with his last Breath, that he was utterly Innocent of the Crimes for which he stood Condemn'd.

During these Transactions, a Comet or Colum, with a prodigious stream of Light, appear'd in the West; the Star from which the Blaze proceeded was but small, and when first discover'd appear'd not much above the *Horizon*; but every night afterwards it appear'd higher and higher in the beginning of the night, and consequently set later, and decaying also in its Lustre and Magnitude. An Address of the House of Commons was presented to his Majesty on the 21st of *December*, in Answer to his Speech of the 15th, wherein he once more demanded a Supply of Money for the Defence of *Tangier*. The effect of their Addresses was in as modest terms as could be, to deny all Supplies of Money, unless his Majesty would be pleased to Pass a Bill to Seclude the Duke of York from Inheriting the Crown, and to enable the Protestants of this Nation to associate themselves for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and Defence of the King and Kingdoms. His Majesty replied, *That he thought he need say no more than that the House of Lords had rejected the Bill, and that he was ready to comply in any other way they should propose to him; but the House in considering his Majesty's Reply, Resolved, That there is no security for the Protestant Religion, the Kings life, or the well constituted and establish'd Government of this Kingdom, without passing a Bill for disabling James Duke of York from inheriting the Imperial Crown of England and Ireland; and that to rely upon any other means, without such a Bill, is not only insufficient but dangerous; and that all that advised his Majesty to insist upon an opinion against the Bill, are Enemies to the King and Kingdom: And as such they named George Earl of Halifax, Henry Marquess of Worcester, Henry Earl of Clarendon; against which, as also Lewis Earl of Feverham and Lawrence Hyde Esquire, they vote an Address to be presented to his Majesty, to remove them from all Offices of Honour and Profit, and from his Majesty's Councils and Presence for ever. And as if this was not sufficient, they further Resolve and Vote the same day, That whoever shall Lend, or cause to be lent by way of Advance, any Money*

upon

upon the Branches of the King's Revenue, arising by Customs, Excise or Hearth-money, shall be adjudged to hinder the sitting of Parliament, and shall be responsible for the same in Parliament. Things growing to this height, the King determin'd to put an end to this Session, by a Prorogation till the 20th of January; Which the Commons having private notice of, assembled early in the morning, and before the Usher of the Black Rod came in, they resolved, that Whosoever advised his Majesty to Prorogue the Parliament, to any other purpose than in order to passing a Bill for the Exclusion of James Duke of York, is a Betrayer of the King, the Protestant Religion, and of the Kingdom of England, a Promoter of the French Interest, and a Pensioner of France. But this produced only a Prorogation till the 21st of January, and then a Dissolution, with intimation that a Parliament should be held at Oxford on the 21st of March following.

On the 14th of March the King and Queen entred Oxford, and took their Lodgings in Christ-Church. Many Members of the House of Commons, especially those of London, Sir Robert Clayton, Sir Thomas Player, Tho. Pilkington and Will. Love, Esqs; went to Oxford, accompanied or attended with the Ceremonious Cavalcade of a numerous Train of Friends. The Lords sat in the Gallery in the Schools, and the Commons in the Convocation-house. His Majesty's Speech was chiefly levell'd against the unwarrantable Proceedings of the last House of Commons; with Assurance that he would preserve the Subjects in all their Just Rights and Liberties; Govern according to Law, and was ready to condescend to any Expedient for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and desir'd they would make the known Laws of the Land the Rules and Measures of their Votes, because he resolv'd they should be His.

Nothing of extraordinary moment pass'd till Saturday the 26th of March, and then the Commons finding the House of Lords refused to proceed upon the Impeachment of Fitz-Harris for High Treason, but had directed he shou'd be prosecuted at Common Law, they voted the refusal of the Lords, A Denyal of Justice, a Violation of the Constitutions of Parliament, and an Obstruction to the further Discovery of the Popish Plot. Further they Resolved, That for any Inferiour Court to proceed against Edward Fitz-Harris, or any other person impeach'd in Parliament, for the same Crimes for which he or they

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1681.



The Par-
liament
dissolved.

Fitz-Har-
ris Ar-
raign'd.

they stood impeach'd, is a high Breach of the Privilege of Parliament. On Monday following the Bill against the Duke of York was read the first time, and ordered a second Reading, when on a sudden the King sends for the House of Commons to the House of Lords, and tells them, *He perceived there were Heats betwixt the Lords and them, and therefore he thought fit to Dissolve them.* Which was done by the Chancellor immediately. The same day the King left Oxford; came to Windsor that night, and the next morning by eight a Clock to White-hall; where immediately a Declaration was framed, containing the King's Reasons for dissolving the late Parliaments; which by an Order of the King and Council, were afterwards read in all Churches and Chappels through the Kingdom. April the third, 1681. Fitz-Harris was arraign'd at the King's-Bench Bar, where he three times refused to hold up his Hand, insisting upon his being *Impeach'd in Parliament, and therefore ought not to be Tryed by an Inferiour Court*; but at last consented to plead. The Crimes objected against him were contain'd in a certain Writing call'd *The True English-man*, full of horrid Expressions against the King, as a Conspirator in the Plot, and exciting the Nation to rise as one Man against him; it being as lawful to dispossess a Popish Possessor as a Popish Successor. The Court assign'd him for Council Sir Francis Winnington, Mr Williams, Mr Pollexfen and Mr Wallop, to argue his Plea against the Judicature of the Court; and on Wednesday the fourth of May the Prisoner was again brought to the Bar, and his Council attended, where the King's Attorney General Sir Robert Sawyer entred a Demurrer to the Prisoner's Plea; and insisted chiefly upon the manifest Defect of Forms, because the Plea run, *that the said Fitz-Harris was impeach'd at the late Parliament in Oxford, de Alta Proditione, but does not say of what sort or manner of Treason; nor did not set forth the Impeachment at large, which a Plea ought to do, when it is against the Jurisdiction of the Court.* The Prisoner's Council mov'd for further time, which was given them till Saturday morning, when the matter was largely and learnedly debated on both sides. The King's Council and also the Court declaring that they meddled not at all with the Privilege of the House of Commons, or the Jurisdiction of the Lords in Parliament, which was not the Question; but only as to the

Form

Form of the Plea. After the Debates were ended, the Court took time to consider, before they would proceed to Judgment. The eleventh of *May* the Court sat again, the Plea was over-ruled, the Prisoner pleaded Not Guilty, and alledging that a material Witness for him was absent in *Holland*, his Tryal was put off till the 9th of *June*. *June* the 8th, Dr *Oliver Plunket*, Titular Archbishop of *Dublin*, was tryed at the *Kings Bench Bar* for High Treason; the Evidences against him were all *Professed Papists*, and came out of *Ireland*: The chief matters sworn against him were, *That he was made Primate of Ireland by the Pope, at the French King's Recommendation, had actually levy'd great Summs of Money among his Clergy to introduce the French Dominion into that Kingdom, and to exterminate the Protestants*, and upon Evidence of this was found Guilty.

The next day *Fitz-Harris* was tryed at the same Bar. Dr Plunket and The chief Evidences against him were Sir *William Waller* and *Everard*, upon whose Testimonies he was found *Fitz-Harris* Guilty of High Treason, and on the first of *July* they were both executed at *Tyburn*. Presently after his Tryal, Mrs *Fitz-Harris*, the Prisoner's Wife, accused the Lord *Howard of Escrick* for contriving that Treasonable Libel for which her Husband was condemned; upon which that Lord was committed to the *Tower*, and so was *Rouse, Hains, White* and *Colledge*, commonly called the Protestant Joyner.

July the second, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* being accused of High Treason was committed to the *Tower* by the King and Council. On the 28th of *July* the Parliament sat in *Scotland*, where the Duke of *York*, being gone thither, presided as his Majesty's High Commissioner; who, in a florid Speech, and at a Royal Feast he made for both Houses, so wrought upon the Parliament, that they pass'd a Bill, intituled, *An Act acknowledging and asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of Scotland*: And at the same time pass'd another Act, Ratifying all former Laws for the Security of the Protestant Religion.

On the 13th of *August*, by an Order of Council *Titus Oates* was expell'd from *White-hall*, his Sallery of *turn'd out* ten pounds a week taken off, and he accused of great of *White-hall* Misdemeanours. Considerable numbers of *French Protestants* now flying into *England*, to avoid a barbarous Persecution in their own Country, they were kindly receiv'd by the Inhabitants, and the King granted them a mple

A. D.

1681.

Earl of
Shafts-
bury ac-
quitted.

ample *Letters Patents* to Collect Money all over *England* for their Relief and Subsistence. *Colledge* being still in Custody, a Bill of Indictment was prefer'd against him for High Treason at the *Old Baily*, but was found by the Grand Jury *Ignoramus*. At another Sessions *Rouse* was indicted for High Treason; but that Bill was also return'd with an *Ignoramus*. November the 24th, all the Judges of *England* sat with the Mayor and Aldermen at the *Old Baily*, and the Grand Jury being call'd and sworn, of which Sir *Samuel Barnadiston* was Foreman, a Bill of Indictment of High Treason was deliver'd to them, against *Anthony Earl of Shaftsbury*. The Evidences were all examined in open Court; but this Bill was also returned *Ignoramus*: Upon which the people gave a shout, and the Witnesses who gave Evidence against the Earl were assaulted by the Multitude, and in such danger of their Lives, that the Sheriffs were necessitated to guard them at night as far as the *Savoy* homewards; and the Citizens, to shew their satisfaction at the Earl's being acquitted, made several Bonfires in the City, which much offended the Court.

Dissenters
prosecuted.

The Justices of the Peace for the County of *Middlesex* about this time began a vigorous Prosecution against *Protestant Dissenters*, which afterwards was too hotly followed throughout *England*: And ordered, that the Statutes of *Elizabeth* and 3 *Jac.* should be put in execution, for the levying of tweldepence a *Sunday*, upon all such persons as came not to their own Parish-Churches every *Sunday*, to hear Divine Service; which, with the rigid Prosecutions against them in the Ecclesiastical Courts, gave great offence to all the sober people of *England*; but this was thought a piece of Court Artifice, to play the Church of *England* against the *Dissenters*, and enrage the *Dissenters* against the Church of *England*, that they might not unite and see their mutual danger; or else by destroying one another, might make room for a third Party, that skulk'd behind the Curtain, till the King's death should give them an opportunity to appear bare-fac'd upon the Theatre. In March the Duke of *York* came out of *Scotland*, landed at *Yarmouth*, and the next day went to the King at *Newmarket*.

1682.

Troubles in
the City
about the
election of
Sheriffs.

Now happen'd a great controversie in *London* between the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs, about electing Sheriffs for the year ensuing. Each of them had strong Parties. The one set up Mr *Dudley North* and Mr *Box*, the

the other were for Mr *Papillion* and Mr *Dubois*; but in their Polling some Difference arising, the Lord Mayor adjourned the Court by Proclamation, and went out of the Hall; but the two Sheriffs continued Polling all night, for which being sent for before the King and Council, the two Sheriffs were sent to the Tower, by a Warrant signed by 24 Privy Councillors. Friday, June the 30th, the two Sheriffs brought their *Habeas Corpus*, and were admitted to Bail at the *Kings Bench* Bar, at the same time pleading *Not Guilty* to an Information for a tumultuous and riotous assembly, in holding a Common Hall after it was adjourn'd. The Sheriffs being thus at liberty, met at a Common Hall on the first of July, and tho the Lord Mayor being sick, sent order by the Recorder to adjourn the Hall to the eleventh following, yet the Sheriffs proceeded in the Election, and declared their choice of *Papillion* and *Dubois*. On the 17th the Lord Mayor and his Party met again, and heard Lawyers argue the Validity of the late Adjournment; but coming to no conclusion, the Court was adjourn'd to the 14th of July. On the 13th of July his Majesty sent an Order from the Council, to the Lord Mayor and Court of Aldermen, that for the Preservation of the Peace of the City at the Common Hall the next day, all Proceedings should begin anew, and be carried on in the usual manner. At length, not without abundance of Disturbance, Mr *North* and Mr *Box* were declared Sheriffs by the Lord Mayor; but Mr *Box* paying his Fine rather than he would serve in a time that appeared so troublesome, *Peter Rich* Esquire, was chosen in his place, and he and *Dudley North* Esquire, were sworn before the Lord Mayor on the *Hustings*.

On the 24th of November the great Cause was tryed at the *Kings-Bench* Bar between the Duke of York and Mr *Pilkington* the late Sheriff of London, for speaking these words, viz. He (meaning the Duke of York) fired the City, and is now come to cut our Throats. Which words being proved by two Aldermen of London, the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave him a Hundred thousand pounds Damages, which Mr *Pilkington* resolving never to pay, rendered himself in discharge of his Bail, a Prisoner to the *Kings Bench*. November the 29th, *Rupert*, Prince Palatine of the *Rhine*, and Duke of *Cumberland*, dyed at his House in *St James's Park*, in the 63d year of his Age, and much lamented by all

Pilkington
cast in
100000 l.

A. D.

1683.



that knew him: On the 18th of *December*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, Lord High Chancellor of *England*, dyed, and was succeeded by Sir *Francis North*, as Lord Keeper, who was then Lord Chief Justice of the *Common Pleas*. On *Tuesday* the 8th of *May* several persons were tryed at *Guild-hall* before the Lord Chief Justice *Saunders*, for the Riot committed last *June* at the Election of Sheriffs, and being convicted were fined as followeth, *Pilkington* 500 l. *Shute* 1000 Marks, *Cornish* and the Lord *Gray* the same summs, Sir *Thomas Player* 500 Marks, *Bethel* 1000 Marks, *Jenks* 300 Marks, *Deagle* 400 Marks, *Freeman* 300 Marks, *Goodenough* 500 Marks, *Keys* 100 Marks, *Wickham* 100 Marks, *Swinnock* 500 Marks, and *Jekel* 200 Marks.

A Quo
Warranto
against the
Charter.

These Disorders in the City laid the Foundation, or at least gave Pretence for bringing a *Quo Warranto* against the Charter of the City of *London*, against which Judgment was given in the Court of *Kings Bench*, by Judge *Jones*, Chief Justice *Saunders* being sick and absent, declaring it to be the unanimous opinion of that Court, *That the Liberties and Franchises of the City of London were seized into the Kings bands*: After which it was ordered (he said) by the King's Special Command, that Judgment should not be entred till his Majesty's Pleasure were further known. Upon this the City, in an humble Petition, made their Submission to the King, begg'd his Pardon for their Offences in the misgovernment of the City, gave him thanks for causing Judgment not to be entred against their Charter, and humbly begg'd his Majesty's Commands and Directions. This was done by the Lord Mayor, and several Aldermen and Citizens, on *Monday* the 18th of *June*. After which the Lord Keeper, by the Kings Command, declared, that for the sakes of so many of the present Magistrates, and other Loyal Citizens, he would shew them all the favour they reasonably could desire, if they would submit to these Regulations, viz. *That no Lord Mayor, Sheriff, Recorder, Common Serjeant, Town Clerk, Coroner of London, or Steward of Southwark, should be capable of, or be admitted to the Exercise of their respective Offices, before his Majesty had approved them under his Sign Manual: That his Majesty having twice disapproved the Mayor, he might if he pleased nominate a Lord Mayor himself; so also for Sheriffs: Nevertheless the Election of these Officers might be according to the ancient usage of the City,*

The King's
Regulation.

with

with some small Restrictions at that time mentioned. A. D.
 A Common Council was held at their return, to con- 1683.
 sider of these Proposals; and the Question being put,
 whether they should assent and submit to his Majesty's
 order of Regulations, it was carried in the *Affirmative*
 by a Majority of eighteen Voices.

Towards the end of *Trinity Term*, one *Keeling* dis- *A new Plot?*
 covered a Plot against the Government, and gave a
 long and confused Narrative concerning it; only na-
 ming some mean Persons, but none of Quality, that
 were engaged in it; but those coming in that were
 deepest involved in the Plot, to save their own Lives,
 threw the whole Weight of the Conspiracy upon the
 Earl of *Essex*, the Lord *Russel*, Collonel *Sidney*, Mr
Hambden, &c. As for the Duke of *Monmouth*, who
 was under the same Accusation, he withdrew himself,
 till he was followed by a Proclamation, and then he
 surrendered himself to Mr Secretary *Jenkins*, where it
 was said, he made a Confession of the whole Conspi-
 racy, but without the least design upon his Majesty's
 Life, which he said, was never thought of; tho he
 gave his Majesty much greater light into many Particu-
 lars of it, than he could ever have obtained other-
 wise. Hereupon the King gave him his Pardon;
 which he no sooner was Master of, but he began to
 excuse the Offenders, and to palliate what he had said
 to his Majesty in private; wherefore the King requir'd
 it under his hand. The Duke comply'd with it, and
 subscrib'd a Writing of the same importance with the
 Confession he had made to the King, and, from that
 time was reconcil'd to him; but afterwards relapsing
 into his former Errors, and requesting the Writing
 might be restor'd to him, the King told him, he would *Mon-*
 no longer keep it, but withal, banish'd him his Pre- *mouth*
 sence. *banished.*

Immediately a Proclamation was issued out, for
 apprehending Mr *West* of the *Temple*, Collonel *John*
Rumsey, *Richard Rumbold* Maltster, *Richard Nelthorp*
Esquire, *Edward Wade* Gent. *Richard Goodenough*
 Gent. Captain *Walcot*, *William Thompson*, *James Bur-*
ton and *William Hone*. Not long after came out ano-
 ther Proclamation, for the apprehending of *James*
Duke of Monmouth, *Ford Lord Gray*, *Sir William Arm-*
strong and *Robert Ferguson*, who were all fled or ab-
 sconded. The Crimes alledged against them in the
 Proclamation were, for trayterously conspiring the Death

A. D. 1683. *and Destruction of the King, and his dearest Brother the Duke of York: To effect which, they had held several*

Ferguson's share of the Conspiracy.

treasonable Consultations to levy Men, and to make an Infurrection in this Kingdom. And here I cannot omit acquainting the Reader, that *Ferguson* was always look'd upon as the most dangerous Plotter, one that gave the *Bloodiest Counsels* of all that were in the Confederacy; and yet when this Warrant was deliver'd to Mr *Legat* the Messenger, to seize the rest of the Offenders, Mr Secretary *Jenkins* gave *Legat* a strict command not to take *Ferguson*, but to shun him where-e'er he met him, and if he should happen to find him in Company among the rest, he should suffer him to escape; which is such a Mystery that can never be unriddl'd, without believing him to be a State Intelligencer, to betray the rest of the Confederates. This Relation I had from several Gentlemen of known Credit; but being unwilling to publish it upon hearsay, I ask'd Mr *Legat* himself about it, who assur'd me of the Truth of it, as it is above related, from his own Mouth.

The Lord Russel condemned.

On the twelfth of *July*, Captain *Walcot* and others were try'd at the *Old-Baily* for this Conspiracy, and were found guilty of High Treason. The next day the Lord *Russel*, Eldest Son and Heir apparent to the late Duke of *Bedford*, was try'd for the same Fact, and upon Evidence given by the Lord *Howard* of *Esrick* and others was found Guilty: All which the next day receiv'd the Sentence of Death from the Recorder: The Lord *Russel* alone, and *Walcot*, *Hone* and *Rouse* together: And while this was doing, a Party of the Life-Guard waited at the Gates of the *Sessions House*, attending upon the Lord *Howard*. Friday the 13th of *July* 1683, about nine of the Clock in the Morning, while the Lord *Russel* was upon his Tryal, News was brought into the Court at the *Old-Baily*, that the Earl of *Essex*, being at this time a Prisoner in the *Tower*, on the account of this new Plot, had Murther'd himself, by cutting his Throat with a Razor, (as they said) to prevent the hand of Publick Justice: Which was most ungenteelly urged by some of the Council against the Lord *Russel*, as a Confirmation of the Plot, and his being concern'd in it. Barbarous Usage! But what will not those Tongue-pads say, that have Tongues to sell to every one that has Gold enough to purchase them. It was a very unlikely Story, that a Person of

The Earl of Essex's Throat cut.

the Earl of *Essex's* Prudence, Integrity and Piety, should offer Violence to himself; but the Contrivance against him is yet in the dark, and the more, for some Men's attempting to enlighten it; and therefore must be left as a Secret, till the *Revelation of all things*. Three of the condemn'd persons, *Walcot, Hone and Rouse*, were executed at *Tyburn*. But the Noble, Pious, Just, Charitable and Good Lord *Russel*, who was made a Sacrifice to the Bill of *Exclusion* and *Arbitrary* Councils, with Respect to his *Noble Birth*, was Beheaded, or rather *Butcher'd* by three strokes of the Ax in *Lincolns-Inn-fields*, upon *Saturday* the twenty first of *July*, about ten a Clock in the Morning: Of whom the World was not worthy.

On *Saturday* the twenty eighth of *July*, about ten in the Evening, the Lady *Ann*, Second Daughter to his Highness the Duke of *York*, was married to Prince *George*, Brother to the then King of *Denmark*, by Henry Lord Bishop of *London*, in the Presence of the King, Queen, Duke and Dutches, with most of the Great Persons of the Court. All that night and the next day the Bells proclaim'd the Publick Joy.

November the 22d, in *Michaelmas* Term, the Honourable *Algernoon Sidney* Esquire, being accused as one of the Council of Six in the aforesaid Plot, was arraigned at the *Kings-Bench* Bar for High Treason. The Particulars of his Indictment were, for sending a Messenger into *Scotland* to invite them into a Rebellion, and for writing (as they call'd it) a *Treasonable Libel* found in his Closet. The Lord *Howard* deposed he was one of the Council of Six, and that he sent a Messenger into *Scotland*. To which he answer'd, that if the Papers were his, they might be written long since, in answer to *Filmer's* Book, for his own Diversion, and not for Publication; and denied he sent Messengers into *Scotland*. He was a Person of admirable Parts and known Integrity, yet said not much at his Tryal, as believing whatsoever he should say, would signifie nothing with that *Judicature*, whom he thought had already prejudg'd him; and so it was in effect, for, as Mr *Hawles* observes, he was meerly talk'd to death, under the notion of a *Commonwealths man*; and being found Guilty, was beheaded on *Tower-hill* the seventh of *December* following. On the last day of *Michaelmas* Term, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, Mr *Henry Booth*, Mr *Trenchard*, Mr *Hambden* Junior, Mr *Charlton* and Major *Wildman*,

all which were accused as Conspirators in the late Plot, and there being but one Witness against them, they were admitted to Bail.

Among the Lords in the *Tower* having been offered, was never obtain'd till now. The Earl of *Arundel*'s Case was argued in *Hillary* Term, in the Court of *Kings-Bench*, where the Judges unanimously agreeing, that his Lordship ought to be admitted to Bail, he was bailed. And this was made a President for bailing the Earl of *Powis*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*, the Lord *Bellasis*, (the Lord *Petre* dyed in the *Tower* under Confinement) and the Earl of *Tyrone* out of the *Gatehouse*. Mr *John Hambden* being Try'd for High Misdemeanors, was fined to pay 40000 pounds to the King, to find Sureties for his good Behaviour during Life, and committed till all this be perform'd. Saturday the tenth of *May*, *Titus Oates* was arrested at the *Amsterdam* Coffee-house, in an Action of *Scandalum Magnatum*, at the Suit of the Duke of *York*, for calling the said Duke a Traytor. He was carried from thence to *Woodstreet-Counter*, where he lay two days, and then was removed by *Habeas Corpus* to the *Kings-Bench* Prison. The next Term he let Judgment go by Default, and on the last day of the Term, a Writ of *Enquiry of Damages* was executed at the *Kings-Bench* Bar; where the Jury, upon hearing the Evidence, gave a Hundred Thousand pounds Damages.

Oates cast
in 100000
pounds.

About the beginning of *May*, the King revok'd the Commission formerly granted to several Commissioners, for Executing the Office of *Lord High Admiral* of *England*, and conferr'd that Office again upon the Duke of *York*; and in a Council at *Hampton-Court*, order'd him to take his Place at the Council Table, which the Duke did, and continued so to do till his Brother's Death.

Sir Tho-
mas Arm-
strong ex-
ecuted.

On the 11th of *June* 1684. Sir *Thomas Armstrong* was brought to *London*, and committed to *Newgate*, in order to his Execution, he having been Out-law'd for High-Treason, and was accordingly executed at *Tyburn* on the 20th of *June*. Sir *William Prichard*, late Lord Mayor of *London*, having this Summer brought his Action against Mr *Papillion*, for causing him to be Arrested in the time of his Mayoralty, the Cause was tryed before the Lord Chief Justice *Fefferies* by *Nisi Prius* at *Guild-hall*, on the sixth of *November*, where the Jury found for the Plaintiff, and gave him Ten thousand pounds Damages. This

This *Michaelmas* Term, on the 13th of *November*, *Titus Oates* was Indicted in the *Kings-Bench* for Perjury, in relation to *Ireland's* being in *London* at the time that *Oates* swore at his Tryal; to which Indictment he pleaded Not Guilty: The Tryal was deferr'd till the next Term. After this, he was again Indicted at the *Old-Baily* for Perjury, in relation to his being present at the Consult of the Jesuits at the *White-Horse Tavern*, to which he also pleaded Not Guilty, and the Tryal was appointed to be the next Term in the Court of *Kings-Bench*.

A. D.
1684.

The Roads being this Winter extreamly infested with Robbers, the King was pleas'd to order in Council, that all his Officers of Justice, and other his loving Subjects, should use their utmost Diligence in apprehending all Robbers and Highway-men; and for their Encouragement order'd, that all such Persons as should apprehend any Robber or Highway-man, and cause him to be taken into Custody, should within fifteen days after his Conviction, receive a Reward of Ten pounds for every such Offender, from the Sheriff of the County where the Offender was convicted, which should be allow'd to the Sheriff upon passing his Account in the *Exchequer*. And now all Affairs seeming to be in a quiet posture, it pleas'd God Almighty to put an end to his Majesty's Life and Reign, on the 6th of *February*, 1684.

A Reward
for taking
Robbers.

The King's
Death.

King *Charles* the Second was Tall and Well Proportion'd, his Constitution Vigorous and Healthy; and it's hard to determine, whether he took more Pains to Preserve it by Diet and Exercise, or to impair it by Excess in his Pleasures. His Complexion was Black, his Face compos'd of Harsh Features, difficult to be trac'd with the Pencil, and yet had a Noble and Majestick Mien, and something in his Person and Aspect, that at once commanded both Love and Veneration; and in contradiction to all the common receiv'd Rules of *Physiognomy*, was Merciful, Good Natur'd, and in the last twenty Years of his Life, Fortunate. His Understanding was Quick and Lively, with a vast compass of Thought; and yet would submit his Judgment in greatest matters, to others of much inferior parts. He had an extraordinary share of Wit himself, and lov'd it in others, even when it pointed at his own Faults and Mismanagements. He had a strong *Laconick* way of Expression, a Genteel, Easy

His Person
age and
Character.

A. D.

1684.



and Polite way of Writing; and when he had a mind to lay aside the King, which he often did in select Company of his own, there were a thousand Irresistible Charms in his Conversation. 'Tis true, he had no extraordinary love for Business, and therefore sought all occasions to avoid it; and yet when Necessity call'd him, none of his Council could reason more closely upon matters of *State*, and at Starts he would outdo his Ministers in *Application* and *Diligence*. No Prince was a lesser Lover of Ceremony, or more despis'd the Pageantry of a Court, and yet in his greatest Familiarities and Condescensions, still preserv'd his *Royal Grandeur*. He lov'd Money only to spend it, and would privately accept of a small Summ paid to himself, in lieu of a far greater to be paid into the *Exchequer*. His *Religion* was *Deism*, or rather that which is call'd so; and if in his Exile or at his Death, he went into that of *Rome*, the first was to be imputed to his Enemies that Banish'd him, and to a complaisance for the Company he was then oblig'd to keep; and the last, to a *Diffidence* in all other Religions, upon a review of his past Life, and the near Approach of an uncertain Estate. In short, he was certainly one of the finest Gentlemen of the Age, was endow'd with all the Qualities, that might justly have render'd him the *Delight of Mankind*, and had Abilities to make him one of the best of Kings, if he had not sullied those excellent parts with the soft Pleasures of Ease, and had not entertain'd a Fatal Friendship with a Powerful Neighbour, that was incompatible with the Interest of *England*; and thereby gave him an opportunity of laying the foundation of a Force, that has since been the Envy and Terror of *Europe*.

It must also be confest, that he never discover'd any extraordinary kindness for Parliaments; and yet made a shift, partly by his obliging Carriage, partly by other Inducements, to get more Money from his first Parliament, towards the maintenance of his Pleasures, than all his Predecessors of the *Norman* Race had obtain'd before, towards the Charges of their Wars. This Parliament had like to have been perpetual, if the Vigour wherewith they began to prosecute the *Papish* Plot, and that Resentment they express'd against his Brother, had not oblig'd him much against his Will to part with them, after they had sat about Nineteen Years. That there was at that time a *Papish* Plot, and that

that there has been always one since the Reformation, to Support, if not Restore the *Romish* Religion, scarce any Man calls in question. How far the nearer prospect of a *Popish* Successor ripen'd the Hopes, and gave new Vigour to the Designs of that Party, and what Methods they were then upon, to bring those Designs about, *Coleman's* Letters are a sufficient Proof to put the matter out of doubt. But what Superstructures were afterwards built upon an unquestionable Foundation, and how far some of the Witnesses of that Plot might *darken Truth* by subsequent Additions of their own, must be deferr'd till the great account, to be made before a higher Tribunal: And till then, a great part of the *Popish* Plot, as it was then sworn to, will in all humane probability lye among the Darkest Scenes of our *English* History. However, it serv'd to awaken the Nation out of a deep Lethargy, they had been in for nineteen years together; and Alarm'd them with Fears and Jealousies, that have since been found to our sad Experience but too justly grounded. Some are pleas'd to say, the great Faults of this Prince was, in being too kind to a *Popish* Brother, forfeiting the love of his People, and hazzarding himself to support him against the Bill of Exclusion. It's said, King *Charles* at first came into that Bill, or at least seem'd to do so. The *Favourite Mistress* was prevail'd with, from some secret motives and prospects of her own, to concur with others in perswading him to abandon his Brother; and waving the *Duke's* Right, to accept of an Act of Parliament in his own favour, like that made in the Reign of *Henry VIII.* by which he should have a Power invested in him, to dispose of the Crown at his death, under such restrictions and limitations as should be agreed on: Whether any such Act was really intended, it's hard to determine; but it's certain such an Offer was made to King *Charles*, with a promise of a considerable sum of Money towards the supplying his present wants. It's likewise certain that King *Charles* seem'd willing to accept of it; till it happen'd that a Foreign Court, whose Interest it was to support the Duke of *York*, struck up a bargain with the King, to give him more Money for refusing, than had been offer'd him for consenting to the Bill of Exclusion. Others blame him for disgracing the Duke of *Monmouth*, in compliance with his Brother's irreconcilable malice; but all for suffering the Lord *Russel* and Mr *Sidney* to fall

A true description of the Popish Plot.

His kindness to his Brother.

the

A. D.
1684.

the first Triumphs to the Duke's Party in *England*. It's true, King *Charles* seem'd inclinable to pardon both the one and the other, and the very day the Lord *Russel* was executed, he let fall some words, that sufficiently shew'd his irresolution in the matter, and ever after there was so sensible a change in his Temper, that most People thought he laid it to heart. However, in this act of Cruelty he might be over-reach'd and abus'd, and if any thing can excuse it, 'twas marrying the eldest of his Nieces to the Prince of *Orange*, (which Lady the Parliament had an Eye upon in the Bill of Exclusion) and the youngest to the Prince of *Denmark*. The happiest Actions of his whole Life, and by which he made an Attonement for all the Errors of his Reign, will entail a lasting Honour on his Name, that he did it, and did it against the advice of his Brother, and in spite of all the solicitations that were made him from abroad, to marry them to Princes of the *Romish* Religion. But I hasten to his death, that fell out luckily for the Duke of *York*.

His Sickness
what.

Few Princes dye suddenly, but the World is apt to attribute it to foul play, especially if attended with unusual circumstances in the time and manner of it. Now if he dy'd a Natural death, it's agreed by all that it must have been an *Apoplexy*, which seizes all the vital Faculties at once; but King *Charles*'s Disease was rather in the *Stomach* and *Bowels* than in the *Head*; for after he was in Bed, he was heard to Groan most of the night: and both then and next morning, before he fell into the *Fit*, he complain'd first of a heavy oppression in his *Stomach* and about his Heart, and afterwards of a sharp pain in those parts, all which symptoms had but little relation to an *Apoplexy*. That morning there appear'd to every body about him, *Ghaſtlineſs* and *Pale-ness* in his Looks; and when he sat down to be shav'd, just before the *Fit* took him, he could not sit strait as he us'd to do, but continued in a stooping Posture, with his Hand upon his *Stomach* till the *Fit* came. After he was brought out of it by Bleeding, he complain'd of a racking pain in his *Stomach*, and of no indisposition any where else, and so continued to his *Death*. And so violent was the pain, that when all hopes were gone, the Physicians were desired to use all their Art to procure him an easie *Death*.

Other con-
curring ac-
cidents.

So much for the Distemper itself: There remains something to be taken notice of, that fell out before and after

after his Death. A few days before he was taken Ill, King Charles being in company where the present posture of Affairs was discoursed of, there escaped him some warm expressions about the uneasie Circumstances he was plung'd into, the ill measures that had been given him; and how in a particular Affair, he was pleas'd to mention, he had been abus'd; adding in some passion, *That if he liv'd but a Month longer, he would find a way to make himself easie for the rest of his life.* This passage was whisper'd abroad next day; and the rumour of recalling the Duke of Monmouth, and sending away the Duke of York came to take air about the same time. Now how far the Principles of some of that Party that were like to be the Sufferers, might leave them at liberty to push on their Revenge for this design'd Affront, as well as to prevent the Blow that threatned them, tho' without the Privacy, much less the Consent of the Duke of York, is left to the Reader to judge.

There remains two things more that deserve some consideration in this matter. When his Body was open'd there was not sufficient time given for taking an exact Observation of his Stomach and Bowels, which one would think ought chiefly to have been done, considering the *Violent Pains he had there*: And when a certain Physician seem'd to be more inquisitive than ordinary about the condition of those Parts, he was taken aside and reprov'd for his needless curiosity. In the next place his Body *Stunk* so extreamly within a few hours after his Death, notwithstanding the Coldness of the Season, that People about him were extreamly offended with the Smell; which is a thing very extraordinary, in one of his strong and healthy Constitution; and is not a proper consequent of a meer *Apoplectical* Distemper. There was also some weight laid upon an accident that fell out at *Windsor* some years before his Death: For the King drinking more liberally than usual, after the fatigue of Riding, he retir'd to the next Room, and wrapping himself up in his Cloak, fell asleep upon a Couch. He was but a little time come back to his Company, when a Servant belonging to one of them, lay down upon the same Couch *in the King's Cloak, and was found stabb'd dead with a Ponyard*; nor was it ever known how it happen'd, but the matter was hush'd up and no enquiry made about it. To conclude, Dr Short, who was a Man of great Probability

A narrow escape at

Windsor.

Dr Short's Opinion.

A. D.

1684.

*Arguments
for his not
being poy-
son'd.*

bity and Learning, and a Roman Catholick, made no scruple to declare his Opinion to some of his intimate Friends, *That he believ'd King Charles had foul Play done him.* And when he came to dye himself, express'd some suspicion, that he had met with the same Treatment, *for opening his mind too freely on that point.*

So much for the Circumstances of King Charles's Death, that seem'd to have an ill aspect. There are others that seem to destroy all Suspicions of Treachery in the matter. As first, that he had liv'd so fast, as in a great measure might enervate the natural Force of his Constitution, and exhaust his Animal Spirits; and therefore he might be more subject to an *Apoplexy*, which is a Disease that weakens and locks up these Spirits from performing their usual Functions. And tho' in his later years he had given up himself more to the Pleasures of Wine than of Women, that might rather be the Effect of Age than of Choice. Next, it's known he had been once or twice attack'd before, with Fits that resembled those of which he afterwards dy'd; and yet, as the manner of them is told, they look more like Convulsive motions than an Apoplexy. Again, there might be another natural Cause assign'd for King Charles's falling into such a Fit as that of which he dyed, which is this: He had for some time an *Issue* in his Leg, which run much, and consequently must have made a great Revulsion from his Head, upon which account it was probable it was made. A few weeks before his Death he had let it be dryed up, contrary to the advice of his Physicians, who told him it would prejudice his Health. Their Prognostick was partly true in this, that there came a painful *Tumour* upon the place where the Issue had been, which prov'd very obstinate, and was not thoroughly heal'd up when he dy'd. In fine, it is agreed on all hands, that King Charles express'd no suspicion of being Poyson'd, during all the time of his Sickneſs, nor was any thing to be seen upon opening his Body, that could reasonably be attributed to the Force of Poyson. Yet to allow these Considerations no more Weight than they can well bear, this must be acknowledg'd, that there are *Poysons* which originally affect the *Animal* Spirits, and are of so subtle a Nature, that they leave no concluding marks upon the Bodies of those they kill.

*His Marri-
age and Na-
ture of Issue.*

He married *Donna Catherina, Infanta of Portugal*, but he never had Issue by her, a Misfortune not to him alone,

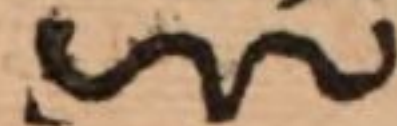
alone, but the whole Nation. Natural Children he had several by divers Mistresses, which I find thus expressed, in an Author that pretends to much exactness;

viz. By Mrs *Lucy Walters* alias *Barlow*, *James Scot* created Duke of *Monmouth*. By the Lady *Boyle*, Viscountess *Shanon* *Charlotte*, who married for her second Husband, *William* Son and Heir Apparent of *Robert Lord Paston*, afterwards Earl of *Yarmouth*. By Mistress *Catherine Pegge*, *Charles Fitz Charles*, commonly call'd *Don Carlos*, created Earl of *Plymouth*. By *Barbara* Countess of *Castlemain*, afterwards created Dutchess of *Cleaveland*, *Charles Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Southampton*; *Henry Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Grafton*; *George Fitz Roy*, created Duke of *Northumberland*; and *Charlotte*, married to Sir *Edward Henry Lee* Earl of *Litchfield*. By Mistress *Hellen Guynne*, *Charles Beauclere*, created Duke of *St Albans*, and another Son nam'd *James*, who dy'd young. By *Louise de Queroualle*, a French Lady, created Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, *Charles Lenox*, created Duke of *Richmond*. By Mrs *Mary Davis*, *Mary Tudor*, married to *Edward*, Son and Heir Apparent to Sir *Francis Rateliff* Earl of *Darwentwater*.

His Death
and Burial.

King *Charles* the Second dy'd the sixth day of *February* 1684, in the fifty fifth year of his Age, in the beginning of the thirty seventh year of his Reign, and was buried privately on the fourteenth of *February*, about ten of the Clock in the Night, in a Vault under the East end of the South Isle, in King *Henry* the Seventh's Chappel at *Westminster*: The Office of Burial being perform'd by Doctor *Sprat*, Dean of *Westminster* and Bishop of *Rocheſter*.

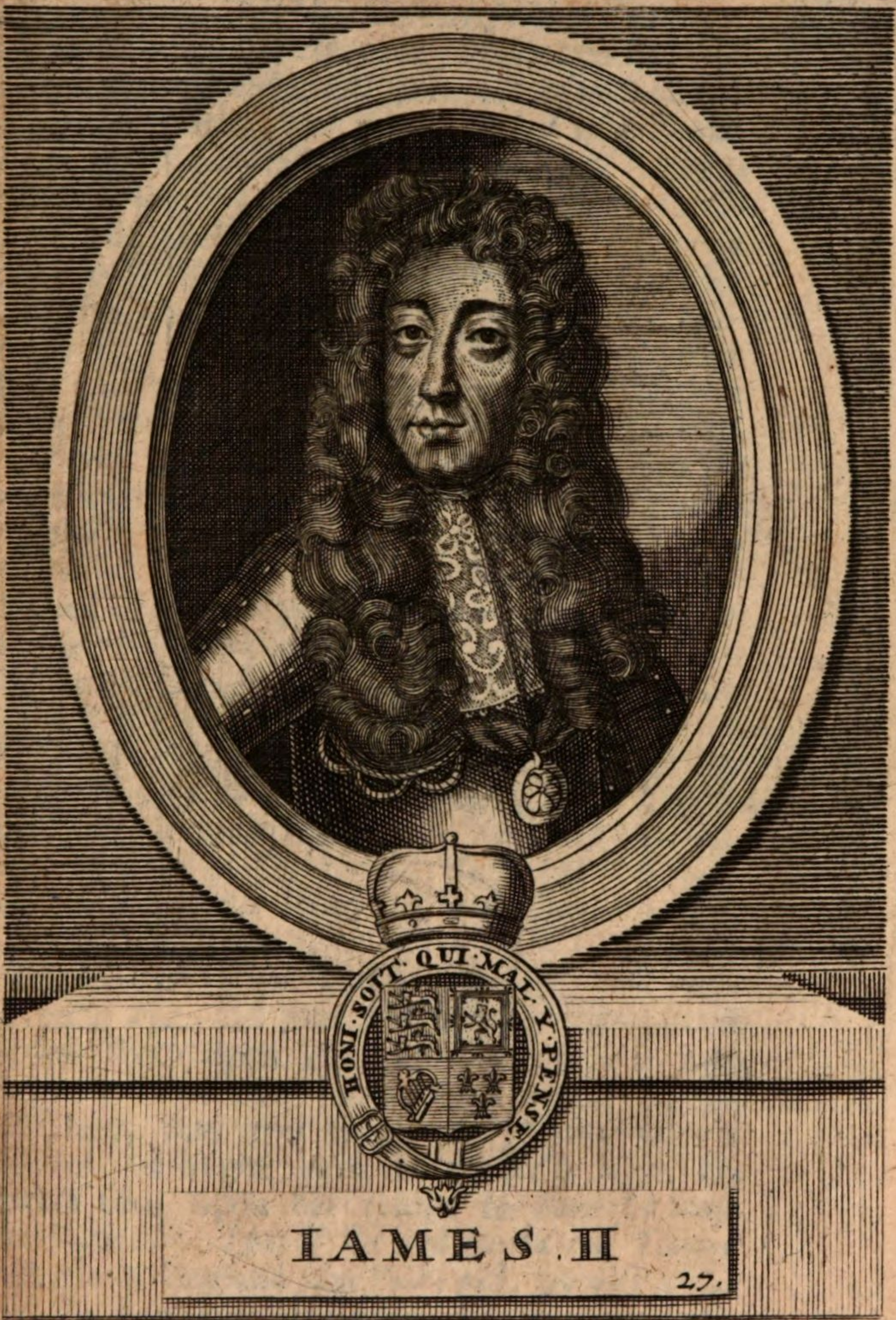
THE
LIFE and REIGN
OF
King JAMES II.
Till his Abdication.

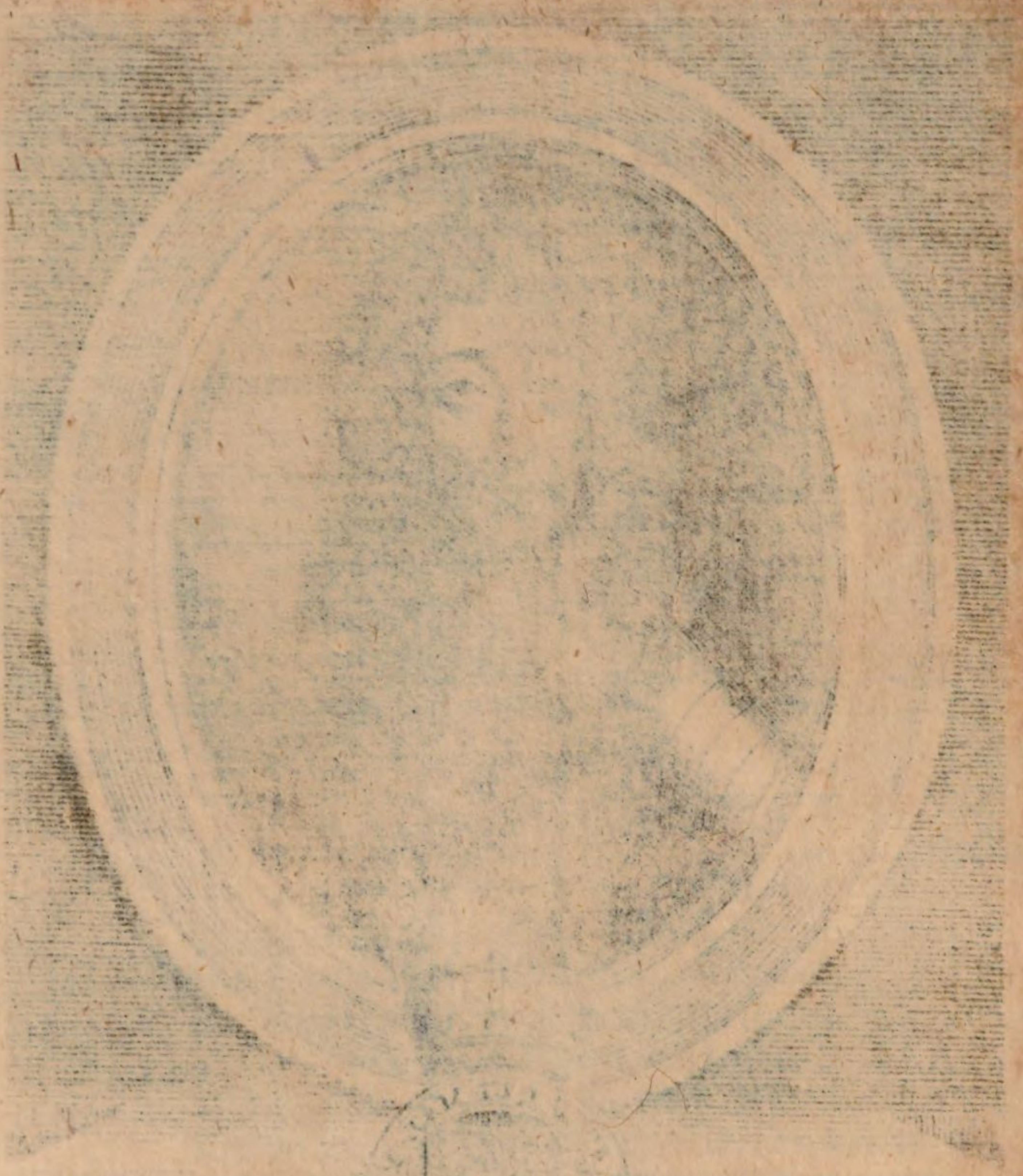
A D.
1685.


Immediately after the Death of King Charles the Second, James Duke of York, second Son of King Charles the First, ascended the Throne by the Name of King James the Second, and suddenly after was proclaim'd King in London, Westminster, and throughout the whole Kingdom. All the former Heats and Animosities against him, and even the very Memory of a Bill of Exclusion seem'd to be now buried in Oblivion, amidst the loud Acclamations of his People, at his Accession to the Crown. The same day his Brother dy'd, King James declar'd in Council, *That since it pleas'd God to place him in that Station, to succeed so Good and Gracious a King, as well as so kind a Brother, that he thought fit to tell them, that he would make it his utmost endeavour to follow his Brother's Example, more especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness of his People, and to preserve the Government both in Church and State, as it was by Law Establish'd; and thereupon took occasion to commend the Principles and Members of the Church of England, and said the Laws of the Land are sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he can wish to be, and therefore, as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any Man's Property.*

The King
goes to Mass.

The next Sunday after his Brother's Death, he went publickly to Mass in St James's Chappel, openly declaring





JAMES H

clearing himself a Papist now, tho' some Men had been severely handl'd in his Brother's Reign, for saying he was of that Perswasion. All Men Discours'd this Affair according to their own Inclination; some commended him for not *dissembling* his Religion, others said that it was impolitickly done, that if he intended to advance the *Roman* Superstition beyond the Confines of his own Chappel, he was treading the Steps that would certainly terminate in his own Ruin; that he had met with too many occasions to understand the *Genius* of the People he was to govern, and that it was wholly impracticable to overturn the establish'd Religion, or to introduce a new one, for he had wrestl'd through a great many Difficulties upon the account of his own being a *Papist*. He could not but have a true value for his Brother's great Parts and Abilities, and be acquainted with the Arts, by which he gain'd and preserv'd the Affections of his People, notwithstanding all the Hardships he had sometimes put upon them: And he had seen how fearful and averse he had been to push things too far, or to drive his Subjects to Extremities. He had before him the dreadful example of a Father, who, tho he was a strict Protestant, yet upon a false Suspicion of having a Design to introduce Popery, was sent to his Grave by an untimely death. He had been acquainted abroad with *Christiana* the Queen of *Sweden*, a Princess late fam'd for Parts and Learning, who resign'd her Crown, apprehending she might be divested of it for embracing the *Romish* Religion, by those very Subjects that had held her before in the greatest Veneration, both upon her own account, and that of a Father, who had rais'd them to the highest pitch of Glory, that ever the *Swedish* Nation arriv'd to. Besides, he might have remember'd what his Mother said, upon her return to *Somerset-house* after the *Restoration*, That if she had known the Temper of the People of England some Years past, as well as she did then, she had never been oblig'd to leave that House. But the History of his Ancestors might have more fully inform'd him, that those that grasp'd at *Immoderate* Power, or a *Prerogative* above the Law, were always unfortunate, and their Reigns inglorious.

But King *James*, in all probability, had other Sentiments put into his Head, and that he might, with much more ease and safety than Queen *Mary*, overturn the

*Danger in
altering Reli-
gion.*

A. D.

1685.



A Proclamation for
levying the
Customs.

Oates's
Sentence
and Sufferings.

the Establish'd Religion, and set up *Popery* in the room of it; and to that purpose, made every day one Step or other to shew whither he was going, and expected be follow'd, by all that intended to have any share in his Favours. Therefore before his Brother's Ashes were cold in his Grave, he caused it to be publish'd and attested by Father *Huddleston*, that he dyed in the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, and printed it with the Papers taken out of his Brothers *Strong Box*; shewing, that tho he outwardly pretended otherwise in his Life, yet in his Heart he was truly a *Roman Catholic*, and left his Reasons for it behind him. This could never be thought maintaining the Church of *England*, no more than his publishing a Proclamation for levying that part of the *Customs*, that had been granted to his Brother only for Life, and expired at his Death, was an Argument he would preserve the Subjects in their Rights and Properties; so that the two great things he promis'd in his Speech to the *Council*, were the first things in which he broke his word; for levying Money without consent of his People in Parliament, was an open Violation of our fundamental Constitution, and could have no other design, but to shew that he intended to govern *arbitrarily*; for otherwise it was needless at that time, since a Parliament was to meet within a few days, which no body doubted would, in a Parliamentary way, continue the same Customs for his Life, as they had been for his Brother's.

In the close of the late Reign, two Bills of Indictment for *Perjury* were preferr'd against *Titus Oates*, to which he pleading Not Guilty, the Issues were to be try'd at *Westminster* the Term following, where now he was found Guilty of *Perjury* upon both Indictments, and Sentenc'd to be Whipp'd from Aldgate to Newgate the next Wednesday after, and the Friday following, but one day between, from Newgate to Tyburn: Which was executed with the utmost Severity, the Stripes of the first Whipping being so sore and green upon the second, that it was intolerable to see, much more to suffer; and to this was added in the Sentence, That he should stand in the Pillory five times in the Year, and remain a Prisoner during Life.

His Majesty being solemnly crown'd the 23d of April at *Westminster*, he issu'd out Writs for the sitting of a Parliament on May the 22d; to whom, after having repeated the same things he had spoken to the

Coun^{ts}

Council before, he proceeded to tell them, That after having given them such assurances, he could not doubt of a suitable return on their part, and particularly in what related to settling his Revenue, as it was in his Brother's time, for which he might use many Arguments to enforce his Demands, for the benefit of Trade, Supply of the Navy, the necessity of the Crown, and the well being of the Government, which he would not suffer to be Precarious; that he foresaw a Popular Argument, which would be us'd against what he ask'd, from the inclinations Men had for frequent Parliaments, which some would think might be best secur'd, by feeding him from time to time, by such Proportions as they should think convenient; and this being the first time he spoke to them from the Throne, he would answer it once for all, that that would be a very improper method to take with him; but on the contrary, the best way to engage him to meet them often, was to use him always well; and therefore expected a speedy compliance with his Demands now, that he might meet them again to all their Satisfaction. The Parliament were resolv'd to try his good Nature, and shew how much they depend upon a Royal Promise from the Throne; therefore, besides their settling the Customs and Temporary Excise upon him, as they were before upon his Brother, they laid as many new Impositions upon the People, as reckoning his Revenue when he was Duke of York, amounted to Two Millions Five hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds per Annum; which was three times more than any King of England ever had, except his Brother and Henry the Eighth. In the close of the King's Speech, he acquainted the Parliament with the Earl of Argyle's landing in Scotland, and threaten'd to reward his Treason as it deserv'd: And the Parliament, unwilling to give the King any just Cause of Distaste, they Resolv'd by an Unanimous Vote, To assist him with their Lives and Fortunes against the Earl of Argyle, and all others his Enemies whatsoever. The Bills for settling his Revenue being presented to him for the Royal assent, he made them another memorable Speech, wherein he gave them Thanks; and in the end told them, He could not express his concern upon that occasion more suitable to his own thoughts of it, than by assuring them he had a true English Heart, as jealous of the Honour of the Nation as theirs could be; and that he pleas'd himself with the hopes, that by God's Blessing and the Parliaments Assistance, he might carry the Reputation

The King's
Speech to
the Parlia-
ment.

His Annual
Revenue.

A. D. of it *Higher in the World than ever it had been in the time of any of his Ancestors.*

1685.

*Argyle
beheaded
at Edin-
burgh.*

The Fate of the Earl of *Argyle* is the next thing in view, who being thought to be betray'd, after several Marches and Counter-marches, his Men were at length led into a boggy sort of Place, on pretence of bringing them out of the reach of the King's Army, then at the Heels of them; where they all lost one another, dispers'd and shifted for themselves. The Earl himself being taken by a Countryman and brought to *Edinburgh*, was there put to death on the thirtieth of *June 1685*. This Attempt of the Earl of *Argyle* was but like Thunder afar off, to what after happen'd in the West of *England*.

*Mon-
mouth
landed at
Lyme.*

For the Duke of *Monmouth*, sufficiently stunn'd with the unexpected News of the Death of King *Charles*, having enter'd into a League with the Earl of *Argyle*, putting great Confidence in his own Courage, and a vain Assurance of a popular Affection and Assistance, bore himself up against all pretended Difficulties, and with three small Ships, and between threescore and fourscore Men, landed about the 12th of *June* at *Lyme* in the West of *England*, while the Parliament was sitting: A *Romantic* kind of *Invasion*, and scarce parallell'd in History; yet with this handful of Men, and afterward with the common People that join'd him, without Arms, Provisions, Martial Discipline, Money, or any one place to retire to in case of Accidents, did this Brave unfortunate Man bid fair for a *Crown*: He landed, as was said before, at *Lyme* in *Dorsetshire*, where he increas'd his number to One hundred and fifty, from thence he march'd to *Taunton*, where he was proclaim'd King, and Men flock'd to him, and Listed under him as fast as if he had already been Master of the whole Country. After staying there a while, he marched in some kind of Order to *Bridgwater*, still increasing his Numbers; from thence to *Bath*, where he was denied Entrance, the Train'd Bands still flying two days march before him, by Order from the Court, to give pretence to the King to raise more Forces. At *Philips Norton*, by a Surprise or Ambush, he cut off the best part of a Troop of Horse, the Duke of *Grafton* narrowly escaping with his Life. With this success he march'd within two Miles of *Bristol*, where a Consult being held, he was advis'd not to enter that City, but to retreat back to *Bridg-*

Bridgwater; which was the first thing that dishearten'd his Party, and hinder'd many from joining with him: Whereas if he had enter'd *Bristol*, where there was no Force to oppose him but the Train'd Bands, and the Generality of them for him, not only in their Hearts, but in open Discourses and drinking his Health, he might have furnish'd himself with Men, Arms and Money, to have enabl'd him to march into *Gloucestershire* among the Clothiers, where great numbers, and some of Quality, waited to join him, and by this means might have kept up the War till he had shak'd King *James's* Throne, if not overturn'd it.

*Committed
a great
Error.*

When King *James* came to the Crown, the Prince of *Orange* try'd all possible means to cultivate a sincere Friendship with him, and to perswade him to enter into such measures, as might tend to the Common safety of *Europe*, and the Happiness of *England*, which if King *James* had given Ear to, would have preserv'd the Crown upon his Head: And so cautious was he of giving him no reasonable ground of Complaint, that tho in King *Charles's* time he had given the Duke of *Monmouth* a generous Welcom! yet as soon as he knew that unhappy Gentleman had invaded *England*, and was proclaim'd King, he offer'd himself to come over in Person to King *James's* assistance, and with all Expedition sent him the *English* and *Scotch* Troops that were then in the Service of the *States*; but the Prince's kindness was refus'd, as incompatible with his future Designs.

*The Prince
of Orange
offers King
James his
Service*

*Which the
King re-
fuses.*

In this time the King had sent an Army into the *West* against *Monmouth*, under the Command of the Earl of *Feverham* as General, who incamp'd upon *Sedgmore*, not far from *Bridgwater*, where the Duke of *Monmouth* and his Party were quarter'd; and the Duke seeing his Men daily desert in great Numbers, it was agreed to make one Push for all, and to that purpose issued out of *Bridgwater* by Night; but his Guide mistaking his way in the Dark, the Duke's Ill Fate led him upon a Battalion of *Dumbarton's* Regiment, plac'd in his way; who encountering him, Alarm'd King *James's* whole Army, with whom engaging, he was Routed; or in all probability he had surpriz'd the King's Army in their Camp, and, perhaps at that single Blow, decided the Fortune of *England* for once. Yet however, tho he came too soon, before matters were ripe, by King *James's* setting up for the open Establishment of *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power*, yet he

*Mon-
mouth's
Party rout-
ed.*

A. D. 1685. *Monmouth beheaded.* may be said to have pav'd the Way for a *Nobler Change in the Throne*, by leaving King *James* at Liberty through this success, to act without Controul, which at length made him abdicate the Government. *Monmouth* paid the Price of his Rebellion with his Blood, being on the 15th of *July*, 1685. beheaded on *Tower-Hill*, by virtue of an *Attainder* pass'd upon him in Parliament soon after his Landing.

This unhappy Gentleman seem'd to be born for a better Fate ; for the first part of his Life was all Sunshine, tho' the rest was Clouded. He was Brave, Generous and extreamly Handsome : Constant in his Friendship, just to his Word, and an utter Enemy to all sorts of Cruelty. He was ('tis true) easy in his Nature and too fond of Popular Applause, and those overweenings led him insensibly into all his Misfortunes : But whatever might be the hidden Designs of some Working Heads he embark'd with, his own were Noble, and chiefly aim'd at the good of his Country, tho' he was mistaken in the means to obtain it. Ambitious he was, but not to the Degree of aspiring to the Crown, till after his Landing in the West, and then he was trick'd into assuming the Title of King, by a twofold end in those that were about him. Some perswaded him to it, with design to render the Breach betwixt King *James* and him irreconcilable, and thereby gave way for a Commonwealth, in playing them against one another. Others did it to prevent a Possibility of his being reconcil'd to King *James*, by the Merit of delivering up those that follow'd him ; which was a Thought unworthy of the Sincerity he had shewn in the former Conduct of his Life. In short, he was unhappy in his Education, and as soon as he began to repair that Defect, by applying himself to Study in his Retirement, he was drawn into a Conspiracy which brought him to his Death, which he suffer'd him a Constancy and Tranquility of mind becoming his Character.

Cruel Executions in the West.

But the Issue of Blood stopp'd not in *Monmouth's* single Person, for the Executions that follow'd were as *Cruel and Barbarous*, as ever happen'd in any Age, considering the Inability of the poor Creatures to do any further Mischiefs. The first that fell under the Lord Chief Justice *Jefferies* Rage, was Mrs *Alicia Lisle*, a Woman of extream Age, who being try'd at *Winchester* for concealing Mr *Hicks* a Non-conformist Minister, Brother to Dean *Hicks* of *Worcester*, and *Richard Nel-*
throp ;

throp; the latter being a Stranger, and the former in no *Proclamation*, the Jury brought her in three times *Not Guilty*; but at last *Jefferies's* Threats so far prevail'd, that she was found Guilty of High Treason, and Beheaded for it. But not to enter into particulars, *Jefferies* caus'd twenty nine to be Executed at *Dorchester*, near as many at *Exeter*, and at *Taunton* and *Wells*, where he finish'd his Campaign, he condemn'd above 500 persons, whereof 239 were Executed, and their Quarters set up in the principal Places and Roads of the Country, to the great annoyance of Passengers. *Jefferies* also took the liberty to reprove some Persons *The Petce o* that had *Money*, and procur'd their Pardons afterward. *a Pardon.* From one Man he had the Conscience to take 14500 *Pounds* to save him, with which he bought a fine Estate; but those poor Wretches that could not purchase their Pardons at this Judge's rates, were sold for Slaves into the *American* Plantations.

Nor was Judge *Jefferies* the only Person that fluc'd out streams of Blood from these miserable Creatures; but Collonel *Kirk* also play'd the Butcher among them; for when after the Defeat he came to *Taunton*, he caus'd Ninety wounded Men to be hang'd there, with Pipes playing, Drums beating and Trumpets sounding, making sport at their Executions, and after boyl'd their Quarters in *Pitch*, and set them up in several parts of the Town, when he had burnt their Bowels. Afterward being accus'd of this Cruelty, he positively affirm'd, *he did nothing in it but by order from the General.*

In *October*, Mr *Cornish*, an Eminent Merchant, and Mr *Corwell* belov'd in *London*, was committed close Prisoner into *Newgate*, and about a Week after was Try'd *Executed.* upon an Indictment of High Treason; for that in the year 1682, he had promis'd to assist in a Rebellion against Charles the Second. The only Witness against this Gentleman was Collonel *Rumsey*, who was now grown a stanch Evidence to save his own Life; as for what *Richard Goodenough* depos'd, tho malicious enough, it did not affect him: However, the *Worthy Citizen* was Condemn'd and Executed; and much lamented, as a Man that suffer'd unjustly: For Mr *Shepherd*, who was *Subpena'd* as a Witness for the King, swore he was not there when *Ferguson* read the Declaration.

Soon after the Duke of *Monmouth* was Beheaded, *George Speak*, *Francis Charleton*, *John Wildman*, Esqs; Collonel *Danvers*, and *John Trenchard* Esq; were

A. D.
1685.

summon'd by Proclamation to appear, as being suspected of carrying on Traiterous Conspiracies against the King; but they kept close: However, the Earl of *Stamford*, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard*, and the Lord *Delamere* were taken and committed to the *Tower*: And to conclude this Story, tho somewhat out of time, the Lord *Brandon Gerrard* was Try'd at the *King's-Bench Bar*, *Novemb. 26.* for endeavouring to raise Rebellion and depose *Charles the Second*, and being found Guilty, was condemn'd to Dye; but afterwards he found means to procure his Pardon. *Charles Bateman*, a Chyrurgeon, was condemn'd and executed for the same Treason, which was thought a Branch of the *Meal-Tub-Plot*. *December* the 30th, *John Hambden* Esquire, was arraign'd at the *Old Baily*, for the same *Meal-Tub Treason* as *Bateman*, and pleading Guilty, the Sentence of Death was immediately pass'd upon him, but after pardon'd. The Lord *Delamere* being try'd by his Peers, Chancellor *Jefferies* being Lord High Steward, upon an Indictment of *High Treason*, for conspiring to raise a Rebellion against *James the Second*, was acquitted by his Peers, it manifestly appearing upon the Tryal, that *Thomas Saxton*, a Witness against his Lordship, was perjur'd. For which being afterwards Indicted, he was punish'd according to Law. The Earl of *Stamford*, upon bringing his *Habeas Corpus* was admitted to Bail, and in the beginning of the Year 1686 he was Pardon'd, and his Bail discharg'd. About the beginning of *March* came out a *General Pardon*, but it was so Abstruse, Intricate and full of *Exceptions*, that none had Benefit by it, but those that never offended.

Closeting.

Before the Attempt of the Duke of *Monmouth*, King *James* began to closet Men, and by fair Words and large Promises endeavour'd to allure them to comply with his Intentions, in establishing *Popery*, but still touch'd the point very gently; for he had not yet forgot that his Brother almost at his last Breath advis'd him, not to think of introducing *Popery* into England, It being a thing that was most dangerous and impracticable. It was also still in his Memory, that the late *Don Pedro Ronquillo* the *Spanish* Ambassador, at his first Audience after the Death of King *Charles*, having ask'd leave to speak his mind freely upon that occasion, made bold to tell him, that he saw several Priests about him, that he knew would importune him to alter the establish'd Religion in England; but he desir'd his Majesty would not give

Good Adv.
vice given
the King.

Ear

Ear to their Advice; for if he did, he was afraid his Majesty would have reason to repent it when it was too late. A. D. 1686.

A credible Author * tells us, that King James took Ill the freedom of the Spanish Ambassador, and ask'd him in Passion, *Whether in Spain they did not advise with their Confessors? Yes Sir, answer'd Ronquillo, we do, and that's the reason our Affairs go so ill.* The same Historian Puffendorf does likewise inform us, but does not tell us upon what occasion, that Pope Innocent the XI. writ a Letter to King James upon his Accession to the Crown, to this purpose, *That he was highly pleas'd with his Majesty's Zeal for the Catholick Religion; but he was afraid his Majesty might push it too far, and instead of contributing to his own Greatness, and to the advancement of the Catholick Church, he might come to do it and himself the greatest Prejudice, by attempting that which his Holiness was well assur'd by long experience, could not succeed.* These things prevail'd a while with King James, to moderate his Passion for the *Romish Cause*; but when the Storm that *Monmouth* rais'd was blown over, he thought it time to cast off the Mask, and to act without Disguise, what till then he had in some part endeavour'd to dissemble. This Parliament had express'd a more than ordinary Zeal in *Attainting Monmouth*, and had readily granted a competent Supply to suppress that Rebellion. Not only so, but to signify the Confidence they had in his Promises, the House of Commons pass'd a Vote, *Nemine contradicente, That they did acquiesce, and Intirely rely, and rest wholly satisfied on his Majesty's gracious Word and repeated Declarations, to support and defend the Religion of the Church of England, as it is now by Law establish'd, which was dearer to them than their lives.* So that they had reason to expect some suitable Returns to all this Kindness and Confidence on their sides, but they were mistaken: For King James began to talk to them in a far different Strain than he had done before. And in another Speech from the Throne, gave them to understand by a plain Insinuation, that he was now Master, and that for the future they must be govern'd, not by the known Laws of the Land, but by his own sole Will and Pleasure.

*He casts off
the Mask.*

No part of the *English Constitution* was better secur'd by Law, than that by which Papists were declar'd incapable of Places of Trust, either Civil or Military in the Government: And he himself (when Duke of York) was forc'd by the *Test Act*, to lay down his Office of

A. D.

1686.

*Another
Speech in
another
strain.*

Lord High Admiral, even at a time when he had not publickly own'd his Reconciliation to the Church of Rome: But now he did what lay in his power to break down this Barrier, and in a Speech to his Parliament, told them, *That after the Storm that seem'd to be coming when he parted from them last, he was glad to meet them again in so great Peace and Quietness. But when he reflected what an inconsiderable number of Men began the late Rebellion, and how long they carried it without any opposition, he hop'd every body was convinc'd, that the Militia was not sufficient for such occasions, and that nothing but a good Force of Disciplin'd Troops was sufficient to Defend us from Insults at home and abroad: And therefore he had increas'd the number of standing Forces to what they were; and demanded a Supply to support the Charge of them, which he did not doubt but they would comply with. Then, as the main end of his Speech, and to let them know what he was positively resolv'd to do, he added, Let no Man take Exceptions that there are some Officers in the Army, not qualified according to the late Test for their Employment: The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most of them well known to me, and having formerly serv'd me on several occasions, and always approv'd the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I now think them fit to be employ'd under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their Services in such a time of Need and Danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor myself to the want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary unto me; and at last he tells them, That he was afraid some may hope, that a Difference might happen between him and his Parliament on that occasion, which he cannot apprehend can befall him, or that any thing can shake them in their Loyalties to him, who will ever make all returns of Kindness and Protection, and venture his Life in the Defence of the true Interest of the Nation.*

*The Parlia-
ments Ad-
dress.*

It is no wonder that this Speech surpriz'd a People, who valu'd themselves so much upon their Liberties, and thought themselves secure of them, both from the Constitution of the Government, and the solemn repeated Promises of their Prince. They found too late, that their Fears in the Former Reign of a Popish Successor, were too well grounded, and how inconsistent a Roman Catholick King is to a Protestant Kingdom. The House of Lords debated, whether they should give the King Thanks for his Speech or not: Some of their Lordships

were

were for it, others very hotly oppos'd it, but the Marquis of *Hallifax* said, *They had now more reason than ever to do it, since the King had dealt so plainly with them, and discover'd what he would be at,* and accordingly gave him Thanks; but the Commons debated his Speech Paragraph by Paragraph, and at last in humble manner represented the Inconvenience that might attend such measures, at least to render him inexcusable for what might ensue; and that they might not be wanting to themselves and their Posterity, they voted an Address, wherein they told the King, *That they had with all Duty and Readiness, taken into Consideration his Majesty's Gracious Speech, and as to that part of it, relating to the Officers unqualified for their Employments, according to the Act of Parliament, they did out of their Bounden Duty, humbly represent to his Majesty, that these Officers, by Law, could not be capable of their Employments, and that the Incapacities they bring upon themselves that way, could no ways be taken off but by an Act of Parliament, therefore out of that great Reverence and Duty they ow'd to his Majesty, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the Inconveniency they had now incurr'd. And because the continuing them in their Employments may be taken to be a Dispensing with Law, without an Act of Parliament, the consequence of which was of the greatest concern to the Rights of all his Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the security of their Religion; therefore they most humbly beseech his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleas'd to give such Directions therein, that no Apprehensions or Jealousies might remain in the Hearts of his Subjects.*

Over and above what was contain'd in this Address, the House of Commons were willing to Capacitate by an Act of Parliament, such a number of the Roman Catholick Officers, as King James should give a List of; but both this Offer and the Address were highly resented; and notwithstanding that they were preparing a Bill for a considerable Supply, to answer his extraordinary Occasions, and had sent one of their Members to the Tower for speaking indecently of his Speech, King James was influenc'd by the Popish Party about him, to dissolve and part with his first and only Parliament, upon the fourth day after they presented their Address. *The Parli-* To which I shall only add, that the Revocation of the *most dis-* *Edict of Nants* (in favour of the French Protestants) *solved.* which probably had been some time before under consideration,

A. D. sideration, was now put in Execution to the Astonish-
 1686. ment of all *Europe*.

*Affairs in
 Ireland.*

*Fitton's
 Qualificati-
 ons.*

Now tho' things were transacted hitherto in the dark in *England*, yet the *Popish* Designs from the very beginning of this Reign appear'd bare-fac'd in *Ireland*. The Earl of *Clarendon* was remov'd from the Office of Privy Seal, and the Government of *Ireland*, to make room for the Earl of *Arundel* in the former, and for Collonel *Richard Talbot*, a Man of all others most hated by the *English* Protestants, to model the Army in *Ireland*, who was no sooner invested in this Office, but he prosecuted it in such a manner, as might best be expected from a Man of so insolent a temper, exercising at the same time so much *Barbarity* and *Falshood*, that if the Army had not been the best principled with Loyalty and Obedience in the World, they had either mutinied, or at least sent him into another World. At King *James's* Accession to the Crown, the Army of *Ireland* consisted of about seven thousand men, all Protestants and Zealous in his Service, which were all turn'd out, and the whole Army made up of Papists, most of them Descendants or near Relations of those that when attainted for the Rebellion in 1641, or others that had distinguish'd themselves since that time, by their notorious Villanies and implacable Hatred to the *English* and Protestant Interest. Now the Protestant Sir *Charles Porter*, Chancellor, and the Judges were turned out, and the *Great Seal* was given to Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a Person convicted of *Forgery* in *Westminster-Hall* and at *Chester*, and fined for it by the Lords in Parliament. This Man was taken out of the *King's Bench Prison* to discharge the Office of *Lord High Chancellor*, who had no other Qualities to recommend him, but his being a Convert to the *Romish Church*, and a *Renegado* to his Religion and Country. To him were added as Masters in Chancery one *Stafford* a *Popish Priest*, and *O Neale*, the Son of one of the most notorious Murderers in the Massacre of 1641. One *Nugent*, whose Father had lost his Honour and Estate, for being a Principal Actor in the same Rebellion, was made Chief Justice of the *King's Bench*. One *Rice*, a profligate Fellow, was made Lord Chief Baron of the *Exchequer*, before whom all the Charters in the Kingdom were made void in a Term or two; insomuch that the Learned Prelate Dr *King* says, that if this Judge had been let alone, it was believ'd, that in a few years, he would, by some contrivance or other,

other, have given away most of the Protestants Estates in Ireland, without troubling a Parliament to Attaint them. A Protestant Chief Justice was continued in the *Common Pleas*, but was cramp't with two others of their own, that might out-vote him upon occasion.

Collonel Richard Talbot, for his good Service in Re-forming the Army, was made *Earl of Tyrconnel*, and afterwards at the request of the *Popish Clergy*, Lieutenant of Ireland; and now the Papists there carry'd all things before them, and the Protestants were not only oppress'd, but render'd Infamous; for their Lord Chancellor had said upon the Bench and other Occasions, *That the Protestants were all Rogues, and that among forty thousand of them, there was not one that was not a Traytor, a Rebel and a Villain.* The Privy Council in Ireland, which is a great part of the Constitution, was likewise so modell'd, that the Papists made the Majority, and those few that were Protestants, chose for the most part to decline appearing at the Board, since they could do those of their Religion no Service. The only great Nursery of Learning in Ireland is the University of *Dublin*, consisting of a *Provost*, seven *Senior*, and nine *Junior* Fellows, and seventy Scholars, who are partly maintained by a yearly Salary out of the Exchequer. This Salary *Tyrconnel* stop't, for their not admitting into a Vacant Fellowship, contrary to their Oaths, a Vicious Ignorant Fellow, who was a new Convert: Nor could he ever be prevail'd with to remove the stop, and so in effect dissolv'd the Foundation, and shut up the Fountain of Learning and Religion.

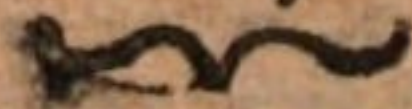
Further, to try how the Pulse of England would beat, and how they resented these Proceedings, King James began to raise the Superstructure of Arbitrary Power in Scotland; upon the Foundation he had laid, when he was Commissioner there for his Brother. Here he reap'd a full Harvest of his hopes, and scarce left the least remains of Antient Liberty in that Kingdom. Their Miseries were all summ'd up in one new Coin'd Word, which was us'd in all the King's Declarations, which was this, *That his Subjects were oblig'd to Obey him without Reserve*, which fully express'd their absolute Slavery; and to give this Project the greater force, the following Oath was impos'd upon them. *You shall swear to the utmost of your Power, to Defend, Assist and Maintain the King and his Successors, in the Exercise of their Absolute Power.* Here he published his Declaration

A. D.
1686.Talbot
made Earl
of Tyr-
connel.

1687

A. D.

1687.



tion of *Liberty of Conscience*, and what was call'd *Dispensing with Laws in England*, was explain'd in *Scotland* under their proper terms of *Annulling and Disabling Laws*; and having called a Parliament there in April 1686, recommended his *Innocent Roman Catholick Subjects* to their special care, that they might enjoy the same Protection and Security under his Government, as the rest of his Subjects had, and not suffer them to lye under obligations, which their Religion cannot admit of.

Danger-
field whipt
and kill'd.

But to return to *England*. *Dangerfield* in his Depositions before the Parliament 1680, had discovered that he was employ'd by the *Popish Party* to kill the King, and was promis'd Impunity and a Reward, part of which he had received from the Duke of *York*; for which in *Trinity Term*, 1685. he was tryed in *Westminster-Hall*, upon a *Scandalum Magnatum*, was found Guilty, and sentenc'd to be whipt from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*. In his return from whipping, being in a Coach, he had reproachful words given him, and was wounded in the Eye with the Iron at the end of a Cane, by one Mr *Robert Francis*, of which Wound, with the pain of his Whipping, *Dangerfield* dyed soon after, and *Francis* was Executed for Killing him: Tho it is still a question whether he dyed of the Wound, or by the severity of his Whipping. The Discovery that *Dangerfield* made, was that which was then call'd the *Meal-Tub Plot*, which was to have thrown the *Popish Plot* upon the *Presbyterians*. His Information was order'd to be printed by the House of Commons on November 10th, 1680, and afterwards their Speaker Mr *Williams* was fined ten thousand pounds for Licencing (tho by Order of the House of Commons) to be Printed, but came off upon paying 8000 l. The same Term or the next, Mr *Samuel Johnson*, a Man of Good Life and Learning, was Sentenc'd by the Court of *Kings Bench*, Sir *Edward Herbert* being Chief Justice, to stand three times in the *Pillory*, and be Whipp'd from *Newgate* to *Tyburn*, which was severely Executed upon him, for doing a seasonable piece of service, in making the following Address to the *English Protestants* in King *James's Army*.

Mr Speaker
Williams
Fined.

Mr John-
son's Ad-
dress to the
Army.

Gentlemen,
Next to the Duty we owe to God, which ought to be the Principal Care of Men of your Profession, which carry your Lives in your Hands, and often look Death in the Face, is the service of your Native Country, wherein you drew

your

Your first Breaths, and breathe a Free English Air. Now I desire you to consider, how you will comply with these two main Points by engaging in the Present Service. Is it in the Name of God for his Service, that you have join'd your selves with Papists? Who indeed must fight for the Mass-Book, but will burn the Bible, and who seek to extirpate the Protestant Religion with your Swords, because they cannot do it with their own. And will you be aiding and assisting to set up Mass-Houses, to erect that Kingdom of Darkness and Desolation amongst us, and to train up all our Children in Popery! How can you do these things and call your selves Protestants.

What service can you do your Country, by being under the Command of French and Irish Papists, and by bringing the Nation under a Foreign Yoke; Will you help them to make forcible entry into the Houses of your Countrymen, under the name of Quartering, contrary to Magna Charta and Petition of Right? Will you be aiding and assisting to all the Murder and Outrages, which they shall commit by their void Commissions, which were declared Illegal, and sufficiently Blasted by both Houses of Parliament, if there had been any need of it; for it was very well known before, that a Papist cannot have a Commission, but by Law is utterly disabled and disarm'd. Will you exchange your Birth-right of English Laws and Liberties, for Martial and Club Law, and help to destroy all others, only at last to be eaten up your selves? If I know you well, as you are English-men, you hate and scorn those things. Therefore be not unequally yoked with Idolatrous and Bloody Papists: Be valiant for the Truth, and shew your selves Men. The same Considerations are likewise Humbly offered to all English Seamen, who have been the Bulwark of this Nation against Popery and Slavery ever since 1588.

Miles Prance being Indicted at the King's-Bench Bar for Perjury, in the Evidence he gave against Green, Berry and Hill, for the Murder of Sir Edmund Bury Godfrey, in hopes to mitigate his Sentence pleaded Guilty and was fined a hundred Pound, to stand three times in the Pillory, to be whipp'd from Newgate to Tyburn, and to be committed in Execution till he had paid his Fine: But his Whipping was pardon'd because he confessed his Crime.

Now the Lord Keeper North dying, when Jefferies A new was at his Bloody Campaign in the West, not long af- Lord Chan- ter his return he was made a Peer, under the Title of cellor. Lord Jefferies Baron of Wem; and being after made Lord

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Lord High Chancellor of *England*, things were carried towards *Popery* and *Arbitrary Power* with all the diligence and heat imaginable. The Judges were interrogated about their Inclinations to set up a *Dispensing Power*; and those that would not comply with the Project were turned out, and known *Papists* were put in their Places. Sir *Edward Herbert* was put out from being Lord Chief Justice of the *King's-Bench*, and *Wright* put in, to hang a poor Soldier for deserting in time of Peace, which was refused to be done by Sir *John Holt*, then Recorder of *London*, for which he was dismiss'd. The first Man the King attempted to perswade into a Compliance with the *Dispensing Power*, was Sir *Thomas Jones*; and he denying to act so illegally, the King told him, *He would have twelve Judges of his Opinion*; and Sir *Thomas* reply'd, *That possibly he might find twelve Judges of his Opinion, but never would find twelve Lawyers of it*: And indeed it was not long before he furnished himself with such a Set of Judges, that to their eternal Reproach, did all was possible for them to Complement the King with the Liberties of their Country:

The Judges
judg'd a-
gainst Law.

For these Gentlemen gave it out for Law, *That the Laws of England are the King's Laws. That therefore it's an incident inseparable Prerogative of the Kings of England, as of all Sovereign Princes, to dispence with Penal Laws in particular Cases, and upon particular necessary Reasons. That of those Reasons and Necessities the King is the sole Judge. And which is a Consequent thereupon, That this is not a Trust invested in or granted to the King, but the antient Remains of the Sovereign Power of the Kings of England, which never was yet taken from them, nor can be.* Thus the Men whose Office it was to support the Laws, became now the Betrayers of them to the Will of the Prince. This mighty Point being gain'd, the *Papists* were not wanting to make the best use of it for themselves. The free and open exercise of their Religion was set up every where, and *Jesuit Schools* and *Seminaries* erected in the most considerable Towns. The Church of *England* had now but a precarious Title to the National Church, and *Romish* Candidates had swallowed up its Preferments and Dignities already in their hopes. *Romish Bishops* were publicly consecrated in the Royal Chappel, and dispatch'd down to exercise their Episcopal Functions in their respective Dioceses. Their Pastoral Letters, directed to the Lay Catholics of *England*, were openly dispersed up and down, and printed

Popish
Schools and
Seminaries
set up.

printed by the King's own Printer, with publick Licence. The Regular Clergy appear'd in their Habits at *White-hall* and *St James's*, and made no scruple to tell the Protestants, *They hoped in a little time to walk in Procession through Cheapside*. A mighty Harvest of *New Converts* was now expected, and that Labourers might not be wanting, shoals of *Priests* and *Regulars* were sent over from beyond Sea to reap it. The only step to Preferment was to be of the Kings Religion; and to Preach against the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, was the height of Disloyalty, because, forsooth, it tended to alienate the Subjects Affections from the King. And tho' by Law it was *High Treason* for any one to assume the Character of the *Pope's Nuncio*; yet this was too slender a Cobweb to hinder a *Roman* Prelete to appear publickly in *London* in that Quality; and the Duke of *Somerset*, one of the greatest Peers in *England*, was disgrac'd in not paying him that respect, in attending him to his Audience, which the Laws of the Land made Criminal. The Pope's Nuncio in England. July 1687.

April the 16th, 1686, *George Duke of Buckingham* died at his House in *Yorkshire*, not much lamented, nor at all evil spoken of. He was a Man of extraordinary Parts, and when ever he thought fit to make use of them, no Man discover'd a farther sight into Affairs, or a better Judgment: And this may be said in his Commendation, *That he was a true Lover of his Country, and a perfect Enemy to the French Interest*.

Now so fond was the Governing Party about King *James*, to shew their new acquired *Trophies* at *Rome*, that the Earl of *Castlemain* was dispatch'd thither in Quality of *Extraordinary Ambassador*, with a magnificent Train, and a most sumptuous Equipage. What his secret Instructions were, may be partly guess'd at by his publick ones, which were to reconcile the Kingdoms of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland* to the Holy See, from which, for more than an Age, they had fallen off by Heresie. *Innocent XI.* receiv'd this Embassy as one that saw further than those that sent it. The Ambassador had but a cold Reception of the *Holy Father*; and none of the Cardinals but those of a particular Faction, and the good-natur'd Cardinal of *Norfolk*, took any farther notice of it than good Manners oblig'd them to. The Court of *Rome* were too refin'd Politicians to be impos'd upon by Shew and Noise, and knew the World too well to expect great matters from such hasty ill tim'd

An Ambassador sent to Rome, Jan. 1687.

A. D.

1687.



Advances as were made to them. Not only so, but *Innocent* having an Aversion in his Nature to a Faction he knew King *James* was embark'd in, which he never took pains to dissemble, was not over-fond of an Embassy from a Prince, who was in an Interest he had long wish'd to see humbled. King *James* met with nothing but Mortification from *Rome* in the Person of his Ambassador, which occasion'd his making as short a stay as was possible. In which may be seen the vast difference there was at that time betwixt the Politicks of *Italy*, and those of a hot-headed Party in *England*. And however the World has been impos'd upon to believe that the *Pope's Nuncio* at the *English* Court, who is since made a Cardinal, was an Instrument to push things to Extremities, yet certain it is, he had too much good sense to approve of all the Measures that were taken; and therefore often desired to be recall'd, lest he should be thought to have a hand in them.

The Embas-
sy slighted.

Castlemain had several Audiences of the *Pope*, but to little purpose; for whenever he began to talk of Business, the *Pope* was seasonably attack'd with a Fit of Coughing: which broke off the Ambassador's Discourse for that time, and oblig'd him to Retire. These Audiences and Fits of Coughing continued from time to time while *Castlemain* stay'd at *Rome*, and were the subject of Diversion to all but a particular Faction at that Court. At length he was advis'd to proceed to Threats, and to give it out that he would be gone, since he could not have an opportunity to treat with the *Pope* about the Business he came for. *Pope Innocent* was so little concern'd at the Ambassador's Resentments, that when they told him of it, he answer'd with his ordinary Coldness *E bene; se vuol andersene, ditegli, adunque che si levi di buon matino al fresco, e che mezzo-giorno si repositi, per che in questi paesi non bisogna viaggiare al caldo del giorno. Very well; e'en let him go; and tell him, he had best to rise early in the morning, that he might rest himself at noon; for in this Country it's dangerous to travel in the heat of the Day.* Not long after he was recall'd, being able to obtain of the *Pope* but two inconsiderable things, viz. A Licence for the *Mareschal Humieres's* Daughter to marry Uncle, and the other a Dispensation of the Statutes of the *Jesuits Order*, that Father *Peters* might enjoy a Bishoprick; the want of which, was suppos'd to be the reason that the *Archbishoprick* of *York* was kept so long vacant. But what was wanting in the *Pope* was

was supply'd by the *Jesuits*, who paid the Ambassador the highest respect imaginable: They entertain'd him in their *Seminary* with the greatest Magnificence, and nothing was wanting in Nature or Art to grace his Reception. All their Stores of *Sculpture, Painting, Poetry* and *Rhetorick*, seem to have been exhausted upon this occasion. Among many other Panegyricks upon King James, the following Distich was plac'd below an Emblem of *England*:

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The Jesuit treat him

*Restituit Veterem tibi Religionis honorem
Anglia, Magnanimi Regis aperta fides.*

*See misse
Nouveau
Voyage d'
Italie.*

*The open Zeal of this magnanimous King has restor'd to
England its Antient Religion.*

To recite all their *Devices* might be thought an impertinent Undertaking; however, I cannot omit one, which was, *A Lilly, from whose Leaves distill'd some drops of Water*, which, as the Naturalists observe, becomes the Seed of new Lillies; and the Motto was, *Lachrimor in Prolem; I weep for Children*: and underneath was this Distich:

*Pro Natis, Jacobe, Gemis, Flos candide Regum;
Hos Natura Tibi se neget, Astra dabunt.*

*O James! dost thou sigh for Children! Thou best of Kings,
if Nature denies, Heaven will grant them.*

There was another Inscription that gave great Diversion to the *Wits* of *Rome* in discanting upon them; and no wonder; for tho the Words are ill chose, and so perplex'd that 'tis hard to give the nice Interpretation of them, yet to me they look very oddly, as to King Charles's Death. They run thus:

*Jacobo Secundo Anglia Regi
Quod ipso vita exemplo preunte,
Et impellente consiliis,
Carolus Frater Et Rex
Mortem obierat ad modum fiam
Regnaturus a Tergo Frater
Alas Carolo addidit;
Et
Ut Caelo dignum,
E e*

Et

To James the Second, King of England; for having by his Example and Advice, prevail'd with his Brother Charles to die a Pious Death. And being to succeed him, gave Wings to Charles: And that he might chuse an Ambassador worthy of Heaven and himself to give notice of it, he sent his Brother.

*The Decla-
ration for
Liberty of
Conscience.*

Now came out the Popular Engine which was likely to do most Execution, by weakning the National Establish'd Church, and dividing Protestants among themselves, when in the mean time the Papists were to be the only Gainers. It was disguis'd under the specious Name of *Liberty of Conscience*, and in great measure answer'd their ends; for the Dissenters were not so fond of Persecution and hard Usage, as to refuse a Liberty that was so freely offer'd them; nor did they think it good Manners, to enquire too narrowly how that Indulgence came about, as long as they were shelter'd by it from Oppression; but on the contrary, were so hasty and forward in their Addresses of Thanks to the King, that they gave themselves no time to consider either the Tendency of this seeming Kindness, or in what *Hyperbolical* and *Nauseous Flattery* they express'd their Gratitude. Nay, some of their Adresses were so stuff'd with abominable Praises, that he must have abundance of Charity, that did not call them downright Blasphemy: But the Church of England saw through this Contrivance, and dreaded the Consequences; being now made sensible, that those that put them upon Executing the *Penal Laws* against the Dissenters, but did make them Properties to hinder the Dissenters from uniting with the Church of England, and play them one against another, that their Divisions might add Strength enough to the Papists to destroy them both.

*An Order
about
Preachers.*

Another Project was also set on foot for the same purpose, in advancing their *Romish* Cause, and that was an Order directed to the Protestant Bishops, to Discharge all their Inferiour Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points in Divinity: which in effect was, forbidding them to defend their Religion in the Pulpit, when it was at the same time attack'd by the *Romish Priests*.

Priests, with all the Vigour they were capable of; and their Sermons and other Discourses Printed by Authority. But notwithstanding this Insinuating Letter of the King's to the Bishops, the *Clergy of the Church of England* were not wanting in their Duty; for to their immortal Honour they did more to vindicate the Doctrine of their own Church, and expose the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, both in their Sermons and Writings which they Publish'd, than ever had been done at Home or Abroad since the *Reformation*; and in such a Style, and with such an inimitable force of Reasoning, as will be a *Standard of Writing* to succeeding Ages.

To hasten the Building of their *Babel*, the other thing the King did was to grant an *Ecclesiastical Commission*, directed to the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishops of *Durham* and *Rochester*, the Lord High Treasurer, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Herbert*, or any three of them, whereof the Lord Chancellor was always to be one; devolving the whole Care of Ecclesiastical Affairs upon them, in the largest Extent that ever had been known in *England*. By it they had Power to Regulate all affairs, and punish all abuses: To make new Laws, to Reform or Abolish any Ancient Constitution, notwithstanding any Privileges, Rights, Customs, Prerogatives, or Exemptions whatsoever, and all their Acts were to pass under a Peculiar Seal, in the Custody of Mr *Bridgman* their Secretary, encircled with this Inscription, *Sigillum Regie Majestatis ad Causas Ecclesiasticas*. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* refused to act from the beginning, and the Bishop of *Rochester* excused himself after he came to see where the Design of it was levelled: upon which the Commission was alter'd, and the Bishop of *Chester*, Chief Justice *Wright*, and Baron *Jenner*, were put in their rooms. These Commissioners thought fit to begin the Exercise of their new Power with the Suspension of Dr *Compton*, Lord Bishop of *London*. This Noble Prelate, by a Conduct worthy of his Birth, and Station in the Church, had acquir'd the Love and Esteem of all the Protestant Churches both at Home and Abroad, and was for that reason the Mark of the Envy and Hatred of the *Romish* Party at Court. They had waited for an occasion to ennoble their *Ecclesiastical Commission* with such an Illustrious Sacrifice; and such an occasion was rather taken than given,

A. D. given, in the Business of Dr Sharp, now Archbishop of York. 1686.

Proceedings against the Bishop of London. The Priests about the King knowing how much it was their Interest that the Protestant Clergy should not have leave to refute the Errors of the Church of Rome in their Sermons, had advis'd him to send to the Bishops the ensnaring Letter or Order above-mentioned, containing Directions about Preachers. The Learned Dr Sharp taking occasion in some of his Sermons to vindicate the Doctrine of the Church of England, in opposition to Popery; this, in the Court Dialect, was understood to be, *The endeavouring to beget in the minds of his Hearers, an ill Opinion of the King and his Government, by insinuating Fears and Jealousies, to dispose them to Discontent, and to lead them into Disobedience and Rebellion, and consequently a Contempt of the Order against Preachers.* Whereupon the King sent a Letter to the Bishop of London, containing an Order to Suspend Dr Sharp from Preaching in any Parish or Chapel in his Diocese, until the Doctor had given Satisfaction, and his Majesty's farther Pleasure should be known. The Bishop of London perceiving what was aim'd at in this Letter, endeavour'd to divert the Storm that threaten'd him, and the Church of England through his sides. He writ a Letter to the Secretary of State, to be communicated to the King, setting forth, *That he thought his Duty to obey his Majesty in whatever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe Conscience: But in this, he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge: And by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cause, and has Cited the Party. That however, he had acquainted Dr Sharp with his Majesty's Pleasure, whom he found so ready to give all reasonable satisfaction, tho he had made him the Bearer of that Letter.*

Dr Sharp's
Petition.

Together with this Letter from the Bishop of London, Doctor Sharp carry'd with him a Petition to the King in his own Name; shewing, *That ever since his Majesty was pleas'd to give notice of his displeasure against him, he had forborn the publick Exercise of his Function: And as he had endeavour'd to do the best Service he could to his Majesty, and his late Brother, in his Station, so he had not vented now in the Pulpit, any thing tending to Faction or Schism: And therefore prayed his Majesty would be pleas'd to lay aside his Displeasure conceiv'd against him, and restore him to that favour which the rest of the Clergy enjoy'd.*

enjoy'd. All this Submission was to no purpose: Nothing would satisfy the Party, but a Revenge upon the *Bishop of London*, for his Exemplary Zeal for the Protestant Interest; and this Affair of Dr *Sharp's* was made use of as a handle to mortify him, and in his Person the whole Body of the Clergy. The Bishop was Cited before the Ecclesiastical Commission, for not Suspending Dr *Sharp* according to the Kings Order, and treated at his Appearance, by their Chair-man *Jefferies*, in a manner unworthy of his Station and Quality. All the Defence he could make, and his Plea to the Jurisdiction and Legality of the Court, which was good beyond all Contradiction, did signify nothing. These new *Inquisitors* being resolv'd to stick at nothing that might please that Party that set them at work, did by their Definitive Sentence, Declare, De-*The Bishop* cree, and Pronounce, That the Bishop of London should of London for his Disobedience and Contempt be Suspended during his suspended. Majesty's Pleasure: And accordingly was Suspended, with a Peremptory Admonition to Abstain from the Function and Execution of his Episcopal Office, and other Ecclesiastical Jurisdictions, during the said Suspension, under the pain of Deprivation, and being Removed from his Bishoprick.

In pursuance of the full Execution of this Sentence, an Order was sent by the Messengers attending the Court, to the Dean of *St Pauls*, commanding him to cause the said Sentence to be fixt upon the Door of the Chapter-House, and the South-door of the same Cathedral Church, that Publick Notice might be taken of it.

We are now arriv'd as far as June 1687, but nothing remarkable happen'd all this Summer: The whole Kingdom was so taken up in making Addresses of without Thanks for the King's promise of protecting them in number. their Liberties and Properties, that nothing else could be thought upon; and one would have thought that the King had been unremoveable from his Throne, there was such a world of Loyalty pretended, and that such an Host of Addresses had been able to secure any ten Princes in the World, tho their hands been ty'd behind them. The King being lull'd into an Opinion that he had gain'd his point, took a long progress round the North-West part of England, visiting several Towns and Cities in the Kingdom, and Touching for the Evil where-ever he came; the number of the whole being computed to be above five thousand Persons. And

A. D.

1687.

all the while, for the security of the Nation, the King's Army lay encamp't on *Hounslow Heath*. Upon the *Lord Mayor's Day* following the *Pope's Nuncio* din'd at *Guild-hall*, which was a Show that had not been seen there before in many Descents of our Ancestors. In *February* the Regulation of the *Press* was taken into consideration by the Privy Council, and a Proclamation issued out, grounded upon a Statute made in the 14th of King *Charles II.* prohibiting the Sale, or exposing to Sale all Unlicenc'd, Seditious, and Treasonable Pamphlets, under the Pains and Penalties provided by the said Act: Together with another Proclamation, That whoever should apprehend any *Robber* or *Highway-man*, and cause him to be brought into Custody, should within fifteen days after his Conviction have a Reward of ten Pounds for every Offender so Apprehended. About the middle of *March* a Proclamation was Issu'd out, commanding the Return of all the Kings's Subjects who had taken Arms under, and were then in the Service of the *States General* of the United *Provinces*, either by Sea or Land; tho upon no other Allegation, than that the King thought it for his Service. This *Proclamation* caus'd a Dispute among the *States General*, the Result of which seem'd to be an Unwillingness to let the *English* Regiments return; alledging there was nothing more agreeable to Nature, than that those which were born free, should have the Right and Liberty to settle themselves in any place that they thought most advantageous to their better Subsistence. The *Marquis of Albeville*, the King's *Envoy Extraordinary*, by Express Order from his Master, deliver'd in a Memorial to the *States*, peremptorily demanding their Return; for that pretended Natural Liberty could not subsist, after *Dominion* and *Obedience* had been made Reciprocal, and therefore insisted upon his demand, as a Right the King would never depart from. But it seems few or none were willing to return; which justified the Resolutions of the *States General*, and render'd the Endeavours of the *Marquis* ineffectual.

A Proclamation for the English to return home.

1688.

The Case of the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge.

1687.

The next that felt the Weight of the *Ecclesiastical Commission* were both the Universities, tho the Storm fell first upon the Vice-Chancellor and University of *Cambridge*, for refusing to admit one *Alban Francis* a *Benedictine Monk* to the Degree of *Master of Arts*, without taking the Oaths, according to the Kings Mandate, who

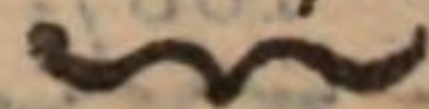
who therein Dispenc'd with *Francis* for taking them. This Letter being read in the *Consistory*, it was agreed by all, that they could not admit the *Monk* to a Degree, without taking the usual Oaths, *unless they broke their own*: And therefore appointed two of their Body to go and acquaint the King, how ready they were to comply with all his Commands, where they could obey without offending their Consciences, or running into wilful *Perjury*, which they humbly hop'd his Majesty would not force them to, in this Case of *Alban Francis*; for they could not (by the *Statutes* of the University) admit him to a Degree, without bringing that Guilt upon themselves. When the two *Fellows* came to *London*, they address'd themselves to their *Chancellour*, the *Duke of Albemarle*, who befriended them all he could, but to no purpose: At length they receiv'd this Answer from the Secretary of State, *That his Majesty had seen the Vice-Chancellor's Letter, was offended at the Proceedings of the University, and would take order shortly to give them a farther Answer.* What that Answer was, appear'd in a little time, for *Atterbury* the Messenger came to *Cambridge*, with a Summons for the Vice-Chancellour to appear before the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*, and answer to such things as should be objected against him on his Majesty's behalf. The *Vice-Chancellour*, *Dr Peachel*, and eight more of that Body appear'd, and put in his Answer in Writing in the Name of the University, Reciting three *Acts of Parliaments* in their Justification, with many unanswerable Arguments against the *Illegality* of this New Court, which being read, the Court adjourned till *Saturday* the 7th of *May*: That day being come, and the *Vice-Chancellour* and *Delegates* appearing, after some trifling Questions propounded by the Chancellour, they were commanded to withdraw: and being call'd in again, he told the *Vice-Chancellour* of *Cambridge*, that he being Guilty of great Disobedience to the Kings Commands, and other Crimes and Contempts, the Court had sentenc'd him, *To be deprived of his Office of Vice Chancellour, and Suspended him ab Officio & Beneficio of his Headship of Magdalen Colledge, and that he should not presume to meddle in any Publick business relating to the University.*

The case of

The President and Fellows of *St Mary Magdalen's Magdalen Colledge in Oxford* were the next Triumphs of this new *Magdalen Coll.* Inquisition. That Colledge is one of the Noblest Foun- *Oxford.*

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dations that perhaps was ever erected to Learning in the World, and therefore 'twas no Wonder it was one of the first Marks that was shot at. This *Illustrious Society*, from Repeated Grants of *Kings* Ratified in *Parliament*, and from their own *Statutes*, were in an uninterrupted Possession of a Right to Elect their own *President*. That Place being Vacant by the Death of *Doctor Clark*, a day was appointed by the Vice President and Fellows, to proceed to the Election of another, to fill up the Vacancy. But before the day of Election came, Mr *Charnock*, one of the Fellows, (who was since Executed for the late Plot to Assassinate his present Majesty) brought them a *Mandate* from King *James*, to Elect one *Farmer* into the Place; a Man of an ill Reputation, who had promised to *declare himself a Papist*, and was altogether Uncapable of the Office by the Statutes of the Colledge. This *Mandate* the Vice President and Fellows receiv'd with all decent Respect; and sent their humble Address to the King, representing to his Majesty, That *Farmer* was a person in several respects incapable of that Office, according to the Founder's Statutes: And therefore did Humbly beseech his Majesty, *either to leave them to the Discharge of their Duty and Consciences, according to his Majesty's late Gracious Declaration, and their Founder's Statutes, or else recommend to them such a Person who might be more Serviceable to his Majesty and the Colledge.*

The President and Fellows cited.

Notwithstanding this Humble and Submissive Address, King *James* signified his pleasure to them, *That he expected to be Obeyed.* Upon which, the Fellows being obliged by the Statutes of their Society, to which they were sworn, not to delay the Election longer than such a day; and *Farmer* being a person they could not chuse, without incurring the Sin of Perjury, they proceeded to Election, and chose Dr *Hough* (now Bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*) their President. Hereupon the new President and Fellows were cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, for disobeying the Kings Mandate; and notwithstanding they made it appear by their Answer, *That they could not comply with that Mandate without breach of their Oath, and that there was no room left for the King to dispence with that Oath, because in the Oath it self they were sworn not to make use of such Dispensation, nor in any sort consent thereto:* Yet against all Law, the Ecclesiastical Commissioners did by their Sentence deprive Dr *Hough*, and suspended two of the Fellows from their

Fel-
low

Fellowships: While the King at the same time Inhibited the Colledge to Elect or Admit any person whatsoever into any Fellowship, or any other Place or Office in the said College, till his further Pleasure. At this hearing, Dr Fairfax (now Dean of Norwich) seeming to dislike what the rest of the Delegates had done, desired he might have leave to put in a Plea for himself; and Chancellor Jefferies being in hopes he would submit, gave him leave, saying; *Ay, this looks like a Man of Sense, and a good Subject, let's hear what he will say;* but he finding he had took his aim amiss, and the Doctor chiefly insisted that the matter did not lye before that Court, and Inveighed sharply against their Authority, the Chancellor grew into great and excessive Passions, and crying out, *The Man is Mad,* told him he ought to be kept in a dark Room, and askt the rest of the Delegates why they suffer'd him to walk abroad without a Keeper, and did not come to him and beg him for a Mad man.

The Court finding by this time that Farmer was one of so profligate a Life, that tho he had promised to declare himself a Roman Catholick upon his Promotion to that place, they began to be asham'd of him: and therefore, instead of insisting on the former *Mandamus* in his favour, there was another granted in favour of Dr Parker, then Bishop of Oxford, one of the Court Creatures. The place of President being already in a Legal manner fill'd up by the Election of Dr Hough; which tho' it had not been, yet the Bishop of Oxford, was likewise incapable by the Statutes of the College, of being Elected; The Fellows did humbly offer a very pathetic Petition to his Majesty, humbly shewing, *How inexpressible an Affliction it was to them, to find themselves reduced to such an Extremity, that either they must disobey his Majesty's Commands, contrary to their Inclinations, and that constant Course of Loyalty which they had shewed hitherto upon all occasions; or else break their Founders Statutes, and, deliberately perjure themselves.* Then they mention'd the Statutes and the Oaths that every one of them had taken at their Admission into their Fellowships; and concluded with an humble Prayer to his Majesty, *To give them leave to lay their Case and themselves at his Majesty's Royal Feet, earnestly beseeching him to extend that Grace and Favour to them, which he vouchsafed to all his other Subjects:* But all this submission was in vain; for the Ecclesiastical Commissioners by their Final Decree and Sentence, depriv'd and expell'd from their Fellowships

Farmer rejected by the Court, and Dr Parker recommended.

The Fellows Petition and the Commissioners Sentence.

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lowships all the Fellows of Magdalen College, (except three that comply'd with the breach of their Oaths) being Twenty Five in number. And to push their Injustice yet further, they did by another Sentence decree and declare, 'That Dr *Hough*, who had been depriv'd before, and 'the said Twenty Five Fellows, should be incapable of 'receiving, or being admitted into any Ecclesiastical 'Dignity, Benefice or Promotion. And such of them 'who were not yet in Holy Orders, they adjudged 'incapable of receiving or being admitted into the same. Thus by the Decree of an *Illegal Court*, were a Society of Worthy and Learned Men turned out of their *Free-Holds*, meerly for not obeying an *Arbitrary* Command, which was directly against their Consciences: And thus was King *James* prevailed with by a Head-strong Party, to assume a Power not only to *Dispense* with *Laws*, but when their hands were in, to *make void Oaths* also.

A New Declaration.

Now the *Papists* were almost sure of carrying all things according to their Wills and Pleasure, and therefore the first Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, being not thought a sufficient Stretch of *Arbitrary* Power, out comes another in a higher strain, in which the *Papists* were chiefly included, and indeed it was for their sakes alone that any such thing was granted, it being wholly inconsistent with *Popish* Principles to give Toleration to such as they call *Hereticks*. And now to carry the Point to the highest Pinacle of *Arbitrary* Power, and to render the Church of *England* Accessory to their own *Ruin*, an Order of Council was made, 'Commanding this Declaration to be 'read at the usual times of Divine Service, in all 'Churches and Chappels throughout the Kingdom, 'and ordering the Bishops to cause it to be sent and 'distributed throughout their several and respective 'Dioceses, to be read accordingly.

This the Clergy of the Church of *England* had reason to take as the greatest Hardship and Oppression that could be put upon them, to be commanded to Read to their People, at so solemn a time and place, a Declaration that they knew to be against Law, and which in its Nature and Design was levell'd against their own Interest and that of their Religion. Three, I think, and no more in all *England*, either out of *Fear*, *Mistake*, or to *make their Court*, complied and read it; but all the rest of the Clergy refused to obey so unjust a Command: And the *Romish* Party had

had their ends in it, for their refusal laid them open to the severe Lashes of the *Ecclesiastical Commissioners*; and accordingly every one that had not read it, were ordered to be prosecuted before that inexorable Tribunal, where they were infallibly to expect to be deprived: And so most of the Benefices in *England* must have been made Vacant for a new kind of Incumbents.

But here they met with a Disappointment, which *The Papists* awakened the People of *England* to shake off their *disappoint-* Chains, and think upon retrieving the Dying Liberties of their Countries. For the Bishops considering how great a Punishment was falling upon the whole Clergy of *England*, if they should be suspended for not reading the *Declaration*, and being unwilling to lay them under so great a Temptation, as to save themselves and Families from Ruin by a sinful compliance, took all the blame upon themselves, in refusing to send the Declaration to their Clergy, as they were commanded by an Order of Council. An Act like themselves, and becoming the Character of Protestant Bishops. This putting a Demur and Stop to the Reading of the Declaration, the Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, Dr *Sancroft*, together with Dr *Floyd*, Bishop of *St Asaph*, Doctor *Kenn*, Bishop of *Bath and Wells*, Dr *Turner*, Bishop of *Ely*, Dr *Lake*, Bishop of *Chichester*, Dr *White*, Bishop of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Jonathan Trelawny*, Bishop of *Bristol*, thought themselves oblig'd to give the King their Reasons for refusing to disperse or read his Declaration for Liberty of Conscience. Having procured Leave to attend his Majesty, they delivered to him in his Closet an humble Petition, in behalf of themselves and *The Petiti-* absent Brethren, and in the name of the Clergy on of 7 of their respective Dioceses: Shewing, 'That their Bishops. 'unwillingness did not proceed from any want of 'Duty and Obedience to his Majesty, nor from any 'want of due Tenderness to Dissenters, in Relation to 'whom they were willing to come to such a Temper as 'should be thought fit, when that matter should be 'considered in Parliament and Convocation: But among a great many other Considerations, from this 'especially, because that Declaration was founded upon 'such a Dispensing Power as had often been declared 'Illegal in Parliament, and was a matter of so great 'moment and consequence to the whole Nation, that they

A. D. 1688. ' they could not in Prudence, Honour or Conscience,
 ' so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribu-
 ' tion of it all over the Kingdom, and the Solemn
 ' publication of it even in *God's House*, and the time
 ' of his *Divine Service*, must amount to in common and
 ' reasonable Construction. Therefore did Humbly and
 ' Earnestly beseech his Majesty that he would be graci-
 ' ously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and
 ' reading the said Declaration. This Petition, tho' the
 ' humblest that could be, and deliver'd by Six of them to
 ' the King alone in his Closet, was so highly resented,
 ' that the Six Bishops that presented it, and the Arch-
 ' Bishop that writ it, but was not present at its Delivery,
 ' were committed Prisoners to the *Tower*.

The Bishops
 committed
 to the
 Tower.

The pre-
 tended
 Prince of
 Wales
 born.

The Princess *Ann* of *Denmark* being gone to *Bath*,
 and the Bishops lodg'd in the *Tower*, the next day af-
 ter, being the 10th of *June*, was issued out a Procla-
 mation, appointing a Day of Publick Thanksgiving,
 to be solemniz'd on the first of *July* throughout the
 Kingdom; *For that it had pleased Almighty God to Bless*
his Majesty and his Royal Consort the Queen with a Son, and
these Kingdoms with a Prince. Which was entertain'd
 with great Joy by that Party, and produc'd another
 Shoal of Loyal *Addresses*, tho' not so fullom as the former,
 for now the Heat was much abated, and no Man could
 shew his Joy at the Birth of the *Child*, but it was pre-
 sently allay'd with this Answer, *The Bishops are commit-*
ted to the Tower.

The Bishops
 Tryal.

A few days after the Bishops were brought to the
King's-Bench-Bar, where was a great Concourse of People,
 to see seven of the greatest *Prelates* and *Pillars* of the Re-
 form'd Church, *Arraign'd* before two Creatures of a
Papish Prince at his own Suit, and the third a Profest
Papist. They were Indicted of a High Misdemeanor,
 ' for having Falsly. Unlawfully, Maliciously, Sediti-
 ' ously and Scandalously, Framed, Composed and Writ
 ' a False, Malicious and Seditious Libel, concerning
 ' the King and his Royal Declaration for Liberty of
 ' Conscience, under the pretence of a Petition: And
 ' that they had publish'd the same in the presence of the
 ' King. The Tryal was long, and in it two things
 were very remarkable: The Dispensing Power was
 Learnedly and Boldly argued against by the Bishops
 Council, and demonstrated by invincible Arguments,
 to be an open violation of the Laws and Constitution of
 the Kingdom; so that in the greatest Auditory that
 was

was ever seen in *Westminster-Hall*, and upon one of the most solemn Causes that ever was tryed at the *Kings-Bench-Bar*, King James had the *Mortification* to see his new assum'd *Prerogative* baffled, and its *Illegality* exposed to the World. The other thing observable upon this Tryal was, that some that had largely contributed to the enslaving of their Country with false Notions of Law, were now of another opinion: While at the same time, others that had stood up for the *Liberty* of their Country in two successive Parliaments, and had been Fin'd for so doing, did now as much endeavour to stretch the *Prorogative* beyond its just Limits, as they had oppos'd it before: *So much does Places and Profit Influence Men to stoop to their own Advantages, against their Judgments.*

Chief Justice Wright, in summing up the Evidence, gave directions to the Jury, that if they believ'd the Petition to be the same that was presented by the Bishops to the King, then the Publication was sufficiently prov'd: Next, That any thing which tended to the disturbance of the Government, and made mischief among the People, was *Libellus Famosus*, and his opinion, in short was, *That the Bishops Petition was a Libel.* Mr Justice Holloway declar'd, that the end and intention of every Action was to be consider'd. That the Bishops were charg'd with delivering a *Petition*, which according to their Defence, was done with all the Humility and Decency imaginable; and that as they were Men of good Lives, the delivering of a Petition was no Fault, *it being the Subjects Right to Petition*; therefore if the Jury were satisfied they did it with no ill Intention, but only to shew the Reasons of their *Nonconcurrence with the King's commands*, he could not think it to be a Libel. Mr Justice Powel more plainly declar'd, that he could discern no *Sedition* or other Crimes that could affect the Reverend Fathers, the Lord Bishops, since there was nothing offer'd by the King's Council to render the Petition *False* or *Malicious*: He admonish'd the Jury to consider, that the contents of the Petition was, that the Bishops apprehended the *Declaration was Illegal*, being founded upon a *Dispensing Power* claimed by the King: But for his part, he did not remember in any case in all the Law, that there was any such Power in the King: And if there be no such Power in the King, the Petition cannot be a *Libel*, which alledges, that the Declaration founded upon such a pretended Power was Illegal.

The Judges
Opinions.

A. D. gal. Mr Justice *Allibone*, in the height of his Popish Zeal, run into Misquotations; for which being corrected by Judge *Powel*, little heed was given to any thing he said afterwards. Whereupon the Jury withdrawing, sat up all that night, and next morning brought

The Bishops in the *Reverend Prelates Not Guilty*. Never were louder Acclamations of Joy express'd in *Westminster*, than upon the Bishop's Acquittal; nor did that City and *London* terminate the Shouts that were rais'd upon this occasion, but it flew into the *Camp upon Hounslow Heath*, where the Soldiers eccho'd so loud, that it startled the King, who was that day treated in the Lord *Fever-sham's Tent*, insomuch that the King sent him out to know what was the matter, who returning told the King it was nothing but the Soldiers shouting, upon hearing the Bishops were acquitted; to which the King replyed, *And do you call that nothing?* and seem'd much discompos'd after it: And how could he be otherwise? for now all his Affairs went to wrack, and he had brought upon him the Unversal Dislike and Suspicion of all his Protestant Subjects through the whole Kingdom.

An Attempt upon the Prince and Princess of Orange.

For a little before this time an Accident fell out, that contributed to buoy up the sinking Spirits of the Nation. While the Project was going on to take off the Penal Laws and Test, and the Protestants were in amaze what to expect, the good Genius of *England*, and King *James's* ill Fate, set him on to make a Trial of the Inclinations of the *Prince and Princess of Orange* in that matter; and to that end he employ'd Mr *James Stuart*, who pretended to an Acquaintance with the *Pensionary Fagel*, who was entirely trusted by the *Prince*, and always firm to his Interest. To him Mr *Stuart* writes a Letter upon this Subject; but so averse were the *Prince and Princess of Orange* to meddle, and so unwilling to allow *Pensionary Fagel* to return an Answer to this Letter, which they knew would not be pleasing, that Mr *Stuart*, by the King's Direction, writ five or six more before it was thought fit to answer them. But at length their Highnesses were in a manner forc'd to it, by the Reports that were industriously spread in *England* by the Emissaries of the Court, as if the *Pensionary* in an answer to Mr *Stuart*, had acquainted him, that the *Prince and Princess* agreed with the King in the Design of the taking off the Penal Laws and Test. This was not all; for the *Marquis of Albeville*, the *English* Envoy at the *Hague*, was put upon writing

writing over to several Persons, that the Prince of Orange had told him the very same thing; which Letter was also made publick.

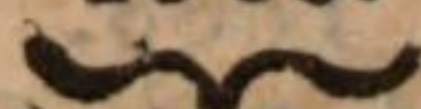
The Prince and Princess, to do themselves Justice, ^{Pensionary} and to disabuse a Nation they had so near an Interest ^{Fagel's} in, directed ^{Lester.} *Pensionary Fagel* to write one answer to all

Mr *Stuart's* Letters to this purpose: 'That being de-
'fir'd by Mr *Stuart*, to let him know the Prince
'and Princess of *Orange's* Thoughts concerning the
'Repeal of the Penal Laws, and more particularly
'concerning the Test, he told him, that he would
'write without Reserve, since Mr *Stuart* had said in his
'Letters, that they were writ by the King's Knowledge
'and Allowance. That it was the Prince's Opinion,
'that no Christian ought to be persecuted for his Con-
'science, or be ill us'd because he differs from the Pub-
'lick and Establish'd Religion: and therefore that they
'can consent, that the Papists in *England, Scotland* and
'*Ireland*, be suffer'd to continue in their Religion, with
'as much Liberty as is allow'd them by the States of *Hol-*
'*land*; in which it cannot be deny'd, but they enjoy
'full Liberty of Conscience. And as to the Dissenters,
'their Highnesses did not only consent, but did heartily
'approve of their having an entire Liberty for the full
'Exercise of their Religion; and that their Highnesses
'were ready to concur to the settling and confirming
'this Liberty, and protect and defend it, and likewise
'to confirm it with their Guarantee, which Mr *Stuart*
'had mention'd. And if his Majesty desires their Con-
'currence in Repealing the Penal Laws, their High-
'nesses are ready to give it, provided those Laws still
'remain in force, by which the *Roman* Catholicks are
'shut out of both Houses of Parliament, and out of all
'publick Employments, Ecclesiastical, Civil, and Mi-
'litary; as likewise those other Laws which confirm
'the Protestant Religion, and which secure it against
'all the Attempts of the *Roman* Catholicks. But their
'Highnesses cannot agree to the Repeal of the *Test*, and
'those other *Penal Laws* last mentioned, that tend to
'the Security of the Protestant Religion: Since the *Ro-*
'*man* Catholicks receive no other prejudice from these,
'than the being excluded from Parliament, and Pub-
'lick Employments.

'More than this, (*adds the Pensionary Fagel*) their
'Highnesses do think ought not to be ask'd or expect-
'ed; and they wonder'd how any that profess them-
'selves

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‘ selves Christians, and that they may enjoy their Religion freely and without disturbance, can judge it Lawful for them to disturb the Quiet of the Kingdom or State, or overturn Constitutions, that so they themselves may be admitted to Employments; and that these Laws, in which the Security and Quiet of the Establish’d Religion consists, should be shaken. And as to what Mr *Stuart* had writ, that the *Roman* Catholicks in *Holland* were not shut out from Employments and Places of Trust, he tells him, he was grossly mistaken. *The Pensionary concludes*, That their Highnesses could not concur with his Majesty in these Matters; for they believe, they should have much to answer to God for, if the consideration of any present advantage should carry them to consent to things, which they believe would not only be dangerous, but mischievous to the Protestant Religion. Thus far this wise Minister contributed to support the true Interest of *England*.

Irish Troops
brought over.

The King perceiving by many Occurrences that the *Popish* Interest was declining, and that there was little hopes to think of supporting it by a Parliament, resolves to do it by an Army out of *Ireland*, who now came over in shoals; and besides whole Regiments of them, there was scarce a Troop or Company wherein some of them were not placed by Express Order from the Court. Several Protestants that had served well and long, were turned out to make room for them, and seven considerable Officers were cashier’d in one day, meerly for refusing to admit *Irish* Papists. The Chief Forts, and particularly *Portsmouth* and *Hull*, the two Keys of *England*, were put into *Popish* hands, and the Garrisons so modell’d, that the majority were Papists. Now most of the Charters being curtail’d and chang’d, in order to the Grand Designs at Court, the King declar’d in Council, that in pursuance of his late Declaration, he intended to call a Parliament to meet in *November* next, and in order thereunto, directed the Chancellor to Issue out Writs upon the 5th of *September* following. To this was added a *Cajoling Proclamation*, ‘ That it was his purpose to endeavour a Legal Establishment of Liberty of Conscience, to preserve the Church of *England*, by such a Confirmation of the Act of Uniformity, that should never be alter’d any other way, than by repealing the several Clauses which inflicted Penalties upon Dissenters; and for the farther securing

The Court
begin to be
in Fears.

ring

‘ring not only the Church of *England*, but the Pro-
 ‘testant Religion in general, he was contented that
 ‘his *Roman Catholick* Subjects should be incapable of
 ‘being chosen Members of the House of Commons, lest
 ‘the Legislative Power should seem to be ingross’d by
 ‘them, and turn’d against the Protestants. By this
 the Nation saw that something was upon the Anvil,
 because the Court Language was in so smooth a Stile.

The next News we heard, was a Proclamation, *News of an*
 ‘That the King had received undoubted Intelligence, *Invasion.*
 ‘that a sudden Invasion was to be made from *Holland*,
 ‘in a Hostile manner upon this Kingdom; and tho
 ‘some false Pretences relating to Liberty, Property and
 ‘Religion, were given out as the Causes of it, yet an
 ‘absolute Conquest of his Kingdoms, and subduing
 ‘him and his Dominions to a Foreign Power, was de-
 ‘sign’d by his Enemies. However, that he might have
 one sure Card, if all the rest fail’d, he created his Na-
 tural Son Duke of *Berwick*, and Knight of the Garter,
 and issued out a General Pardon, excepting only a
 few Persons that had little or no occasion to lay hold of
 his Favour. Besides this, to shew his Affairs were at
 a low ebb, the *Suspension* was taken off from the Lord
 Bishop of *London*, the injur’d Gentlemen both of *Oxford*
 and *Cambridge* were restor’d to their Properties, of which
 they had been so unjustly depriv’d: A day or two
 after, the King dissolv’d the *Ecclesiastical Commission*:
 And the Chancellor *Jefferies*, that owed his Preferments,
 among the rest of his Miscarriages, to the Rape he com-
 mitted upon the Charter of the City of *London*, was
 forc’d to be the Messenger to carry it back again from
 whence it was taken. Upon the 15th of *October* insu-
 ing, a Proclamation went out for restoring all Corpora-
 tions to their Antient Charters, Priviledges and Fran-
 chises; which was done, as the Proclamation worded it,
 out of the Kings Much Grace and Favour: but all the
 World knew a more substantial reason for it. However,
 in the midst of this Consternation, the Papists carried
 on the Show of the *Prince of Wales*, and the Child
 was Christen’d upon the 15th of *October* by the
 Name of *James Henry Edward*; the Pope, represented
 by his *Nuncio*, being God-father, and the Queen Dow-
 ager, God-mother. Then came out another Proclama-
 tion, requiring his Lieutenants and Deputy Lieute-
 nants, ‘To cause the Sea-Ports to be strictly Guarded;
 ‘and upon the first Approach of the Enemy, to cause

*Abuses re-
 form’d upon
 the Fright.*

A. D. 1688. ' all the Horses, Oxen, Sheep and Cattel, to be remov-
 ' ed twenty Miles at least from the Place where the Ene-
 ' my should Land.

A Council
 held about
 the Prince
 of Wales.

Upon the 22d of *October* the King held a particular Council, and having sent for all such Peers, Spiritual and Temporal, as were then in Town, together with the Judges, and Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, he told them, he had called them together upon a very extraordinary occasion, viz. ' That the Malicious En-
 ' deavours of his Enemies had so poison'd the Minds of
 ' some of his Subjects, that many of them did not believe
 ' that the Son which God had blest him with, was born
 ' of the Body of the *Queen*; and therefore had taken that
 ' opportunity to have the matter heard and examin'd,
 ' because he expected the *Prince of Orange* would In-
 ' vade the Kingdom upon the first Easterly Wind. Which being done in Form, and the Depositions read, the King said, ' He hoped they were all satisfied, and
 ' would endeavour to satisfy others, that he who had
 ' suffer'd so much for Conscience sake, would not suffer
 ' so great a piece of Villany to be acted, in Fathering a
 ' Suppositious Child, to the prejudice of his own Chil-
 ' dren.

Reasons for
 the Prince
 of Oranges
 interposg.

Now the Prince of *Orange's* Landing was hourly expected: And that Posterity may know the Reason of it, I have thought fit in this place to give the Reader the true History of it. The Nation finding themselves in deplorable Circumstances, gaul'd under the Yoke of *Papistick* Tyranny, afflicted at the dismal prospect of being depriv'd of the Exercise of their Establish'd Religion, and the Loss of their Civil Priviledges and Properties; after they had ineffectually employed all dutiful and obliging Methods to reclaim the King, and waited till *England* was on the very brink of Destruction, before they would assume their *Natural Right*, and Defend themselves. God Almighty, who from Heaven beheld their present and approaching Calamities, put it into the Hearts of some good Christians of all Qualities, Degrees and Condition in the Kingdom, to make their humble Application to the Illustrious Prince of *Orange*, who, as a Sovereign Independent Prince, nearly allied by his own Blood, and nearer by his Virtuous Princess's, to the Crown of *England*, and a Protestant by his Religion, had an undoubted Right to interpose between King *James* and his Injur'd Subjects, and according to his native Goodness, and the repeat-
 ed

ed Examples of his Illustrious *Progenitors*, Defend and Deliver an Oppressed People.

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Divine Providence having thus prescrib'd the Means of our Deliverance, some Good Men were found, notwithstanding the Danger that attended it, to address this magnanimous Prince, and implore his Aid and effectual Assistance to free a languishing Nation from inevitable Ruin, *promising to Live and Dye with his Highness in so glorious an Enterprize.* Animated by his known Piety, Compassion, and Heroick Bravery, his Highness was pleas'd to undertake our Deliverance; and the *States of Holland* having furnish'd him with Shipping and other Necessaries with incredible Secrecy, when all things were ready, at the latter end of *October*, with a Fleet of 52 Men of War, and a numerous Train of Transports, Victuallers, and Tenders, his Highness set Sail from the *Flats* near the *Brill*, with the Wind at S. W. and by S. but meeting with a terrible Storm, which continued two days and nights, the Fleet were forced to return again into Harbour. The Fleet had not received so much damage as was industriously reported in the *English Gazette*, but rather, as it was manag'd, turn'd to their Advantage; for immediately, to make the *English* Court more remiss in their Preparations, the *Harlem* and *Amsterdam Gazettes* were order'd to make a lamentable Relation of the great Damages the *Dutch* Fleet and the Army aboard them had sustained. 'Nine of the best Men of War lost, beside
' others of less value, 1000 Horses cast over-board,
' Dr *Burnet* and several *English* Gentlemen drowned,
' what an ill Opinion the *States General* had of the Expedition, and that it was next to an Impossibility that
' the Prince could be in a condition to pursue his Design till the next Spring: And yet at the same time all hands were at work to repair their Damages, which were not so considerable but in eight days time they were all re-fitted.

The Prince
sets Sail for
England.

He puts to
Sea again.

Which being done, and all things in readines, upon a Signal given the whole Fleet put to Sea again, bearing small Sail all that day and night; in the morning, being got up with the *North Forelands*, the Fleet was ordered to close up in a Body 14 or 15 Foot deep: His Highness leading the Van in a Ship called the *Brill*, carrying a Flag with *English* Colours, and this Motto, *The Protestant Religion and Liberties of England*; and underneath, *Jay Mainteindray, I will maintain it.*

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To shorten the Proceedings of this Expedition, the Fleet came up with *Torbay*, and the Wind as it were by Miracle suddenly chopt about to give them Entrance; and as soon as that was done return'd to the same Quarter it was in before they wanted it. The *Prince of Orange* landed on the 4th of *November*, his Birth-day, where the People that flock'd thither were so far from making any Opposition, that they only stood there to Welcome their happy *Guests*, and furnish them with Provisions for their Refreshment.

The List of the Regiments of Horse and Foot which his Highness brought over into *England* with him, were as followeth, according as it was printed in *Holland*.

H O R S E.		F O O T.	
The Life Guard.		Foot Guards commanded	
The Regiment of Guards,		by C. Solmes, being 25	
commanded by the Heer		Companies:	
Benting.		C. Mackay 12.	
Gen. Waldeck's Regiment.		C. Balfort 12.	
Nassaw.		C. Talmash 12.	
Mompauillon.		The Regiment formerly	
Count Vanderlip.		Bliss's 12.	
Ginckel.		The Regiment formerly	
The Prince's Dragoons.		Wachop's 12.	
Marrowis's Dragoons.		The Regiment late the	
Scravemoer.		Earl of Ossory's 10.	
Sapbroeck.		C. Berkvelt 12.	
Fluddorp.		Holstein 10.	
Syde.		Wirtenburgh 10.	
Oga.		Hagendorn 10.	
Zulestein.		Fagel 10.	
		Nassaw 10.	
		Carelfon 12.	
In all		Brander 10.	
Troops	1683	Prince of Berkvelt 10.	
Life Guard	197	In all 164 Companies at	
Regiment of		53 in each Company.	
Guards under		Guards	8692
C. Benting.	480		2000
Marrowis's			—
Dragoons	440		10692
	—		
	3660	Foot	10692
		Horse	3660
		In all	14352

A List of the Fleet.

Men of War	65
Fly Boats	500
Pinks	60
Fire-ships	10
	635.



On *Friday* the Prince march'd into the City of *Exe-*^{The Prince}
ter with his Guards, and took up his Quarters in the ^{marched in}
Dean's House, where he kept his Court all the time he ^{to Exeter.}
 staid in that City. Afterwards followed the Main Bo-
 dy of the Army, which was dispos'd of, the Horse
 about *Tiverton, Culhampton, Honyton*, and parts adja-
 cent, and the Foot encampt on *Clist Heath*. From hence
 we return to *London*, to see how Affairs were manag'd
 there.

Indeed the Kings Preparations were very great, and
 he seem'd resolv'd to oppose the Prince of *Orange* in per-
 son; but first he assembles the Bishops out of their se-
 veral Dioceses, and when they waited upon him in a
 Body to know his Pleasure, he not only gave them per-
 mission to give him the best Advice, but encourag'd
 them to do it with all the Freedom that was necessary
 in this Exigency. Upon this Royal Invitation their
 Lordship's assembled in his *Grace of Canterbury's* Palace,
 and upon mature Deliberation drew up what they
 thought fit, and presented it to his Majesty; the sub-
 stance whereof imported, that it was necessary, 'His
 Majesty should restore all things to the same State in
 'which he found them at his Accession the Crown.
 'That he would suppress the *Jesuits Schools*, send out
 'Inhibitions against those four *Romish Bishops*, who un-
 'der the Title of Apostolick Vicars, presum'd to exer-
 'cise an unlawful Jurisdiction in this Kingdom. That
 'he would suffer no more *Quo Warranto's* to be issued
 'out against Corporations. That he would fill up all
 'vacant Bishopricks. That he would act no more
 'by virtue of a *Dispensing Power*, but disclaim it.
 'And lastly, That he would permit some of his Bishops
 'to lay such Arguments before him, as by Gods Bless-
 'ing might bring him back to the *Communion of the*
 '*Church of England*, into whose Faith he was baptiz'd.
 After this the Lords Spiritual and Temporal joyn'd to-
 gether, and deliver'd the King a *Petition* to this Effect.

*The Bishops
Advice to
the King.*

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1688.The Lords
Petition.The King's
Answer.

‘ That considering a War was ready to break out in the Bowels of his Kingdom, that his person was in danger, and his People in Distraction: the best way to compose all Differences, was to call a Parliament Regular and Free in all its Circumstances: Which they brought him to do speedily wherein they should be ready to promote such Councils as might Conduce to his Honour and Safety, and the Satisfaction of the People. To the Bishops Proposals he condescended for the most part, and made answer to the Lords Petition, ‘ That upon the word of a King he would have such a Parliament as they ask’d for, as soon as the Prince of Orange had quitted the Land, since it was impossible a Parliament should be Free in all its Circumstances while an Enemy was in the Kingdom;’ but since he saw this Answer did not please the Lords, and being impatient under the Restraint that was upon him, he order’d all his Forces to march *Westward*, and stay for him at *Salisbury*, where he would shortly be himself.

The Prince had not been long at *Exeter*, before he found the *English* Nobility and Gentry resort to him: First, out of the *West* many considerable Persons; the Lord *Colchester* and Mr *Wharton* out of *Buckinghamshire*; the Lord *Lovelace* out of *Oxfordshire*; the Lord *Delamere* out of *Cheshire*; in the *North* the Earl of *Danby*, now Duke of *Leeds*, the Lord *Fairfax*, and several other Persons of Quality, seiz’d upon the City of *York*, and turn’d out the Papists. Collonel *Copley* surpriz’d *Hull*, and made the Lord *Langdale* and the Lord *Montgomery* Prisoners, till with the help of the Townsmen and Seamen, he had secur’d the Castle and Cittadel. *Plymouth* also with the Earl of *Huntingdon* and all his Popish Officers and Soldiers, was seiz’d by the Earl of *Bath* for his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, and at the same time all the chief Sea Port Towns in *Cornwal* declar’d for the Prince: So that there was no Enemy behind to Disturb the Rear of his Advancing Army. The King, in hopes to break thro’ all these Oppositions, goes down to *Salisbury*, where he was soon acquainted, that the Lord *Cornbury* had carried off a considerable part of his Horse; that several Regiments of his Foot had deserted, and gone in to the Prince; and, in short, *That there was no Trust to be put in his Army*. One Morning, going to view that part of his Army that was left, his Nose fell a Bleeding, which he look’d up-
on

K. James
at Salis-
bury

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on as an ill Prognostick; and that being attended with a false Alarm, that Count *Schomberg* was advanc'd within 20 Miles of him, with the Vantguard of the Prince's Army, he left *Salisbury*, return'd back to *Windsor*, and so to *London*, with all the speed he could. But before he left *Salisbury*, he had the Mortification to hear that his Court was as much out of order as his Camp. Prince *George* of *Denmark*, the Duke of *Ormond*, and the Lord *Churchill*, were all gone to the Prince, and the Princess *Anne* of *Denmark* was retir'd another way.

The Prince of *Orange* by this time was advanc'd as *The Prince* far as *Hungerford*, whose Fame, and the People's Joy at *Hungerford* and Satisfaction increas'd as his Highness's Declaration was spread through the Kingdom, and Men of all Qualities hasten'd to put themselves under his Auspicious Conduct: which King *James* perceiving, and being told by the Lord *Feverham* and others, that there was no depending upon the small Remains of his Army, who unanimously declar'd, *They would not fight against Protestants, nor offend the Prince that Heaven had sent to deliver the Nation from Popery*, he Issues out Writs for the sitting of a Parliament at *Westminster* on the 15th day of *January* following. To second this plausible Pretence, he sends the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Nottingham*, and the Lord *Godolphin* to the Prince at *Hungerford*, where Proposals were mutually made on each side towards an Accommodation, and the Prince sent the King such Terms, as the King himself was pleas'd to say, *were better and fairer than he expected from him*: But all this, on the King's part, was only a Flourish; for having sent away the Queen, the Child, *The Queen* Count *Dada*, the Pope's Nuncio, and Father *Petre*, and sent into *France* thrown the Broad Seal into the *Thames*, he only shew'd this complaisance, to gain time for his own Departure into *France* after them. He had promis'd the Queen, and as some say, taken the Sacrament upon it, to follow her, and rather than break his Word with a pettish Woman, run headlong to his own Ruin. *Go he must, go he will, let whatever will be the consequence of it.* And that he might do all the Mischief he could before he went, and leave the Realm in confusion, he order'd that all those Writs that were not sent out for the sitting of the Parliament should be Burnt, and a Caveat be enter'd against making use of those that were sent out already. To this, he was pleas'd to add an Order

A. D. to the Lord *Feverham*, to disband the Army; which
 1688. was done accordingly, and then made his first Attempt
 ~~~~~ to leave the Kingdom.

*The King taken at Fe-  
 verham.* In pursuance of this Design, the King about Mid-  
 \* Decem- night took water at *Whitehall* Privy Stairs, and sail'd  
 ber 12. down the River in a small Vessel; but the Weather  
 proving foul, he was forc'd into a Creek near *Fever-  
 sham* in *Kent*, where he was taken by some *Rude Fish-  
 ermen* that knew him not \*, and rifled of what Gold  
 and Jewels he had about him: being brought to *Fever-  
 sham*, and known, the Fellows return'd him what they  
 had robb'd him of; but the King would receive only  
 his Jewels, and gave the Gold among them.

*The Lords  
 assembl'd at  
 Guildhall* In this time the *London Mob* broke out in great num-  
 bers, and in a merciless Fury pull'd down all the new  
 erected *Mass Houses* in the City and Suburbs, Burn-  
 ing and Destroying all before them, scarce leaving one  
 Stone upon another, and with loud Acclamations con-  
 sum'd the very *Wainscot* in fiery Triumphs; while  
*Common Thieves* mixing with the more harmless Boys,  
 took opportunity to rob the Houses of some *Ambassa-  
 dors* and other *Papists*, to their great Damage. To re-  
 dress these disorders, several Lords Spiritual and Tempo-  
 ral, upon notice of the King's being withdrawn, as-  
 sembled at *Guildhall*, sent for Collonel *Skelton*, then  
 Lieutenant of the *Tower*, demanded the Keys of him,  
 which he willingly resigning, the Government of the  
*Tower* was given to the Lord *Lucas*, a Person of known  
 Honour, and a sincere Lover of his Country. Nor  
 were the *Lords* less vigilant in suppressing the Lawless  
 Rioters, committing the chief of them to *Newgate*.  
 Then considering the dangerous Conjunction of the  
 time, that the King was withdrawn, and the Nation  
 without a Government, they unanimously agreed to  
 apply themselves to the *Prince of Orange*; declaring  
*The Lord's* farther, ' That they would with their utmost Endeavour  
*Address.* ' assist his Highness, in the speedy obtaining such a Par-  
 ' liament, wherein their Lives, Liberties and Proper-  
 ' ties might be secur'd, and the Protestant Religion and  
 ' its Interest over the whole World might be encourag'd  
 ' and supported. Which Declaration was signed by 29  
 Lords, and sent to the Prince of *Orange*, by the Earl  
 of *Pembroke*, the Lord Viscount *Weymouth*, the Lord  
 Bishop of *Ely*, and the Lord *Culpeper*.

*The Lord  
 Jefferies  
 apprehend-  
 ed.* The next day the Lord *George Jefferies*, having dis-  
 guised and absconded himself in a Seaman's House in  
 Wap-



*Wapping*, in order to his Escape beyond Sea, as he was looking out of the Window in a Seaman's *Monmouth* Cap, was discovered by a *Clerk in Chancery* that accidentally pass'd by; and being apprehended, after a fair Deliverance from the *Mob*, who would fain have torn him to pieces, he was committed to the *Tower*, where he lay a Prisoner two months, and then died a natural Death.

*December* the 13th 1688. about three a Clock in the morning, there was a dreadful *Alarm* in *London*, that the *Irish* in a desperate fury were approaching the City, putting Men, Women, and Children to the Sword, and burning all the Towns as they came along. Where-upon all the Citizens rose in Arms, putting Lights in all their Windows. The *Train'd-Bands* were raised, and there was nothing but Shooting and Beating of Drums all night. Part of the *Train'd-Bands* advanc'd as far as *Hyde-Park*, to stop their Passage there; but notwithstanding, several Horsemen from time to time reported, that the *Irish* were advanced as far as *Kensington*, and other places as near, and that the same report had spread it self through every Town and Parish in *England* at the same time, insomuch that all that could handle any kind of Weapon, were up in Arms in their own Defence: Yet there was not one Syllable of Truth in all these *Noises*, *Frights* and *Consternations*, that at one and the same moment *Alarm'd* the whole Kingdom. The Cause whereof I won't pretend to judge any farther, than that most Men thought it a *politick* contrivance of the Duke of *Schomberg*, to try the Temper of the Nation.

On the 14th of *December* his Highness the Prince of *Orange* came to *Windsor*, and Lodged in the Prince of *Denmark's* Apartment, which was prepared for his Reception. By this time the *Lords* that assembled in the City were returned to *Whitehall*; and having notice of the King's being at *Feverham*, appointed the *Lords* *Feverham*, *Alisbury*, *Tarmouth*, and *Middleton*, to attend him, and invite him to his Palace at *Whitehall*; to which, tho at first he shew'd some Reluctance, yet at length he condescended, and on *Sunday* the 16th of *December* arrived at *Whitehall*; attended by several of the Nobility, and a great Guard of Horse: and from thence set the Lord *Feverham* to Invite his Highness to accept of *S. James's* for the place of his Residence. A *Compliment* little expected at *Windsor*. The Prince im-



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parted this Invitation to the Lords that were with him, who not thinking it convenient that the King and the Prince should be in one place, and yet there was a necessity for the Prince's being in Town the next day, the Prince subscribed a Paper, and sent it to the King by the Marquis of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury*, and the Lord *Delamere*, importing, *That it was thought convenient, for the greater Safety of his Person, that he should remove to Ham, or to some place or other about the same distance from London*: And for preventing any disturbance, it was resolv'd that his Highness's Guards should be possess'd of all the Posts and Avenues about *Whitehall* before the Paper was delivered; which made it late before the Lords could have access to the King. However, being admitted about 12 a clock, his Majesty read the Letter, and readily comply'd with it; but upon second thoughts, desired he might rather return to *Rocheſter*: which the Prince consenting to, next morning Guards and Barges were appointed to attend him. He reach'd *Graveſend* that evening, and from thence in his own Coach went to *Rocheſter*, making choice of Sir *Richard Head's* House for his Residence.

The Prince  
came to St  
James's.

In the Afternoon, the same day that the King left *Whitehall*, his Highness, with a splendid Equipage, and a numerous Attendance, came to *St James's*, and receiv'd the Congratulations of all the Nobility, and persons of the chiefest Quality in Town: nor were the People in general wanting to signify their Joy and Satisfaction at so great a change of Affairs, by Ringing of Bells, Blazing of Bonfires, and all the publick Demonstrations of Joy imaginable.

The King  
left Eng-  
land.

After the King had continued some time at *Rocheſter*, he laid his design of leaving the Kingdom for good and all; and upon the 22d of *December* 1688. about 12 a clock at night he left *Rocheſter*, and with a small Train, taking obscure Roads, with great Secrecy and Caution, hasten'd to the Sea-side, near *Dover*, where he embark'd, and Landed at *Calais* in *France*.

At his Arrival the *French* King gave him his Castle of *St Germain's* for a Palace, and had suitable Entertainment from that Prince according to his Dignity; where, after many fruitless Attempts, as appears by the Sequel of this Story, to regain his Kingdoms, he died the 17th day of *September* 1701, Aged 68.



# THE INTER-REGNUM.

Thus King *James II.* Abdicating the Government by other previous Actions, and now by voluntary Leaving the Kingdom, yielded his *Vacant* Throne to the Prince of *Orange*: And if his Highness had ascended it without any other Ceremony, as some other Kings had done before him, none could have blam'd him for making use of the Advantage his Sword had gain'd him: But as he came to redress the Grievances of the Nation, by calling a *Free Parliament*; so he would abide by their Determinations in what concern'd his own Person; and not, by any rash or precipitate Action, seem to cross the end of his coming. Upon notice that the King was withdrawn, to make up this Breach in the Government, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal assembled in the House of Lords, 'and humbly desired *The Lords*  
' the Prince of *Orange* to take upon him the Admini-Requests to  
' stration of Publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the Prince  
' the disposal of the Publick Revenues, for the Preservation  
' of the Religion, Laws, Liberties, Properties, and Peace  
' of the Nation; and that his Highness would take in-  
' to his particular care the present Condition of *Ireland*,  
' and endeavour by the most speedy and effectual means,  
' to prevent the Dangers threatned in that Kingdom.  
All which their Lordships requested his Highness to undertake till the Meeting of the intended Convention, on the 22d of *January* ensuing; and presented this Address to his Highness *St James's, December 25th 1688.*  
To which his Highness was pleased to return this Answer.

*My Lords,*

' I have have consider'd of your Advice, and as far  
' as I am able, I will endeavour to secure the Peace of  
' the Nation until the Meeting of the Convention in  
' *January* next; for the meeting whereof, I will forth-  
' with issue out Letters according to your Desire. I  
will



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will also take care to apply the publick Revenue to the most proper Uses that the present Affairs require, and likewise endeavour to put *Ireland* into such a Condition, that the Protestant Religion may be maintained in that Kingdom: And I assure you, that as I came hither for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of the Kingdom, I shall always be ready to expose my self to any Hazard for the Defence of them.

His Highness being thus invested with Authority, he sends for all such Persons as had been Members of Parliament in the Reign of King *Charles II.* together with the Aldermen and Common Council of the City of *London*, and desired them to meet and advise upon the best Methods of pursuing the Ends of his Declaration. These Gentlemen repairing to the House of Commons, and having chosen Mr *Powel* their Chairman, in Concurrence with the Lords, upon the 26th of *December* renew their Address to his Highness, to take upon him the Administration of publick Affairs: and the 22d of *January* being come, both Houses met, and having chosen the Marquis of *Hallifax* and Mr *Powel* for Speakers, the following Letter from his Highness the Prince of *Orange* was read in both Houses.

*My Lords,*

The Prince  
his Address  
to both  
Houses.

I have endeavoured to the utmost of my power, to perform what was desired from me, in order to the publick Peace and Safety; and I do not know that any thing hath been omitted which might have tended to the Preservation of them, since the Administration of Affairs was put into my hands. It now lies upon you to lay the Foundations of a firm Security for your Religion, your Laws, and your Liberties. I do not doubt, but that by such a full and free Representative of the Nation as is now met, the Ends of my Declaration will be attained. And since it hath pleased God hitherto to bless my good Intentions with so great success, I trust in him that he will compleat his own Work, by sending a Spirit of Peace and Union to influence your Councils, that no Interruption may be given to a happy and lasting Settlement.

The dangerous Condition of the *Protestants* in *Ireland* requires a large and speedy Succour; and the present state of things abroad oblige me to tell you, that next to the danger of unseasonable Divisions among your selves, nothing can be so fatal as too great



‘ great delay in your Consultations. The *States*, by  
 ‘ whom I have been enabled to Rescue this Nation,  
 ‘ may suddenly feel the ill Effects of it, both by being  
 ‘ too long deprived of the Service of their Troops, which  
 ‘ are now here, and of your early Assistance against a  
 ‘ powerful Enemy, who hath declared a War against  
 ‘ them: And as *England* is by Treaty already engaged to  
 ‘ help them upon such Exigencies, so I am confident  
 ‘ that their cheerful Concurrence to preserve this King-  
 ‘ dom, with so much hazard to themselves, will meet  
 ‘ with all the Returns of Friendship and Assistance  
 ‘ which may be expected from you, as *Protestants* and  
 ‘ *Englishmen*, whenever their Condition shall require  
 ‘ it. Given at St James’s the 22d of Jan. 1688.

Will. H. P. d’ Orange.

The two Houses, under a deep Sense of their Dan-  
 gers and Deliverance, in the first place by mutual  
 Consent exprest their Thankfulness to God, by ap-  
 pointing a day of publick Thanksgiving throughout  
 the Kingdom, and to his *Highness* as the Glorious In-  
 strument, in the following Address, which was pre-  
 sented to him *January 22, 1689.* entitl’d, *The Address*  
*of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assem-*  
*bled at Westminster, in this present Convention: To his*  
*Highness the Printe of Orange.*

‘ We the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Com-  
 ‘ mons assembled at *Westminster*, being highly sensible  
 ‘ of the great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Pope-  
 ‘ ry and Arbitrary Power, and that our Preservation is,  
 ‘ next unto God, owing to your *Highness*; do return  
 ‘ our most humble Thanks and Acknowledgments to  
 ‘ your *Highness* as the glorious Instrument of so great a  
 ‘ Blessing. We do farther acknowledge the great Care  
 ‘ your *Highness* has been pleased to take in the Admini-  
 ‘ stration of the publick Affairs of this Kingdom to this  
 ‘ time: And we do most humbly desire your *Highness*  
 ‘ that you will take upon you the Administration of  
 ‘ publick Affairs both Civil and Military, and the dis-  
 ‘ posal of the publick Revenue, for the Preservation of  
 ‘ our Religion, Rights, Laws, Liberties and Properties,  
 ‘ and of the Peace of the Nation; and that your *Highness*  
 ‘ will take into your particular care the present State of  
 ‘ *Ireland*, and endeavour, by the most speedy and effect-  
 ‘ al means, to prevent the Dangers that threaten that  
 ‘ King-

The Thanks  
 of both  
 Houses.



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‘ Kingdom. All which we make our Requests to your  
 ‘ *Highness* to undertake and exercise till farther Applica-  
 ‘ tion shall be made by us : which shall be expedited  
 ‘ with all convenient speed : And we shall use our ut-  
 ‘ most Endeavours to give dispatch to the matters recom-  
 ‘ mended to us by your *Highness's* Letter. To which  
 Address, presented by both Houses at *St James's*, his  
 Highness the Prince of *Orange* made the following Re-  
 ply the same day.

*My Lords and Gentlemen,*

*The Prince's  
 Reply.*

‘ I am glad that what I have done hath pleased you,  
 ‘ and since you desire me to continue the Administrai-  
 ‘ on of Affairs, I am willing to accept it. I must re-  
 ‘ commend to you the Consideration of Affairs abroad,  
 ‘ which make it fit for you to expedite your Business,  
 ‘ not only for making a Settlement at Home upon a  
 ‘ good Foundation, but for the Safety of all *Europe*.

*The Lord's  
 Vote.*

Now the Lords having declared, by a Vote of that  
 House, *That Popery was inconsistent with the Government*  
*of England*; the Commons, upon the 28th of *January*,  
 pass'd the following Vote, *viz.* Resolved, *That King*

*The Com-  
 mons Vote.*

*James the Second, having endeavoured to Subvert the Con-  
 stitution of this Kingdom, by breaking the Original Contract  
 between the King and People, and by the Advice of Jesuits  
 and other wicked Persons, having withdrawn himself out of  
 this Kingdom, hath Abdicated the Government, and that  
 the Throne is thereby Vacant.* This Vote occasioned sever-  
 al Conferences between the two Houses of Lords and  
 Commons, in the *Painted Chamber* at *Westminster*; but  
 on the 7th of *February* the Lords sending a Message to  
 the Commons, that they had agreed to the *Vote* sent them  
 up on the 28th of *January* last, without any Alterati-  
 ons; on the 12th of *February* following both Houses  
 unanimously agreed to Declare as followeth:

*The Declaration of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and  
 Commons Assembled at Westminster.*

‘ Whereas the late King *James II.* by the Assistance  
 ‘ of Evil Counsellors, Judges and Ministers employed  
 ‘ by him, did endeavour to *subject and extirpate* the Pro-  
 ‘ testant Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of this  
 ‘ Kingdom. By Assuming and Exercising a Power of  
 ‘ *Dispensing* with, and *Suspending* of Laws, and the Ex-  
 ‘ ecution of Laws without the Consent of Parliament.

‘ By



‘ By committing and persecuting divers worthy *Prelates*,  
‘ for humbly Petitioning to be excused from concurring  
‘ to the same Assumed Power. By Issuing out, and  
‘ causing to be executed a Commission under the *Broad*  
‘ *Seal*, for erecting a Court called, *The Court of Commis-*  
‘ *sion for Ecclesiastical Affairs*. By levying Money for  
‘ and to the use of the Crown, by pretence of *Prerogative*,  
‘ for other time and in other manner than the same was  
‘ granted by Parliament. By raising and keeping a  
‘ *Standing Army* within the Kingdom in time of Peace,  
‘ without consent of Parliament; and Quartering of  
‘ Soldiers contrary to Law. By causing several good  
‘ Subjects, being Protestants, to be *Disarmed*, at the same  
‘ time when Papists were armed and employed contrary  
‘ to Law: By violating the Freedom of *Elections* of Mem-  
‘ bers to serve in Parliament. By Prosecutions in the  
‘ Court of *Kings-Bench* for Matters and Causes *cogniza-*  
‘ *ble only in Parliament*, and by divers other Arbitrary  
‘ and Illegal Courses. And whereas of late Years Parti-  
‘ al, Corrupt and Unqualified persons have been re-  
‘ turn’d, and served on *Juries and Tryals*, and particu-  
‘ larly divers Jurors serv’d in Tryals for High Treason,  
‘ which were not Freeholders. And *Excessive Bail* had  
‘ been required of Persons committed in Criminal  
‘ Causes, to elude the Benefit of the Laws made for the  
‘ Subjects. And *Excessive Fines* have been imposed.  
‘ And *Illegal and Cruel Punishments* inflicted. And seve-  
‘ ral *Grants and Promises* made of *Fines and Forfeitures*,  
‘ before any Conviction or Judgment against the Persons  
‘ upon whom the same were to be Levied. All which  
‘ are utterly and directly contrary to the known Laws  
‘ and Statutes and Freedom of this Realm. And where-  
‘ as the late King *James II.* having *Abdicated* the Go-  
‘ vernment, and the Throne being thereby vacant; His  
‘ Highness the *Prince of Orange* (whom it hath pleas’d  
‘ Al mighty God to make the glorious Instrument of  
‘ Delivering this Kingdom from *Popery and Arbitrary*  
‘ *Power*) did (by the Advice of the Lords Spiritual and  
‘ Temporal, and divers principal persons of the Com-  
‘ mons) cause Letters to be written to the Lords Spiritual  
‘ and Temporal, being Protestants, and other Letters to  
‘ the several Counties, Cities, Universities, Boroughs and  
‘ Cinque Ports, for the chusing such persons to represent  
‘ them, as were of Right to be sent to Parliament, to  
‘ meet and sit at *Westminster* upon the 22d day of *Janu-*  
‘ *ary*, 1688. in order to such an Establishment, as that  
‘ their



A. D.

1688.



' their Religion, Laws and Liberties, might not again  
 ' be in danger of being subverted; upon which Letters  
 ' Elections have been made. And thereupon the said  
 ' Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, pur-  
 ' suant to their respective Letters and Elections, being  
 ' now Assembled in a Full and Free Representative of  
 ' this Nation, taking into their most serious Considera-  
 ' tion, the best means for attaining the Ends aforesaid,  
 ' do in the first place, as their Ancestors in like Cases  
 ' have formerly done, for Vindicating and Asserting  
 ' their Ancient Rights and Liberties, Declare, That the  
 ' pretended Power of *Suspending* of Laws, or the  
 ' Execution of Laws by Regal Authority, without Con-  
 ' sent of Parliament, is illegal. That the pretended  
 ' Power of *Dispensing* with Laws, or the exercise of  
 ' Laws by Regal Authority, as has been assum'd and  
 ' practis'd of late, is illegal. That the Commission for  
 ' Erecting a late *Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical*  
 ' *Causes*, and all other Commissions and Courts of the  
 ' like nature, are Illegal and Pernicious. That *Levying*  
 ' *of Money* to or for the Use of the Crown, by pretence  
 ' of Prerogative, without Grant of Parliament, for a  
 ' longer time, or in other manner than the same is or  
 ' shall be granted, is Illegal. That it is the Right of  
 ' the Subject to *Petition* the King, and all Commitments  
 ' and Prosecutions for such *Petitioning*, is Illegal. That  
 ' the Raising or Keeping a *Standing Army* within the  
 ' Kingdom, in time of Peace, unless it be by Consent  
 ' of Parliament, is against Law. That the Subjects  
 ' being Protestants, may have *Arms for their Defence*  
 ' suitable to their condition, and as allow'd by Law.  
 ' That the Election of *Members of Parliament* ought to  
 ' be free. That the *Freedom of Speech and Debates*, and  
 ' Proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be Impeach'd  
 ' or Question'd in any Court or Place out of Parliament.  
 ' That *Excessive Bail* ought not to be required. Nor  
 ' *Excessive Fines* impos'd. Nor cruel and unusual *Pu-*  
 ' *nishments* inflicted. That Jurors ought to be *duly em-*  
 ' *pannell'd* and return'd, and Jurors which pass upon  
 ' Men in Tryals for High-Treason, ought to be Free-  
 ' holders. That all Grants and Promises of *Fines and*  
 ' *Forfeitures* of particular Persons, before Conviction are  
 ' Illegal and Void. That for Redress of all Grievances,  
 ' and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving  
 ' the Laws, *Parliaments* ought to be held frequently.  
 ' And they do *Claim, Demand, and Insist upon all and*



*singular the Premises, as their undoubted Rights and Li-* A. D.  
*berties, and that no Declarations, Judgments, Doings* 1688.  
*and Proceedings to the prejudice of the People, in any of the*  
*said Premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter in-*  
*to Consequence or Example.* To which Demand of their

Right, they are particularly encourag'd by the Decla-  
 ration of his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, as being  
 the only means for obtaining a full Redress and Remedy  
 therein. Having therefore an entire Confidence, that  
 his said Highness, the Prince of *Orange*, will perfect the  
 Deliverance so far advanc'd by him, and will still pre-  
 serve them from the Violation of their Rights which  
 they have here asserted, and from all other Attempts  
 upon their Religion, Rights and Liberties. The  
 said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons as-  
 sembled at *Westminster*, do Resolve,

‘ That *William* and *Mary*, Prince and Princess of *O-*  
 ‘ *range*, be declared King and Queen of *England*, *France*,  
 ‘ and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging,  
 ‘ to hold the Crown and Royal Dignity of the said  
 ‘ Kingdoms and Dominions, to them the said Prince and  
 ‘ Princess during their Lives, and the Life of the Sur-  
 ‘ vivor of them, and that the full and sole Exercise of  
 ‘ the Regal Power, be only in and executed by the said  
 ‘ Prince of *Orange*, in the Names of the said Prince  
 ‘ and Princess during their joint Lives: And after their  
 ‘ Deceases, the said Crown and Royal Dignity of the  
 ‘ said Kingdoms and Dominions, to be to the Heirs of  
 ‘ the Body of the said Princess; and for Default of  
 ‘ such Issue, to the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark* and the  
 ‘ Heirs of her Body, and for Default of such Issue, to  
 ‘ the Heirs of the Body of the said Prince of *Orange*.  
 ‘ And the said Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and  
 ‘ Commons, do pray the said Prince and Princess of  
 ‘ *Orange* to accept the same accordingly. And that  
 ‘ the Oaths hereafter mentioned, be taken by all per-  
 ‘ sons of whom the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*  
 ‘ might be required by Law, instead of them; and  
 ‘ that the said Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy* be  
 ‘ Abrogated.

I *A. B.* do sincerely Promise and Swear, that I will  
 be faithful, and bear true Allegiance to their Majesties  
 King *William* and Queen *Mary*.

*So help me God.*

I *A. B.* do Swear, that I do from My Heart Abhor,  
 Detest, and Abjure, as Impious and Heretical, this



A. D. 1688. *Damnable Doctrine and Position, That Princes Excommunicated or Depriv'd by the Pope, or any Authority of the See of Rome, may be Depos'd or Murder'd by their Subjects, or any other whatsoever, And I do declare, That no Foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have any Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Preheminence or Authority, Ecclesiastical or Spiritual, within this Realm.*

*So help me God.*

This Offer being made in due Form, and accepted by the Prince and Princess of Orange, on the 13th day of February 1688. the Lords and Commons order'd the following Proclamation to be publish'd.

*The Proclamation.*

*Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God, in his great mercy to this Kingdom, to vouchsafe us a miraculous Deliverance from Popery and Arbitrary Power, and that our Preservation is due, next under God, to the Resolution and Conduct of his Highness the Prince of Orange, whom God hath chosen to be the glorious Instrument of such an inestimable Happiness to us and our Posterity; and being highly sensible and fully perswaded of the great and eminent Virtues of her Highness the Princess of Orange, whose Zeal for the Protestant Religion, will no doubt bring a Blessing along with her upon this Nation. And whereas the Lords and Commons now Assembled at Westminster, have made a Declaration, and presented it to the said Prince and Princess of Orange, and therein desir'd them to accept the Crown, who have accepted the same accordingly: We therefore the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, together with the Lord Mayor and Citizens of London, and others the Commons of this Realm, do with full consent publish and proclaim, according to the said Declaration, William and Mary Prince and Princess of Orange, to be King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, with all the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging; who are accordingly to be own'd, deem'd, and taken by all the People of the aforesaid Realms and Dominions, who are from henceforward bound to acknowledge and pay unto Them all Faith and true Allegiance, beseeching God, by whom Kings Reign, to bless King William and Queen Mary with long and happy Years to Reign over us.*

*God Save K. William and Q. Mary.*



These ample and affectionate Demonstrations of the Nation's Gratitude, were as kindly receiv'd by the King and Queen, as they were dutifully offer'd by their Loving Subjects; and thus the King was pleas'd to express himself to the Lords and Commons upon the notice of it.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

*This is certainly the greatest proof of the Trust you have in us, that can be given, which is the thing that makes us value it the more; and we thankfully accept what you have offer'd. And as I had no other Intention in my coming hither, than to preserve your Religion, Laws and Liberties, so you may be sure that I shall endeavour to support them, and shall be willing to do any thing that shall be for the Good of the Kingdom, and to do all that is in my Power to advance the Welfare and Glory of the Nation.*

To accomplish what they had so happily began, the Lords and Commons having assembled in the Banqueting House, went down to Whitehall Gate, where they found the Heralds, Serjeants at Arms and Trumpets met together by order of his Grace the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal of England; and the Proclamation being given into the hands of Sir Thomas St. George, Garter Principal King at Arms, with an Order from the Lords and Commons to publish it, the Trumpets having sounded a Call three times, the last of which was answered by loud Acclamations from the vast number of People there assembled, he read the Proclamation above recited, by short Periods, which were repeated and proclaimed aloud by Robert Devenish, Esq; York Herald. The Proclamation being ended, the Officers of Westminster and the Knight Marshal's Men on Horse-back, march'd before to clear the way. Then follow'd nine Trumpets, the Pursuivant, Serjeants at Arms, and the Heralds; who were follow'd by Garter King at Arms, accompanied by Sir Thomas Duppa, with his Black Rod, the Ensign of his Office. Next in Order follow'd the Marquis of Hallifax, as Speaker to the House of Lords, in his Coach, attended by Sir Roger Harsenet, Eldest Serjeant at Arms with his Mace. Then follow'd Henry Powel Esquire, Speaker of the House of Commons, attended by John Topham, Serjeant at Arms to that House. After the two Speakers, followed the Duke of Norfolk Earl Marshal

K. William and Q. Mary proclaim'd at Whitehall.



A. D. and first Duke of *England*, in his Coach, with his  
 1688. Marshal's Staff in his hand; and next to him all the  
 Peers in order, in their Coaches, and last of all the  
 Members of the House of Commons in their Coaches.

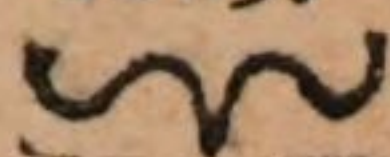
In this Order they proceeded as far as the *May-pole* in the *Strand*, where they made a Halt, while two of the Officers at Arms, a Serjeant at Arms and two Trumpets, rode before to *Temple-Bar*; where the *Lord Mayor*, *Aldermen* and *Sheriffs* attending, they caus'd the Gates to be shut. The *Herald* knocking at the Gate, one of the *Sheriffs* demanded the Cause of it. The *Herald* told him *That he came by Order of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at Westminster, to demand Entrance into that Famous City, for the proclaiming of William and Mary King and Queen of England, France and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging; and in Order to it, required their speedy Answer:* Upon which the Gates were opened; and leaving the Head Bayliff and Constable of *Westminster*, with their Attendants, without the *Bar*, the rest enter'd, and joining with the Magistracy of the City, proclaimed the King and Queen a second time between the two *Temple Gates*. The like they did at *Woodstreet-end* in *Cheapside*, a third time; and advancing to the *Royal-Exchange*, their Majesties were proclaimed a fourth time, whilst the great confluence of Spectators who thronged the Streets, Balconies, Windows, and Tops of the Houses, fill'd the Air with repeated Acclamations of Joy and Satisfaction.

Thus was accomplish'd one of the greatest *Revolutions* in the World, which put an end to the short Reign of *James II.* An *Unfortunate Prince*, that might have been as happy as his own Heart could have wish'd, if he would have made the Laws the Measures of his Government, and not have hearken'd too much to a sort of Men that never did any thing but Mischief in the World. He had met with but too many Occasions to understand the Genius and Temper of the People he was to govern, and to know, it was utterly impracticable to overthrow the Establish'd Religion, or to introduce a New one. He knew his Brother dissuaded him from Attempting it: And there was a Passage at his Father's Death, if he had observed it, would have prevented his Design of Setting up *Popery* or an *Arbitrary Power*. King *Charles I.* when he was upon the Scaffold, deliver'd his *George* to Dr. *Fuxon*, Lord Bishop of *London*,



don, saying to him, *Remember*, without adding other words. The *Council of State*, willing to know the meaning of that Expression, call'd the Bishop before them, to give them an account of it; His Lordship told them, That the King, immediately before his coming out to the place of Execution, had charged him to give his *George* to the Prince his Son, with these two last Commands; viz. *That he should forgive his Murderers: And that if he ever came to the Crown, he should govern his Subjects with so much Prudence and Moderation, as never to force them upon Extremities*: but how far he profited by all the Advantages on the one hand, and Examples and Advices on the other, was seen in his Reign, to his Subjects Grief, and his own Loss of Three Kingdoms: but that which aggravates his Circumstances, is, that he knew what Course to steer, to have made himself and his People happy, yet refused to follow his own Sentiments. This is plain by the first Speech he made after he was a King; which if his subsequent Actions had come up to, he had eterniz'd his Name, and might have reviv'd in himself the Memory of those of his Ancestors, who have deservedly given them by Posterity, the Character of *Good and Great*.





T H E  
*L I F E and R E I G N*  
 O F  
 King *WILLIAM*  
 A N D  
 Queen *MARY.*

**K**ing *William* III. and Queen *Mary* being thus legally settled in the Throne of *England*, and the few Soldiers of *Dumbarton's* Regiment, that some time after revolted, being quickly brought to submit, and no other Punishment being inflicted upon them, but being sent into *Holland* without any Defalcation of their pay, the next Business was to take care of *Scotland*, whither some time before, the King had sent a Body of Men under the Command of Major General *Mackay*, and where notwithstanding the Duke of *Gourdon* still held *Edinbrough* Castle, and that there was a Disposition in the Northern Inhabitants of that Kingdom to adhere still to the late King, a *Convention* met also; and notwithstanding the late King *James* writ to them as well as King *William*, yet his Letter was so far from having any effect upon them in his favour, that the *Convention* there declared the Throne of *Scotland* vacant; and, in an Address the Estates of the Kingdom pray'd King *William* and Queen *Mary* to accept the same accordingly. This Act being perfected in due form, the Earl of *Argyle*, with other Commissioners, were dispatch'd with it to *London*, to present it to the King and Queen, and













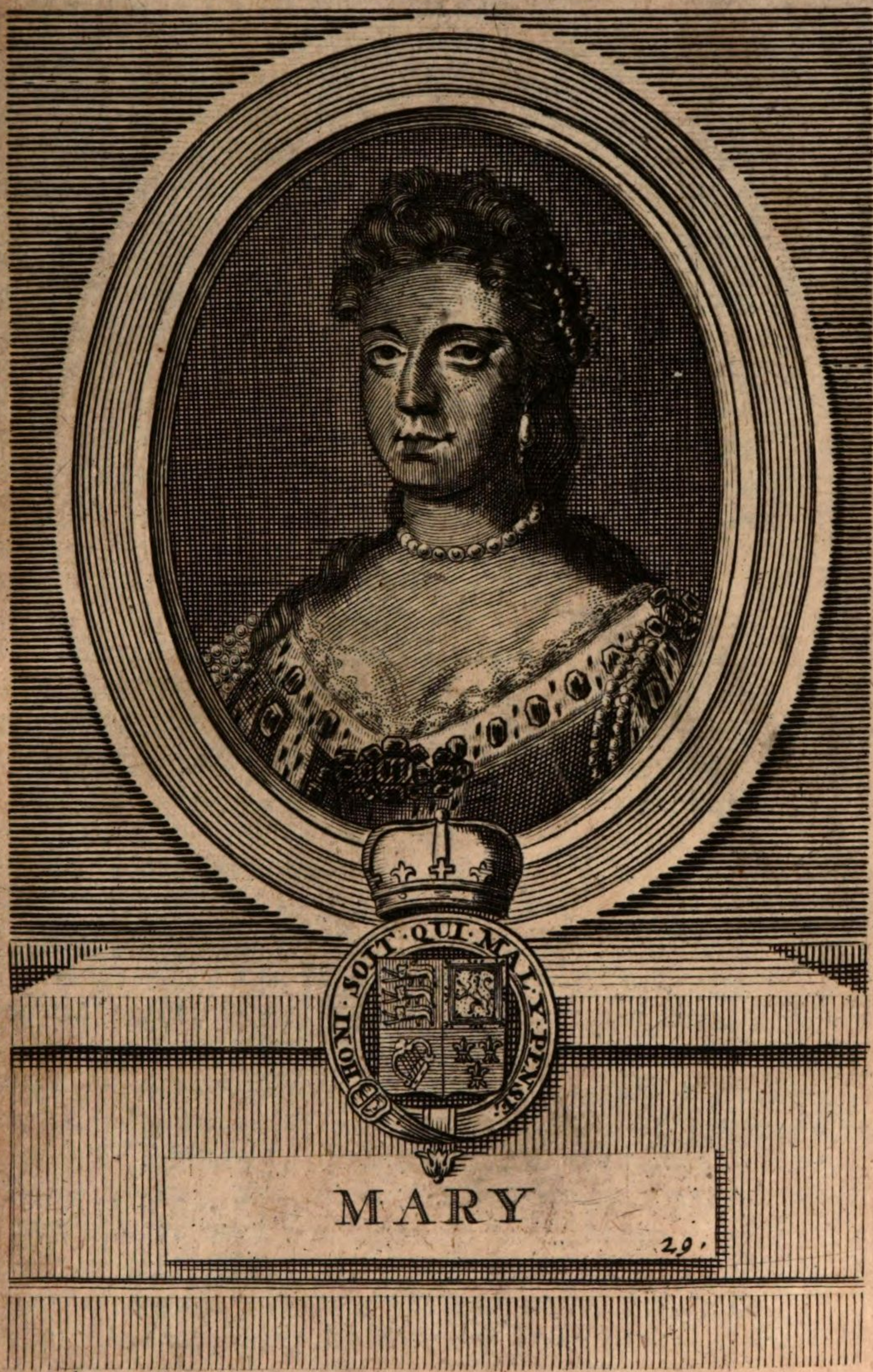
MARY

29.









MARY

29.







to take their Oaths; which being done the same Day that their Majesties were Crown'd King and Queen of England, they were also Proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland: and on the 11th of May the Earl of Argyle and the rest of the Commissioners tender'd the Coronation-Oath to their Majesties, which was distinctly pronounced by the Earl, while Their Majesties repeated the Sentences after him, holding up their Right-hand, according to the Custom of Scotland. But when the King came to that Clause of the Oath, *We shall be careful to root out Heriticks*; he declared, that he did not mean by those words, that he was under any obligation to become a Persecutor: which the Commissioners reply'd, that neither the Meaning of the Oath, nor the Law of Scotland, did import it: whereupon the King reply'd, that he took the Oath in that Sence, and called the Commissioners and others there present to be Witnesses of it. Then the Scotch Convention was converted into a Parliament; who abolished Episcopal Government, and settled Presbytery; which with other concurring Causes made Things uneasie for some time in Scotland. For tho' Edinburgh Castle was surrender'd to Sir John Lanier upon the 13th of June, yet the Earl of Dundee gathered Forces in the North for the late King; between which and Mackay happened several Rencounters. The first was upon the 16th of July, near Blaine in the County of Athol, where Mackay with 4000 Foot and 4 Troops of Horse and Dragoons, attack'd Dundee, who had 6000 Foot and 100 Horse. The Fight was very obstinate, and lasted till night; where tho' Mackay lost the Field, and retreated that night to Sterling, yet the Death of Dundee, who was slain in the Battle, did more than compensate for the other Loss, seeing he was the Life and whole Dependance of that Party, who afterward dwindled away, and were worsted every where, and particularly once and again at St. Johnston. In the last of these Conflicts, one single Regiment of the Earl of Angus's, under the Command of Lieutenant Colonel Cleeland, gave so entire a Defeat to their whole Force, which amounted to near 4000 Men, that they never after could appear in any considerable Body, and therefore many of the Chiefest among them submitted. An action worthy of Memory, and would have been esteemed at the highest rate, if it had not been accompanied with the Death of that brave Lieutenant

The King  
and  
Queen  
Proclaim-  
ed K. and  
Q. of  
Scotland

The Earl  
of Dun-  
deee slain.



A. D. Colonel; who if it had pleased Divine Providence,  
 1689. deserved a more propitious Fate. *May* the 19th  
 1689. the King was pleased to create *Frederick Schom-*  
*berg*, (late *Mareschal of France*) General of his Forces  
 Master General of the Ordnance, and one of the  
 Privy Council, a Baron, Earl, Marquis, and Duke  
 of this Kingdom, by the Name and Title of *Baron of*  
*Teyes*, *Earl of Brenford*, *Marquis of Harwich*, and  
*Duke of Schomberg*.

But how prosperous soever King *William's* Affairs  
 seemed in *England* and *Scotland*, they were not so in  
*Ireland*. *Ireland*; for *Tyrconnel* was settling all things in order  
 to secure that Kingdom for the late King, with  
 whom *Hamilton*, a profest Papist, who by a fatal  
 Mistake was sent over from *England* to perswade him  
 to lay down his Arms, traiterously joyned with him,  
 and so the Opportunity was lost for the present, and  
 Advantage given to the late King, to endeavour that  
 way the regaining his lost Dominions, since he was  
 like to receive little Assistance from any other Prince,  
 but what he had from the *French* King: For the Em-  
 perour, to whom he made a long Complaint and im-  
 plor'd his Assistance, was so far from complying with  
 his Desires, though he pitied his Condition, yet he  
 reprimanded his Folly in siding with the *French* King  
 to his own Ruin, and the hazard of all Christendom,  
 as may be read in the Emperour's Letter to him, a-  
 mong the *State Tracts*, dated at *Vienna* the 9th of *A-*  
*pril*, 1689. However, tho' his Imperial Majesty and  
 other Catholick Princes declined giving him any  
 Assistance, yet elevated with an Opinion of the Bra-  
 very and Fidelity of the *Irish*, he took Shipping at  
*Brest* in *France*, and landed in *Ireland* on the 12th of  
*March*, with about 1800 Auxiliary *French*, where  
 he found almost the whole Country at his Devotion;  
 for the greatest part of the Protestants being disarmed  
 before, and many having left the Kingdom, those that  
 remain'd were unable to make any Resistance. How-  
 ever, they made some shew of Forming an Army, but  
 were quickly routed by Lieutenant General *Hamilton*,  
 at a place called *Drummore*; which gave occasion to  
 the late King and *Tyrconnel* to take away the rest of  
 the Arms and Horses from all the Protestants, except  
 those that fled towards *London-derry*, and some few  
 that went to *Inniskilling*, who about the 25th of *March*  
 had Arms and Ammunition brought them by Captain  
*James*

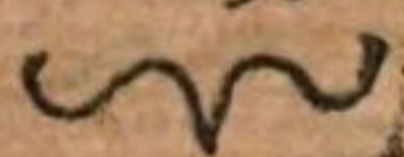
The Siege  
 of Lon-  
 don-der-  
 ry.



*James Hamilton*, and who behaved themselves with the greatest *Bravery* that ever Men did, under such forlorn Circumstances. Major *Baker*, whom they chose Governour after they had turn'd out Colonel *Lundy*, Mr. *Walker* the Minister, and Colonel *Mecklenburg*, who succeeded Governour after *Baker's* Death, demeaned themselves beyond Expectation: for neither a formidable Army without the Walls, nor a more terrible Enemy that had crept within, viz. Famine, which daily swept away Multitudes of the Garrison, could force them to yield; but they continued, till at length they were relieved by Colonel *Kirk*: And then on the 31st of *July* the *Irish* rais'd the Siege. This was no small Mortification to the *Irish*, who met with as bad Success in another Enterprize against the *Inniskillingers*; for, but the Day before about 6000 of them being upon their March, under the Command of Major General *Mackarty*, the *Inniskillingers* marched 20 Miles to meet them, and at a place call'd *Newton-Butler*, fought and routed them, took *Mackarty* Prisoner, and kill'd and drown'd near 300 of them, tho' the *English* were not above 2000 in all, of which they lost not above 20 Men, and had about 50 wounded.

A. D.

1689.

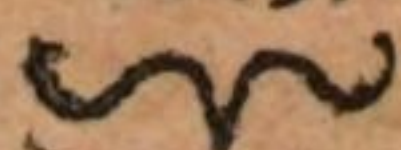


Duke  
of Schomberg

The King having by this time raised 18 Regiments of Foot and 5 of Horse for this Service, he sent them under the Command of the Duke of Schomberg for Ireland, who landed at *Carrickfergus Bay*; and after the General had sent out several Parties to discover the Posture of the Enemy, and to scowr the Country, on the 22th of *May* he laid Seige to *Carrickfergus*, where, after the Mortars and Cannon had plai'd for some Days upon the Town, *Macdarty Moore* capitulated, and surrender'd it upon the 28th of *May*. From hence, the Duke of Schomberg march'd the Army to *Lisburn* and on the 3d of *September* encamp'd at *Drummore*. The Day following they continued their March to *Loughillane*, where the *Inniskilling* Horse and Dragoons join'd them, and were order'd to be the *Advance Guard* to the Army. From hence they advanced to *Dundalk*, and encamp'd about a Mile North of the Town, in a low Moist Ground. The bad Weather, constant Marches, and Scarcity of Provisions, made our Men begin to faint. The Enemy after this made several Shews of *Fighting*: But the Duke saw they were not in earnest, and he was wary of Engaging,



A. D.  
1689.



His Re-  
spect to the  
Inniskil-  
lingers.

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Glocester  
born.

Laws a-  
gainst Po-  
pery.

for on the 27th News came into the Camp, that Colonel *Floyd* with about 2000 *Inniskillingers* had defeated a Body of the *Irish* that were marching towards *Sligo*, consisting of about 5000 Men, killing about 700 of them, taking *O Kelly* their Commander, and 40 other Officers, Prisoners, besides a great Booty of 8000 Head of Cattle; in which Action they lost but 14 Men: With this News the Duke was so well pleas'd, that he order'd all the *Inniskilling* Horse and Foot to draw out, and complemented them so far, as to ride all along their Line *with his hat off*; and gave them several Volleys in thanks of their Service. After this the *Irish* took *Sligo*, and gain'd some other Advantages of the *English*, but what was worse, they felt a more sensible Blow within themselves, by the Death of a great many brave Officers and Soldiers; for the Mortality was so great among them, that one half of the Army which was transported over, dy'd in a short time after their Landing.

July the 24th, 1689 Her Koyal Highness the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark* was brought to bed of a Son in the Palace of *Hampton Court*, between 4 and 5 in the morning who was baptiz'd *William* on *Saturday* following, the 27th of the same Month, by the Lord Bishop of *London*; the King with the Earl of *Dorset* and *Middlesex*, Lord Chamberlain, being Godfathers; and the Marchioness of *Hallifax*, Godmother. As soon as His Highness was Christen'd he was immediately declar'd Duke of *Gloucester*, by his Uncle King *William* the III.

At the latter end of *August* this Year 1689, died Pope *Innocent XI.* one of the greatest Popes that has posses'd that Chair since the days of *Gregory the Great.* His Name was *Odeschalchi*, but was as well known in *Europe* by the Name of the Protestant Pope, I suppose, because he disaprov'd the Severities that were exercis'd upon the Protestants by several Princes of *Europe*.

The Parliament of *England* perceiving that the late King had gone a great way towards the introducing the *Popish Religion* into this Kingdom, they took special care to prevent the like for the future, by Enacting in Concurrence with the Royal Authority, that the Kings and Queens of *England* should be oblig'd at their coming to the Crown to take the Test in the first Parliament that should be call'd at the Beginning of their



their Reign; and in the Bill of Succession, added a Clause, *That if a King or Queen of England should embrace the Roman Catholick Religion, or Marry with a Roman Catholick Prince or Princess, their Subjects should be absolv'd from their Oaths of Allegiance.* They also annull'd the Pretended Parliament in *Ireland*; and Enacted, That all that should take up Arms against the King after the 24th of *February*, or should hold Correspondence with his Enemies, should be guilty of High Treason. After which being prorogued to the 12th of *April*, they were dissolv'd by Proclamation upon the 5th of *February*; and the King by the same Proclamation, call'd a new Parliament to meet on the 30th of *March*.

At the latter end of this Year 1689, the late King *James* and his Popish Council in *Ireland*, laid the Foundation of the *Lancashire* Plot, wherein the chiefest Papists in that and many other Counties in *England*, who were lifting Men for that purpose, were to rise in Arms to Subvert the Present Government, and to Restore the late King; but the Plot being discover'd by some of the Confederates, they proceeded no farther in it at that time.

The Parliament being assembl'd at the time appointed, the King went to the House of Lords, and sending for the House of Commons, was pleas'd to deliver himself to this Effect: 'That being resolv'd to omit nothing on his part, that might contribute to the Peace and Prosperity of the Nation; and to that end, believing his Presence was absolutely necessary in *Ireland*, for Reducing of that Kingdom, he had call'd them together to desire their Assistance, that he might be in a capacity to carry on the War there with Speed and Vigour. To which purpose, he desired them to hasten the settling of the Revenues of the Crown, and that he might have a Fund settled in the meantime, upon the Credit whereof he might raise Money for the present Exigencies of the Nation. Then he was pleas'd to recommend to them the Passing of an Act of Oblivion, that his Subjects might see he had no other Intentions but to Govern by Law, and to leave them without Excuse that should attempt to disturb the Government in his Absence: And lastly, recommended to them an Union with *Scotland*; and then Inform'd them, that he intended during his Absence, to leave the Administration of the Government

A. D.

1689.

The Lan-

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Plot be

gan.

The Par-  
liament  
meets.The  
King's  
Speech.



A. D. 1690. 'ment in the hands of the *Queen*, and desired them to  
 'prepare an Act for that purpose; concluding with  
 'an earnest Desire, that they would be as speedy in-  
 'the Despatch of Business as possibly they could, in re-  
 'gard his Expedition into *Ireland* would not admit of  
 'any long Sessions. All the Particulars mention'd in  
 His Majesty's Speech, the Parliament readily compli'd with, and settled them accordingly: And Mat-  
 ters being brought to so happy a Period, his Majesty,  
 after returning them Thanks, Prorogu'd them to the

*The King* 17th of *June*, and then hasten'd for *Ireland*, where he  
*Landed* arriv'd the 14th of the same Month, to the great Joy  
*Ireland*. of all the Protestants in that Kingdom.

*The  
 Scotch  
 Rebels  
 routed.*

The Rebels in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, under the  
 Command of Colonel *Cannon*, lurking in inaccessible  
 places in the *High Lands*, still kept in a Body, and  
 took their Opportunities to make frequent Incursions  
 into the *Low Lands*, to Plunder and Spoil where're  
 they came; and now being reinforc'd from King  
*James* in *Ireland*, with about 40 Commission Officers,  
 and two Ships laden with *Cloaths*, *Arms*, and *Ammu-  
 nition*, they were encourag'd, about one hundred and  
 fifty strong, to advance as far as *Strathpag* in the Coun-  
 ty of *Murray*; which Sir *Thomas Levingstone* no sooner  
 understood, but (to prevent their farther Accession  
 of Strength, in joining with other Malecontents) he  
 fell upon them so suddenly, that the Horse and Dra-  
 goons entering their Camp, put them into such a Con-  
 fusion, that they betook themselves to Flight, leaving  
 between four and five hundred dead upon the Spot,  
 an hundred taken Prisoners; and this Blow being fol-  
 low'd by others, totally ruin'd the late King's Interest  
 in *Scotland*.

*Ecclesia-  
 stical and  
 Civil Af-  
 fairs in  
 Ireland*

A sad time had all the *Protestants* both Clergy and  
 Laity in *Ireland*, in the whole time of *Tyrconnel's*  
 Administration there, which they were all in hopes  
 would be redress'd when King *James* came into *Ire-  
 land*; but on the contrary, notwithstanding all his  
 fair Promises, things were then carried at a higher  
 rate of Persecution than before, most of the Churches  
 in and about *Dublin* were seiz'd upon by the Govern-  
 ment; and at the last *Lutterel*, Governour of *Dublin*,  
 issued out an Order forbidding more than five Protestants  
 to meet together under pain of death. Being ask'd  
 whether this was design'd to hinder their Meeting in  
 Churches? He answer'd, *It was design'd to hinder their  
 meeting*



meeting there, as well as in other places: And accordingly all the Churches were shut up, and all Religious Assemblies through the whole Kingdom forbidden under pain of Death. But to give a Decisive Blow, an Act of

*Attainder* was pass'd in Parliament, which when presented to the late King for Assent, the Speaker of the House told him, *That many were attainted upon such Evidence as satisfied the House, and the rest upon Common Fame.* In this Act no fewer were Attainted than Two Arch-bishops, one Duke, seventeen Earls, seven Countesses, twenty eight Viscounts, two Viscountesses, seven Bishops, eighteen Barons, thirty three Baronets, fifty one Knights, eighty three Clergymen, two Thousand one hundred eighty two Esquires and Gentlemen, and all of them, unheard, Declar'd and Adjudg'd Traitors, Convicted and Attainted of High Treason, and adjudg'd to suffer the pains of Death and Forfeitures. And to make this Act the more terrible, and to put the Persons attainted out of the possibility of escaping, the Act it self was conceal'd, and no Protestant allow'd a Copy of it till four Months after it was pass'd: Which shews that they intended the utter Extirpation of the Protestants, Root and Branch. From King James's Court and Parliament, let us return to the English Camp in that Country.

*The Act of Attainder in Ireland.*

Dundalk was not the only place that prov'd fatal to our Army in Ireland, for both Officers and Soldiers died in great numbers when they came into Quarters.

However, Sickness by degrees abating, they found both Men and Horses which survived, in indifferent good plight; and Colonel Woolsey engaging the Irish near Belturbet, tho' with great Disadvantage, he put them to Flight with great loss of their Men, and the Town of Belturbet, where the English got good Plunder, and Burn'd it. About the same time Sir John Lanier routed another Party near Dundalk, took Bedloe Castle, and about 1500 Cows and Oxen. Sir Cloudesty Shovel, on Good Friday, took the only Frigate the late King had in his Possession, in his own fight at Rings-end, notwithstanding all the Opposition that could be made against him by Sea and Land. But to return again to Affairs in the North, were little was done besides taking the Castle of Charlemont, a strong place by Nature and Art, being seated upon a peice of Ground in the middle of a Bay, and only accessible by two ways. Old Teague O Kogan was Governour

*en.*

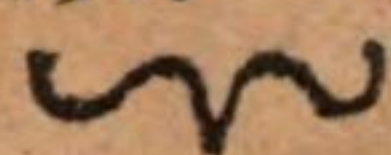
*Charlemont Castle Taken.*

of



A. D. of the Castle, and upon the first summon was so furly,  
 1689. that he gave ill words, and refused to Capitulate:  
 ~~~~~ But after the loss of many Men, and being driven to  
 great streights, he accepted terms, surrendred it, and
 Collonel *Babington* took possession of it for King *Wil-*
liam.

190.



The King, as you heard before, landed at *Carickfer-*
gus on *June* the 4th, 1690, being attended by *Prince*
George, the Duke of Ormond, the Earls of Oxford,
Scarborough and Manchester, and the Honourable Mr.
Boyle, with many other Persons of Quality, and went
 in Duke *Schomberg's* Coach that Evening into *Belfast,*
 and some days after to *Lisburn* and din'd with the Ge-
 neral. From thence the King passed to *Hillsborough,*
 and finding things moved but slowly, he said *He came*
not thither to suffer Grass to grow under his feet, and
 made his Word good, for the whole Army now re-
 ceived Orders to march into the Field, and from
 thence to *Dundalk,* where the whole Army, *English,*
Dutch, Danes, Germans, and French joyned, making
 in the whole 36000 Men. From hence they marched
 to *Ardes,* which the Enemy had abandon'd, where
 the King viewing the Country as he marched along,
 said, *It was worth fighting for.* On the last of *June* he
 understood that all the *Irish* Army had passed the
Boyne, upon which he ordered the whole Army to
 move in three lines toward that River, which was
 then three Miles distant from them, and the Enemy
 being near our Advanc'd Guards, made their Ap-
 proaches very regularly, and by Nine a Clock were
 within two Miles of *Drogheda.* The King rode to the
 Pass at the Old Bridge, and stood upon the Bank of
 the River to observe the Enemies Posture. After this
 he rid about 200 paces up the River, nigh the West
 of all the Enemies Camp, and whilst his Army was
 marching in, his Majesty alighted, and sat down upon
 a Rising-ground, where he refresh'd himself for about
 an hour; during which time, some of the *Irish* shot at
 our Dragoons with great Guns, It was farther ob-
 served, that a Party of about 40 Horse advancing very
 slowly, stood in a plow'd Field over against the King for
 near half an hour, and brought two Field-pieces with
 them which they dropt behind a Hedge, that they
 might not be perceived; with one of which, when the
 King was mounted, they fired, and with it killed two
 Horses and a Man about a hundred yards above the
 place

The King
 wounded.

place where the King was ; which was no sooner done, but immediately came a Second which had almost been fatal to one of the greatest Lives upon Earth, for the Ball first grazed on the Bank of the River, upon its first Rising flanted upon the King's right Shoulder, took out a piece of his Coat, tore the Skin and Flesh and afterwards broke the Head of a Gentleman's Pistol. The Lord Conningsby seeing his Majesty struck, rid up to him and clapt his Handkerchief upon the place ; but the King himself took little notice of it, but kept his pace, saying *There was no necessity, the Bullet should have come nearer.* The Enemy continued Firing, and seeing their Shot disturb'd our Horse, made such a prodigious Shout through their Camp, as if the King's whole Army had been routed.

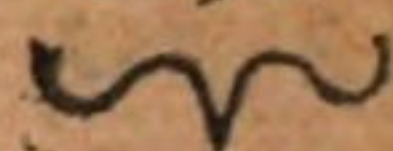
About Nine at night the King declared he would pass the River next day, and accordingly ordered how the Army should march, and who should command the several Posts. Lieutenant General Douglas was to command the Right Wing of Foot, Count Schomberg the Horse, who were to march early to Slane Bridge and other Fords up the River to flank the Enemy, or get between them. At Duleek the Lord Portland and Lord Overkirk had their Posts as *Mareschals de Camp*. The left Wing of the Horse were to pass between the Enemies Camp and Drogheda, whilst a Body of Foot forced their way at the pass at Old Bridge. Towards Evening the Cannon gave over playing on both sides, and the King ordered every Soldier to be ready next Morning by Break of Day, to march at a minutes warning, with every Man a green Bough or Sprig in his Hat, to distinguish him from the Enemy, who wore pieces of White Paper on theirs. The Word that Night was *Westminster*.

Tuesday the 1st of July being come, the King's Army passed the several Fords with abundance of Courage, through great Difficulties and repeated Oppositions, in one of which the Duke of Schomberg seeing the Enemy retreat to Duleek, he fell in amongst their Foot with his Horse, and killed many of them. All our Horse went over to the Right and Left, except the Squadron of the Danes, who passed the River whilst our Foot was engaged, and advancing to the Front, Hamilton sent out 60 Horse, who charged the Danes so vigorously, that they retreated much faster than they advanced, some of them scarce looking behind them till they had crossed the River again. The

want

A. D.

1690.



Duke
Schom-
berg
killed.

The Irish
Army
routed.

D.
Schom-
berg's
Character.

want of Horse was so apparent in this place that the very Country People cry'd out *Horse, Horse*, which might have proved a fatal Mistake; for the Word going to the Right, and they mistaking it for *Halt*, stopt the Right Wing nigh half an hour. This, and the *Irish* breaking through a Regiment of *French* Refugees, which happen'd much about the same time, was thought the occasion of Duke *Schomberg's* going over so unseasonably; for in this Hurry he was Killed, near the little Village beyond the River, by a mortal Wound through his Neck; and being cut in two places over the Head, he fell from his Horse without speaking a word. Mr *Walker* the Minister, who behaved himself so bravely at *London-derry*, at the same place received his Death's Wound, and was immediately stript; for the *Scotch-Irish* that followed the Camp were got through already, and carried off most of the Plunder. At length both Armies engaged in several places where the *Irish* Foot first run away, whilst the *Count Lauzun's* Horse and some *Swiss* he had with him, who were the best Men in the late King's Army, answered, what could be expected from them, and stood tightly to it till they saw themselves wholly abandon'd by the *Irish*, who made so much hast, that tho' some of the *English* Horse and Foot pursued them four Miles beyond the Field of Battle yet they could not overtake them. The Enemy's whole Loss, by a modest computation, was reckoned at 1500, and of them some were of Quality, as the Lord *Dungan*, the Lord *Carlingford*, Sir *Neal O Neal*, and others. On the King's side fell about 400, an inconsiderable Loss, if the Renowned Duke *Schomberg* had not been one of the number: A Person whom the worst of his Enemies always called a brave Man, and a great General. He had the best Education in the World, and so well improved it, that he knew Men and things beyond most of his time; He was Courteous, Respectful, and Civil to all Men and yet there was always something that look'd so great in him that commanded Respect from Men of all Degrees and Qualities. He was of a middle Stature, Fair complexioned, of a Sound and healthy Constitution; and no Man sate and became a Horse better. He was always neat in his Cloaths, and pleasant in his Conversation; and tho' he was fourscore and two Years of Age when he died, yet upon his being open'd, his *Heart Brain* and *Entrails*

were

were found as sound and fresh, as if he had been a Youth of Twenty: and in all probability, if Divine Providence had not ordered it otherwise, he might have lived many years longer. And as Monsieur la CnilleMOTE Brother to the present Earl of Galway had follow'd that great Man in all his Fortunes while alive, so he attended him at his Death, dying of his Wound soon after him.

The King received no manner of Hurt in the whole Engagement, tho' he was in all the hottest parts of it, only a Cannon Ball carried away a piece of his Boot; but did all that the greatest of Men could do upon the like occasion. He chose the Field, drew up his Army, gave Orders to his Officers, and demean'd himself through the whole Action with that Gallantry, Resolution, and Presence of Mind so peculiar to himself, and which was such a Poise for inclining the Battle to his own side, that his very Enemies said, *If we would change Kings with them, they would fight the Battle over again with us.* For the late King, during most of the time, stood with some Squadrons of Horse upon the Hill called *Dunmore*, and when the Officer that commanded saw from thence how ill it went with their friends below, and moved his Master that they might go down and help them, his Answer was, *What! will ye leave me alone?* and so marched off to *Duleck*, and from thence to *Dublin*, where the first News was, *that the English General was killed and the Prince of Orange taken Prisoner*: but they were quickly undeceived; for the next Morning he told the Citizens he was necessitated to yeild to Force, but would never cease to labour their Deliverance as long as he lived; and so posted away to *Waterford*, where he arrived the same day, taking care to have the Bridges broken down behind him for fear of being pursued. There he went on Board a Vessel called the *Count de Lauzun*, that was ready to receive him; but the *Sieur Foran* that commanded the Squadron meeting him at Sea, obliged him to go on Board one of his Frigats for his quicker Passage, and by this means got once more into *France*.

The next day after the Battle the English rested, while four Squadrons of Horse were detach'd under the Command of Monsieur la Meloniere, and sent to take in *Drogheda*, which they effected. King James had no sooner left *Dublin*, but the Protestants took Posses-

A. D

1690

The King's excellent Conduct.

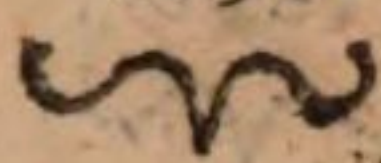
Kings James retires into France.

The Protestants re-assume the Govern-

ment of Dublin.

A. D.

1690



sion of it; and the Duke of *Ormond*, whom the King sent thither, found Captain *Farlow* Governour of it, who but two days before was a Prisoner. The King himself with his Army, soon after came to *Finglass*, within two Miles of the City, and went next day to *St Patrick's Church*, but return'd after Dinner to the Camp. From thence his Majesty sent Lieutenant General *Douglas* with three Regiments of Horse, two of Dragoons, and ten of Foot, to *Athlone*; where they arriv'd on the 17th Day of *July*, and encamp'd within a quarter of a Mile of the Town, from whence *Douglas* sent a Drum to summon it; but old Colonel *Grace*, the Governour, fir'd a Pistol at him, and sent him word, *Those were the Terms he was for*. This Garrison was very strong by Nature and Art, and the King's Forces being too few to take it, the Siege was rais'd on the 25th, where tho' they lost but 30 Men before the Town, yet their Number was much diminish'd, by other Disasters to at least three or four hundred.

The King
at Kill-
Kenny.

The King march'd Westward, and on the 11th of *July* reach'd *Kill-Kullen Bridge*. From thence he continu'd his March to take Possession of *Killkenny*, to secure the Protestants and other Inhabitants of the adjacent Countries from being plunder'd by the Enemy. *July* the 19th the King din'd with the Duke of *Ormond* at his Castle of *Killkenny*, which had been preserv'd by Count *Lauzun* with all the Goods and Furniture, and left in a good Condition, not without the Cellar well stor'd. *July* the 25th, *Waterford* was surrendr'd to the King, and also the strong Fort of *Duncannon*. Here the Lord *Dover* was admitted to his Majesty's Protection, by the Mediation of Colonel *Kirk*. *July* the 27th, his Majesty left the Camp at *Carrick*, and went towards *Dublin*, having some Thoughts of returning into *England*; but having a further Account from thence, that several wicked Designs were discovered and prevented; that the Loss at Sea was inconsiderable, and that the *French Fleet* having burnt one small Village in the *West*, were gone off again, he return'd to the Camp, and marched within half a Mile of *Limerick*, where after several desperate Attacks and Rencontres, *Sarsfield* having got privately out of the Town, the *English Train* was blown up. For *Sarsfield* having lurk'd all that Day in the Mountains, and having Intelligence where and how the *English* lay, he had those that guided him through

Sars-
field's
Strata-
em.

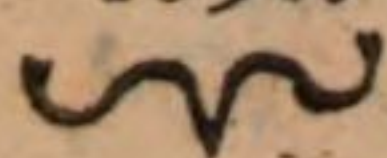
thro by-ways to the very Spot, where he fell among them before they were aware, and cut several to pieces, with a great many Waggoners, and some Country People, that were carrying Provisions to the Camp. The Officers made what Resistance they could, but to no purpose, for every Man was at last oblig'd to shift for himself: But it did not end so; for the *Irish* got up what Horses they could meet withal, belonging either to Troops or Train. Some broke the *Pontons*, others drew away the Carriages and Waggon, with the Bread, Ammunition, and as many of the Guns, as in so short a time they could get into one heap. They fill'd the Guns with Powder, and put their Mouths into the ground, that they might be sure to split. What they could pick up in this Hurry they took away with them, and then laid a Train to the rest, which being fir'd at their going off, blew up all with a hideous and astonishing Noise; and the Party of Horse that was sent from the King's Camp, came not in till the Business was over.

However, the Siege of *Limerik* was carried on, the Trenches were open'd the 17th, and a Battery rais'd below the Fort, to the Right of the Trenches, which dismounted some of the Enemies Cannon. The day following his Majesty was in great danger; for while the Enemy fir'd very thick, he rid softly to *Crommel's* Fort, and as his Horse was directly entring the Gap, he was staid by a Gentleman that came to speak with him, when in the very moment, there struck a 24 Pounder in the very place, which would have struck the King and his Horse too in pieces, if his good *Angel* had not defended him. It would be too tedious, in this Abstract, to relate every Passage in this Siege, which now the King seeing would cost another Campaign, he resolv'd to raise it; and to that purpose, having left the Lord *Sidney* and *Thomas Coningsby* Esquire, Lords Justices of Ireland, left the Command of the Army to Count *Solmes*, who sometime after going into *England*, it was resign'd into the hands of the brave Lieutenant General *Ginkle*. The King with the Prince of *Denmark* and several other Lords embark'd at *Duncannon* on the 1st of September, the next Day in the Evening arriv'd at *King Road* near *Bristol*, and on the 9th came to *Windsor*, not without an extraordinary Joy through the whole Kingdom.

The
King's
Deliverance, and
Return to
England.

A. D.

1690.



Another

Conspiracy

Contriving

Vid.

Lord Pre-
ston's Tri-
al.The Con-
trivance
discover'd.

The late King having sent over *Commissions* out of Ireland into Lancashire, and the Northern parts, to raise an Army there to disturb the Government, and being also under an Obligation of being there in Person in *August* last; the Victory of the *Boyne* quite overthrew that Project for his Restoration; and therefore the restless *Jacobites* in England, resolv'd that the Plot for Restoring their Old Master should be laid wider, extend farther, and more Interests be united in Cabals of their most considerable Friends, Lords and Gentlemen, both *Whigs* and *Tories*, who at their several Clubs, should purpose and debate the most effectual ways to restore the late King, which at last came to this Result; viz. That the *Jacobites* being unable to re-enthroned the late King by their own Strength, they should endeavour to obtain Assistance from France, who had formerly made such Promises. Secondly, Since Delays were dangerous, sending Letters into France hazardous, the Court at St Germain's factious and treacherous, therefore some Men of Quality and known Ability should go over into France to transact that matter for the whole Party. This Project having the Approbation of all the Conspirators, in December 1690. the Lord Preston, Mr. Ashton, and Mr. Elliot, were pitch'd upon as the persons to be sent into France. Some would have had their Number encreas'd by others, but were over-ruled by this standing Maxim among them, * *Chuse well, but have to do but with a few, for a Multitude may give, but can never keep Council.*

These Gentlemen thus appointed by the Party, having hired a Vessel of Mrs. Jane Pratt of Berkin in Essex, for their Transportation, went on board at Battle Bridge, December 30; but the whole Plot being discover'd, the Government order'd Captain Billop to attend their Motion; who suffer'd them to sail below Gravesend and then boarded and took them. In Mr Ashton's Bosom was found a Pacquet of Letters and Papers, which declar'd they were going to France, to promote the treasonable Designs of that Party against the King and Queen, to Invade the Realm, Subvert the Government, and Restore the late King by the Assistance of French Forces. In January 1690. the Lord Preston and Mr. Ashton were brought to their Tryals at the Old Baily; and being found Guilty of High Treason, receiv'd the Sentence of Condemnation, upon which

which Mr. *Ashton* was executed, and the Lord *Preston* discovering the whole Conspiracy upon his Oath, to the Right Honourable the Earl of *Nottingham*, Principal Secretary of State, had his Life given him: but how well he deserv'd that Favour, his future Actions demonstrated. Against Mr. *Elliot* there was no other Proof but Circumstances, therefore he was not Try'd. This Disappointment quashed the Conspiracy; and now all hopes of an Invasion and Insurrection are laid aside, till the *Jacobites* could meet with a more lucky opportunity to revive them.

The beginning of the Year 1691 was remarkable for the famous Congress of the Confederate Princes held at the *Hague*, from whence neither the Rigor of the Season, the Danger of a Tempestuous Sea and Icy Shore, could not hinder King *William* from going to it, to farther the great Deliverance of Europe which he had so gloriously begun, and carried on hitherto. Here among other things of great moment, he represented to the Congress, That the imminent Danger they found themselves in, sufficiently discovered the Errors that had been committed, and therefore now was not a time to deliberate, but to Act in the Circumstances they were in. That the Enemy was Master of all the chief Fortresses that were the Barriers of the Common Liberty, and that he would quickly possess himself of the rest, if a Spirit of Division, Slackness and particular Interests continued among them, without discerning that their respective Particular Interests were comprized in the general one. That the Enemies Forces were very strong, and would carry all things like a Torrent, before them, and therefore 'twas in vain to oppose Complaints and fruitless Protestations against Injustice; when nothing but Soldiers, Strong Armies, and a Prompt and Sincere Union among all the Allies, could put a stop to the Enemy's Conquests, and snatch the Liberties of Europe out of his hand, which was already held by him under the Yoke of Oppression. And as to what concern'd himself, he protested, That he would neither spare his Credit, his Forces, nor his Person, to concur with them in so just and necessary a Design; and therefore would certainly come in the Spring, at the Head of his Troops, to make good his Promises to them.

But tho' this encouraging Speech and generous Resolution in the King, brought every one of the Assembly to a Concurrence in this Noble Design, it did not discourage

A D. 1691 discourage *France*; for the *French* King thinking the only way to divert the Counsels that had been taken against him, was, if possible, to strike a Damp into the Confederates by some Signal Action, and so keep back the rest of *Europe*, that were not yet engaged against him, he divided his Army into two formidable Bodies, and early, even in *March*, the first of them advanced both by Sea and Land into the Territories of *Savoy*, under the Command of Monsieur *Catinat*, and on the 17th of the same Month invested the City of *Nice*, and by the Treachery or Cowardice of the Citizens, who, against the Governour's Will, surren-der'd the Town to the *French* upon the 26th of *March*, the Governour was also forced to capitulate on the 2d of *April*; and making honourable Terms, Surren-der'd the Castle to them also. Nor did this serve the *French* King's ends; but resolving to attack the Con-federates in a most sensible part, he came in person, and on the 15th of *March* besieged the strong City of *Mons*; and notwithstanding a stout Resistance, push'd it on with so much Vigour, and vast num-bers, that there was scarce a possibility for the Besieged to keep it. The reason why the *French* put themselves into so great a Loss of their Men in hastening their Attacks, was because they heard the King of *England* was come to *Vilvorde* with the Confederate Army, with design, when the Forces came up to relieve *Mons*, tho' indeed there was little Probability of such an Attempt, for all things were so unprovided for it, that there was not so much as necessary Carriages for the Expedition; which great Neglect was laid to the charge of the Marquis *de Castanaga*, Governour of the *Spanish Ne-therlands*. However, by the 8th of *April* the Besiegers had not made such a Progress as would in several Days longer have necessitated the Garrison to capitulate, if the Monks and other Ecclesiasticks in the Town, who were in the *French* Interest, had not spurr'd up the Burghers of the City to importune the Governour to it, and upon his Refusal threatened to open the Gates to the Enemy, and deliver up him and his Gar-rison into the Besiegers hands. So that, in short, not-withstanding all his and Colonel *Fagel's* Efforts to the contrary, in perswading the Citizens to be quiet, all would not do, and so the City was delivered up to the *French* on the 10th of *April* 1691. The 30th

Nice Be-
sieged and
Surren-
dered.

Mons be-
sieged and
surrender-
ed.

of *May* Doctor *Tillotson* was Consecrated Lord Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at *St. Mary le Bow* in *London*.

A. D.

1691

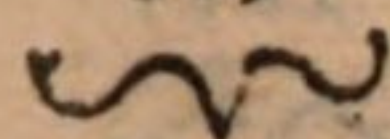
King *William* repass'd the Seas into *England*, to give the necessary Orders for the entire Reduction of *Ireland*, that his Majesty might have more leifure to return again into *Flanders* to head the Confederate Armies at the next Campaign, of which you will see the Issue when we have took a view of Affairs in *Ireland* since his Majesty left it. And here we find the greatest Mischief done to the *English* was by the *Rapperies*, and the native *Irish* now in Arms, who kill'd and robb'd all they could master, and then retreated into their *Bogs* and *Fastnesses*, where there was no coming at them. There was no great forwardness in either Party to take the Field, so that it was *June 1691*, before they came to any considerable Action. Then the *English* laid Siege to *Baltimore* which was surrendred upon the 9th of *June*; from whence, after some days stay, the Army march'd to *Athlone*, and took the *English* Town by Storm, where abundance of the *Irish* were kill'd and drown'd in endeavouring to escape. On the 22d Batteries were rais'd against the *Irish* Town, and the Cannons and Mortars began to play very briskly on the North East side of the Castle, where it was weakest. On the 26th, the *English* fir'd from seven Batteries upon the Enemy, and they were no less resolute and vigilant in their own defence. But at length by an incredible piece of *Bravery*, the *English* cross'd the *Shannon* through the thickest of the Enemies Bullets, Fire, and Smoak, and having gain'd the Bank, in less than half an hour took the Town, and were Masters of the Trenches, tho' Monsieur *St Ruth* lay near with an Army to succour it, who, when he heard it was taken, lamenting his oversight, decampt with his Army towards *Aghrim*.

K. William
returns into
England.

On the tenth of *July*, General *Ginkle* marcht after *St Ruth* the *French* General, and coming up with them, on the twelfth of *July*, being *Sunday*, the *English* Army was commanded to advance upon the Enemy, but the Morning proving foggy, they mov'd not till about twelve a Clock. At three, several Skirmishes happen'd between them in gaining of Passes, which putting the *Irish* into some Disorder, the *English* Commanders having time to consult, resolv'd to prosecute that advantage, which they did with so much

A. D.

1691



The
French
General
kill'd.

Losses on
both sides.

Galloway
surren-
dred.

Bravery, and in such Danger, that words can hardly express it. When both Armies engag'd, and Monsieur *St Ruth* saw the *English* Foot repuls'd in the Center, in a great Extasy he told those about him *that now he would beat the English to the very Gates of Dublin.* But as he was riding to give further Orders, he was kill'd with a great Shot from one of the Batteries. When the *French* General fell, one of his Retinue threw a Cloak over his Corps, and remov'd him behind the Hill, his Guard going off at the same time; which the *Irish* Horse perceiving, followed the *French* Example in several Parties, and a little after their whole Army betook themselves to their Heels, and run away; the Foot towards a great Bog on the left behind them, and the Horse on the High-way towards *Loughbreagh*. The *English* Horse and Dragoons pursued them three Miles; but Night coming on, with a thick misty Rain, prevented the *English* from getting between them, and a very advantageous Post near *Loughbreagh*, which gave many of them an opportunity to escape. However it was computed, that there was no less than six Thousand of them killed upon the Spot, and on the *English* side but a thousand, tho' the *English* Army consisted but of seventeen thousand Horse and Foot, and the *Irish* were about twenty thousand Foot, and five thousand Horse and Dragoons.

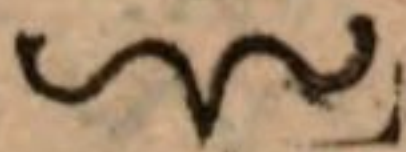
After the *English* Army had refresh'd themselves here for some days, they march'd for *Galloway*, where having posted their Troops, the General sent in a Trumpet to summon the Garrison; who was answered by the Lord *Dillon*, the Governour, that Monsieur *d'Usson* who commanded in Chief, was of the same opinion with himself, and the rest of the Officers, and resolv'd to defend it to the last; but notwithstanding this Resolution, when they saw the *English* had passed part of their Army over the River, and had taken the Fort the *Irish* were building, they beat a Parley, exchange'd Hostages, and after some time of Treaty surrendered the Town upon Articles, on the 20th of July. On the 25th of August the *English* Army arriv'd at *Limerick* where the Earl of *Tyrconnel* dyed some days before; the same day they possess themselves of *Ireton*, and *Cromwell's* Forts, which were now order'd to be called *Nassau's* and *Mackay's*, because they were gain'd under those Commanders. This Siege continu'd till the

the 23^d of *September*, then the Enemy beat a Parley on both sides of the Town, and the next day Lieutenant General *Sarsfield*, and Major General *Wauchope* came out to the General, and desired a Cessation of Arms might be continued for three days, till they could send to their Horse, who were then encamp'd toward *Clare*, in order to their being included in the general Capitulation which they then propos'd, which was agreed to; and the Prisoners in the Town were releas'd, and on the 29th *Sarsfield* and *Wauchope* din'd with the General. The next day the *Irish* sent out their Proposals, but in such extravagant Terms that the General refus'd them, and immediately order'd a new Battery to be rais'd; but upon the humble request of the *Irish*, he sent them in twelve Articles, which were at last agreed to, and interchangeably sign'd on the first of *October*. I shall not here insert the Articles, only observe, that *Limerick*, and all the other *Garrisons*, *Forts*, *Towns* and *Castles* then in Possession of the *Irish*, should be surrendered to the *English*, and as many of the *Irish* Army, as were willing to be transported into *France*, should have Liberty to do it. Accordingly *Limerick* was surrender'd, and the *Irish* sent away. And thus ended this famous *Irish War*, with so much the more Glory to the *English*, because the *Irish* were so powerfully assisted by the *French* King, who thought it was much to his Interest to divert their Arms that way, whose Ancestors had done such terrible Things in his own Country, that he car'd not to see them in *Flanders*.

King *William* made no great stay in *England*, but return'd again into the *Netherlands*, to head the Confederate Army, which in Foot was something superiour to that of *France*, but in Horse the *French* were much the stronger. Here his Majesty did all that Man could do, to bring the Duke of *Luxembourg* to an Engagement, by Marches and Countermarches that he frequently made, as well as giving umbrages of Attacking *Maubeuge* or *Mons*, yet all would not invite him to it, but on the contrary, he industriously avoided Fighting, as too dangerous an Enterprize, unless he could find an opportunity to his own advantage; so that his Majesty, after he had blown up the Fortifications of *Beaumont*, and had led the Army to *Aeth*, he left it under the Command of Prince *Waldeck*, and on the 16th of *September* went to *Loe*. Prince

A. D.

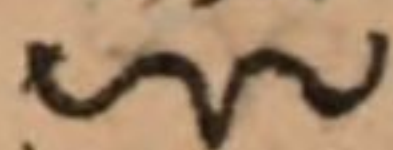
1691.



Limerick
surrender'd and
the War
ended.

A. D.

1691.



Prince *Waldeck* continu'd some time about *Aeth*, but moving off towards *Benair*, Monsieur *Luxembourg* fell upon their Rear, with a great Body of Horse, the best in *France*. The Conflict was very terrible, and the first Line of the Confederates were forc'd to a disorderly Retreat; but they rallied again behind their second Line which last gave ground also before the Enemy; but afterwards Rallying in sight of the *French* near the place of Action, the *French* not daring to return to the Charge for fear of the Infantry, or perhaps they thought they had done enough in killing them above a thousand Men, with the loss of about half the number of their own, with this Action the Campaign ended on that side.

The Poll
Tax
granted.

In *November* the last year, the Parliament began to sit, before whom the King laid the Success of his Arms in the entire Reduction of *Ireland*, hoping it was an Earnest of future Successes, which their timely Assistance might procure him. Then he was pleas'd to urge the necessity of a strong Fleet, and the Dispatch of business, lest an opportunity should be lost, that was never to be retrieved. The Parliament made all possible speed they could, and all their Bills being ready for the Royal Assent on the 5th of *March*, the King having pass'd them went for *Holland*, where he landed the 26th of *March*, and after some stay at the *Hague* went to *Loo*, and from thence to the Army; but of this more anon. His Majesty's Enemies having fail'd in other Attempts upon his Person, and being unwilling any longer to wait the uncertain Fate of War, thought the following Project the best Expedient for their purpose, and this time most agreeable: For the King being now in *Flanders*, to murder him there would admit of more Excuses than in another place. This horrid Enterprize, with the promise of great Rewards, being communicated to *Granvall*, a Captain of Dragoons in the *French* Service, he and one *Dumont* undertook it, and travell'd to *Loo*, while the King was there to effect it; but missing their opportunity followed his Majesty to his Royal Camp in *Flanders* where *Granvall* returned to the *French* Army, and *Dumont* according to the Orders given him, list'd himself in the Confederate Army, that he might take his opportunity, when his Majesty went to visit the Grand Guards or the Lines, To shoot him behind his back, and then make the best of his way to a Body of Horse, that

Gran-
vall's Plot
against
the King.

Granvall

Granvall and *Colonell Parker* should have in readiness, upon a previous intimation, to rescue and carry him off. But Heaven took care of the Preservation of Europe, that so visible depended upon one single Life; for whether *Dumont's* Heart fail'd him or whatever else was the Cause, after some Weeks attendance, not being able to effect his Design, he return'd to the Court at *Hannover*, and, for this Year, gave over the accursed Design of *Assassinating* his Majesty.

A. D.

1692

An

Invasion intended,

This Project failing, *Parker* came into *England*, and brought News with him, That their Old Master had now obtain'd of the most Christian King thirty thousand effective Men, and that when the Spring was a little more advanc'd, the late King (who was already marching into *Normandy*) would make a Descent into *England*. This news was confirm'd by dispersing the late King's Declaration, Inviting all his loving Subjects to join with him, and excluded some by Name from the Benefit of his Pardon, and all others that should oppose him; which made the whole *Jacobite* Party as Uppish, as if they had some infallible assurance of Conquering *England*. Several Regiments of *Jacobites* were also raising to joyn the late King at his landing, and some they say were compleated, as one under the Command of the Lord *Montgomery*, one raised by *Colonel Holman*, one under *Colonel Parker*, one under the Lord *Molineaux*, one under *Sir John Fenwick*, and three more under other *Lancashire* Gentlemen; insomuch, that the late King being at *La Hogue*, ready to embark with his *French* and *Irish* Troops, the Question was every Morning, *How is the Wind?* which standing long in a Protestant Quarter, some of the angry *Jacobites* curs'd it, and said, the Wind would serve them as treacherously now as it did at the Revolution.

The Queen discovering abundance of Courage, Resolution and Prudence on this occasion, gave immediate Orders for hastening out the Fleet, and putting the Militia into a condition to make resistance. She also countermanded the going over of some Forces design'd for *Flanders*, and gave out Commissions for raising several New Regiments. The great Enquiry at the *French* Court was, whether the *English* and *Dutch* Fleet were joyn'd; and *Sir Adam Blare* being sent over on purpose to acquaint them that they were not yet joyn'd, *Monsieur Tourville* the *French* Admiral, had positive Orders sent him to find and fight the

The Queen's Care.

English

A. D. *English*, tho' he was not joyn'd with *Thoulon* Squadron. Accordingly it was not long before they met in a brave and desperate Engagement, the Event whereof was transmitted to *London*, in a Letter from Admiral *Russel*, to the Earl of *Nottingham*, Principal Secretary of State, to this effect: That upon the 29th of May, by three of the Clock in the Morning, Cape Barfleur bearing S. W. and by S. seven Leagues off, his Scouts made the Signal of seeing the Enemy, the Wind Westerly; that by eleven of the Clock the French bore down and engag'd him at some distance, and both Fleets continu'd fighting till half an hour past five in the Evening, at which time the Enemy towed away with all their Boats, and the English after them; that about six there was a fresh Engagement to the Westward of him, which he supposed to be the Blew; that he could give no farther account at present but the French were beaten, and that they were steering for Conquest Road having a fresh Gale Easterly, but extream foggy. The 31. some of the French Fleet escap'd through the Road of *Alderney*, the English not thinking it advisable to follow them through that dangerous Road, for which Sir *John Ashby* was afterwards question'd in Parliament. But Sir *Ralph Delaval*, Vice Admiral of the Red, had better success, for under Cape *De Wick* he burnt the *Royal Sun*, a Ship of 104 Guns, commanded by Admiral *Tourville*, the *Admirable*, a Ship of 102 Guns, and the *Conquerant* that carried 80 Guns, with three more of a Lesser Rate: Afterwards they burnt thirteen more, whereof six were three Deck Ships, and the other carried from sixty to seventy Guns a piece, drove the French with their own Guns from their Platformes on Shore, and all this in sight of the French and Irish Camp that lay near to invade us.

The
French
Fleet bea-
ten

A Plot to
kill the
King

Nor were these Preparations for an Invasion the only Plot that was form'd against *England*, for whilst the English *Jacobites* were bandying together to joyn the late King at his Landing, the King's Enemies beyond Sea were as hot and forward in their design of Murdering the King in *Flanders*, that so the Invasion might find us all in Confusion, and fit to be made a Prey to our Foreign and Intestine Devourers; for now *Granval* returning from *Paris*, where he had engaged one *Leefdale* to join with *Dumont* in the Murder of King *William*, he appoints a meeting at *Uden*, whither *Dumont* was come from *Hannover*, and both to

to go from thence to *Flanders*, where as soon as the Murther was committed, a Party of 300 Horse from the Duke of *Luxemburg's* Army was to be posted at the Advance Guards, to rescue the Murderers, and perswade the World, the Assassination of King *William* was a Stratagem of War; but God Almighty confounded their hellish Politicks. *Dumont* and *Leefdale* discover'd the Conspiracy, and who they were that put *Granval* upon this Undertaking; with all the Circumstances that attended the Tragical Story; whereupon *Granval* was taken, try'd, and receiv'd the Reward of his Villiany, after he had made a full Discovery and Confession of his Crimes, without being put to the Torture. At his Execution he seem'd very penitent, and declar'd with some Resentment, that he was ruin'd by the Authors of that detestable Project. Thus you see that this Year our Foreign and Domestick Enemies play'd all their Engines at once against us: *The French King was to be in Flanders, Namure was to be besieg'd; King James was to land in England; and King William was to be murder'd; and all about the same time.* But we were by God's Blessing secured from any Forreign Invasion, by the great Success of our Fleet against the *French*; the news of which Victory having found King *William* at his Camp at *Bethlehem*, he caus'd all the *English Artillery* to be drawn to the top of an hill, within the sight of the *French* that lay before *Namure*, and made a triple Discharge of all the Cannon and small shot, to expresse his great Joy for that Victory, at which the *French King* said, *What a mighty noise do they make about the burning two or three Ships;* tho' he could not but know it was the greatest Misfortune that could befall him, as his Affairs were circumstantiated.

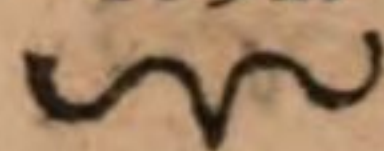
The *French* setting down before *Namur*, and carrying on the Siege with great Vigour, King *William* was no less sollicitous to relieve it, if it had been possible, and to fight the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who cover'd the Seige; and therefore his Majesty possess himself of all the Posts upon the River *Mehaigne*, and by planting Batteries at all the Posts, was so far Master of the River that the *French* Soldiers could not come at one drop of Water from it. The same Evening the King gave order to build Bridges over the *Mehaigne*, in order to pass it the next day, to attack the

*Namur
besieged
and sur-
rendered.*

A. D.
1692.

A. D.

1692.



The Battle of Steenkirk.

Charleroy Bombarded.

The Disaster of the Smyrna Fleet.

the Enemy which was so ordered, that the whole Army might pass in a Front at the same time; but the great Rains that began that Evening, and held on for several days, broke the Bridges, made it unpassable for Cannon, and rendered this glorious Undertaking abortive; and so *Namur* was given up to the *French*. This Loss was also followed by the Battle of *Steenkirk*, in which we lost several Pieces of Cannon, Carriages, two Colours, about 2000 Men killed, and many wounded. Here it was, that brave General *Mackay*, Sir *John Lanier*, and other gallant Officers, lost their Lives: Truly the *French*, notwithstanding their singing *Te Deum*, had nothing to boast of; for their Loss, according to the confession of their own Officers, rather exceeded that of the Confederates. Nor had they come off so well, had it not been for the Treachery of the *Chevalier de Millevoux*, one of the Elector of *Bavaria's* Domesticks, who gave Intelligence to *Mareschal de Luxemburg* of the King's Motions and Designs, for which he was Hang'd upon a Tree on the Right Wing of the Horse. Little else being done this Campaign, but the Governour of *Huy's* Surprising a strong Party of *French* that came thither from *Namur*, of whom he slaughter'd many, took near 400 Prisoners, and the Bombing of *Charleroy* by the *Mareschal de Boufflers*, we will leave his Majesty to return to his Diversions at *Loo*.

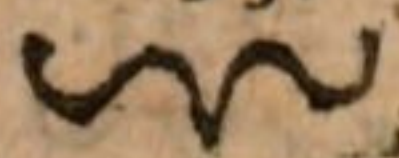
This year died that good Christian and Excellent Philosopher *Robert Boyle* Esquire. The same Fate attended the Electores of *Bavaria*, and Prince *Waldeck*. Nor must we forget that the Duke of *Hannover*, a Protestant Prince, was advanced to the Dignity of an *Electeur of the Empire*, which constituted a Ninth Electorate.

The Parliament having largely contributed towards the carrying on the War, the King went again into *Holland*, after he had laid aside *Admiral Russel*, and given the Command of the Fleet to *Henry Killegrew* Esquire, Sir *Ralph Delaval*, and Sir *Cloudesty Shovel*: And now falls in the melancholly Story of the Loss of great part of our *Smyrna* Fleet, bound for the *Streights*, under the Convoy of Sir *George Rook*, with a strong Squadron of Men of War, who unhappily falling into the *French* Fleet that waited for them, suffer'd great Loss, besides the Overthrow of their Voyage for that Year; which set Men's Tongues so much

much at liberty against the *Ministry*, and particular against the *Commissioners of the Admiralty*, that it brought the matter into *Parliament*, and gave them trouble: But where the Blame particularly lay, remains in the dark to this moment.

A. D.

1693.

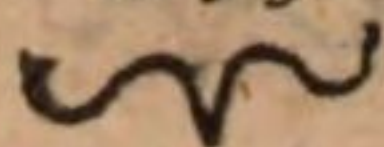


The *French* this Year 1693 were prodigious strong in *Flanders*, and by a modest computation, exceeded the Confederates at least one half of their number, which was the only Reason that the Confederates suffered so much Loss at the Battle of *Landen*, where tho' the *French* won the Day, yet their Loss was so great, that they might say with *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, when he was complemented upon his Success against the *Romans*, That such another Victory would quite ruin him. The *Electors of Bavaria* distinguished himself upon this occasion, by the several Repulses he gave the Enemy. No less did all the Officers and Soldiers; for their Enemies could not say, that in the whole Action there was a Fault committed; but that 'twas meerly Numbers that prevail'd against them. The King signaliz'd himself in every Quarter, doing the Office of a private Soldier, as well as a great Captain: And it was the wonderful Providence of God that preserv'd one, who exposed himself so much as he did; for he narrowly escap'd three Musquets-shots, one through his *Peruke*, which made him deaf a while; another through the Sleeve of his Coat, which did him no harm; and the third carried off the Knot of his Scarf, and left a small Contusion on his side. In short, the King gained so much Honour in this Action, that it was commonly said among the *French*, That they wanted nothing but such a King, to make them Masters of Christendom, And the Prince of *Conti*, in an intercepted Letter to his Princess, said, he saw the King every where present where there was any Action, exposing his Person to the greatest dangers; and surely so much Valour very well deserved the quiet Possession of the Crown he wore. In this Action the Confederates lost about five or six thousand Men; what the *French* lost they would never acknowledge; tho' this is certain, they lost above 2000 Officers, and the Confederates said about 18000 Men: But if that Account was exaggerated, yet *Luxemburg's* not pursuing upon the Retreat, and his continuing fifteen days, together at *Waren*, without making the least Attempt, gave considerable Reputation

The Battle of
Landen.

A. D.

1693.



Charles-
roy Besie-
ged.

tation to what the Confederates affirm'd ; but for the Cannon and Mortars, the Confederates must be contented to own, that they lost the greatest part of them.

After the *French* had been reinforced with the Troops from the Sea Coast, and a great Detachment under *Boufflers* from the *Rhine*, which still confirm'd their Loss; on the 31st of *August* they besieged *Charleroy* with great vigour, which was as well defended by the Besieged : for tho' they had no Prospect of Relief, yet they gallantly held out till the 1st of *October*, and then made an honourable Capitulation : and in truth this was the only Place in *Flanders* that made a brave Defence, without any suspicion of Treachery in the Surrender of it. The same Success had the *French* in *Germany* against *Heydelberg*, which was taken and destroyed by them. The *States* of *Holland* seeing the Success of the *French* Armies by Land and the Misfortune of the *English* Fleet at Sea, took an early Resolution of Augmenting their Army and Navy, for which the King gave them Thanks in their Assembly, before his coming over for *England* ; and after his Arrival, to shew his Dislike of Proceedings at Sea, appointed Admiral *Russel* to command the Fleet again : And the *Parliament* being met on the 7th of *November*, He thus deliver'd himself to them.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The
King's
Speech.

'I am always glad to meet you here ; and I could
'heartily wish that our Satisfaction were not lessen'd
'at present, by reflecting upon the Disadvantages we
'have this Year received at Land, and the Miscarri-
'ages in our Affairs at Sea. I think it is apparent that
'the former was only occasion'd by the great Numbers
'of our Enemies, which exceeded ours in all places.
'For what relates to the latter, which has brought so
'great a Disgrace upon the Nation, I have resented it
'extreamly : And as I will take care that those who
'have not done their Duty may be punished ; so I
'am resolv'd to use my Endeavours, that our Power at
'Sea may be rightly manag'd for the future. And it
'well deserves our Consideration, whether we are
'not defective, both in our number of Shipping, and in
'proper Ports to the Westward, for the better Annoy-
'ing our Enemies and protecting our Trade, which
'is so essential to the Welfare of the Kingdom.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

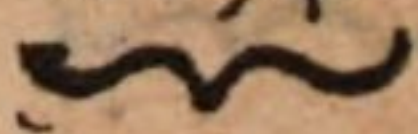
‘ I am very sensible of the good Affection wherewith
 ‘ you have always assisted me, to support the Charges
 ‘ of this War, which have been very great: And yet I
 ‘ am perswaded, that the Experience of this Summer is
 ‘ sufficient to convince us all, that to arrive at a good
 ‘ end of it, there will be a necessity of encreasing our
 ‘ Forces both by Sea and Land the next Year. Our
 ‘ Allies are resolv’d to add to theirs; and I will not
 ‘ doubt, but you will have such regard to the present
 ‘ Exigencies, as that you will give me a suitable Sup-
 ‘ ply to enable me to do the like. I must therefore ear-
 ‘ nestly recommend it to you Gentlemen of the *House of*
 ‘ *Commons*, to take such timely Resolutions, as that your
 ‘ Supplies may be effectual, and our Preparations so
 ‘ forward, as will be necessary both for the Security and
 ‘ the Honour of the Nation.

The House of Commons quickly came to an unani-
 mous Resolution to support their Majesties; and at the
 same time fell upon examining the Causes of the Mis-
 carriage of the *Smyrna* Fleet; and proceeded so far in it,
 that they came to this *Resolve*, *That the House was of*
opinion, that there had been a Notorious and Treacherous
Mismanagement in that Affair. And ’tis pity they went
 no farther in it; but why they did not, or could not,
 I can assign no reason for. However, the great Service
 that Captain *Benbow* did in Bombing and Burning
 some part of *St Maloes*, gave some Contentment to
 Men’s minds, tho it was no Reparation of the Loss;
 with which Action I shall close the Year; on the last
 day of which, Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* landed at *Graves-*
end, from whence he went to *Kensington*, to wait upon
 the King, who receiv’d him with great Respect and Ci-
 vility. While the Parliament was deliberating upon
 raising Supplies for the Navy and Army, came the un-
 fortunate News of our Loss in the *Mediterranean*, which
 happen’d in this manner: Sir *Francis Wheeler*, with the
 Fleet of Merchant Ships under his Convoy, sail’d on the
 17th of *February* from *Gibraltar*, a Port within the
Streights Mouth, with a good Wind at N. W. but on
Sunday about 10 in the Morning, there arose such a vi-
 olent Storm of Wind, with Lightning, Thunder, and
 a great Rain, that the like had scarce been ever seen be-
 fore, which continued all that day, and the next Night,
 the Wind blowing at E. and E. N. E. so that upon

The loss of
Sir Francis
Wheeler’s
Fleet.

A. D.

1694.



Monday the 19th, about 5 in the Morning, the *Sussex*, in which Sir *Francis Wheeler* was, founder'd, and he and the whole Ships Crew, except two *Moors*, were lost. After this the *Lumley-Castle*, the *Cambridge*, the *Serpent Ketch*, the *Mary Ketch*, the *Italian Merchant*, the *Aleppo Factor*, the *Great George*, the *Berkshire*, both bound for *Turkey*, the *William* for *Venice*, and the *Golden Merchant* for *Leghorn*, were driven on shore, and lost on the East-side of *Gibraltar*, and the greatest part of the Men were drowned, as also were three *Dutch* Ships of good Value. Rear-Admiral *Nevil*, and two *Dutch* Men of War, had the good fortune to be blown out of the *Streights*, and came safe to an Anchor in the Bay of *Cadiz*, as did the rest of the Fleet on the 19th into the Harbour of *Gibraltar*, to repair the Damages they had sustained in the Storm. On the 21st the Body of the Admiral Sir *Francis Wheeler* was found on a Sand Bank near *Gibraltar*, in his Shirt and Slippers; which made People conjecture, that seeing himself in such imminent Danger, he had put himself into that Undress, in hopes to save his Life by swimming.

The Parliament having by great Diligence dispatch'd the Business of that Session in *April*, and the King having signed the Acts, the two Houses were prorogued to the 18th of *September* following; and the King immediately went into *Holland*:

The *French* Preparations aiming at the entire Conquest of *Catalonia* in *Spain*, made our Fleet go out very early in the Year; but yet could not block up the *French* Fleet at *Brest*, nor come to fight them at Sea: for, to avoid it, they went into the *Mediterranean*, whither Admiral *Russel* was appointed to go also, to prevent the *French* from insulting *Catalonia*: But before he entirely left our own Coasts, being informed there was a Fleet of *French* Merchant-men in *Bertram Bay* bound to the Eastward, he detach'd Captain *Pickard* in the *Monmouth*, with the *Resolution* and the *Roe-Buck* Fireship, either to take or destroy them: Which Orders Captain *Pickard* executed so successfully, that he burnt or sunk 55 Sail of them, besides the Man of War that was their Convoy; who running among the Rocks, soon after blew up, with her two Sloops of between ten and fifteen Guns. After which Captain *Pickard* rejoin'd the Fleet, which then made the best of its way into the *Mediterranean Sea*. After this an unfortunate Attempt was made upon *Brest*, with design to Land in *France*, the

A French
Fleet
burnt.

Ship

Ships under the Command of the Lord *Berkley*, the Marquis of *Caermarthen*, and other Brave Commanders. The Land Forces under the Comman of Lieutenant General *Talmash*, the Lord *Cutts* and other Officers of known Courage and Conduct; but they were not able to effect impossibilities, tho never Mortal Men run greater hazzards than they did in attempting it, the Enemy were so numerous and advantageously entrench'd at every place, where there was a Possibility of Landing. General *Talmash* always disliked this Enterprize; and if that brave Man committed any Error in not Landing in that regular way which the Lord *Cutts* proposed, and had been agreed on between them, it cost him very dear, for he lost his Life in the Expedition. Some were of opinion that better Luck could not be expected from this Attempt, it being no Secret, but a common Town-talk in *London*, that *Brest* was the place they designed to land at; and there was no question but the *English Jacobites* acquainted the *French* Court with the Design, that they might provide against it; for one or other of them were continually running between *England* and *France* upon these treacherous Errands.

But that which made some Amends for this Loss, was, that by the King's prudent Management of Affairs in *Flanders*, the *French* Interest seem'd to be declining there, and upon the peaceable Possession of the Elector of *Cologne* in the Bishoprick and Principality of *Liege*, made things look with a very ill Aspect upon the Affairs of *France*: Besides, the *English* Fleets in the Channel at the same time were Bombarding their Maritime Towns, to the great Consternation of the poor Inhabitants, as well as their utter Ruin; and tho the *French* put a good mein upon it, it made them Heart-sick, as afterwards appear'd when they came to bombard *Brussels*. *Diep* in *Normandy* was the first Town that felt the Fury of the *English* Bombs, before which the Lord *Berkley* brought the Fleet as near as possible on the 12th of *July*, sent six Men of War and nine Bomb Gallies to take their stations, and from that day in the Evening till four the next Morning, they threw in to the Town 1100 Bombs and Carcasses, that set the Town on fire in several places, so that the Townsmen not knowing whither to run, and despairing to quench it, took fright and began to run away in great disorder; Whereupon the Marquis of *Bern* sent two Battallions of the Militia of *Bretagne* to encourage the Inhabitants,

An unfor-
tunate At-
tempt at
Brest.

Diep Bom-
barded.

A. D.

1694.

Havre de
Grace Bom-
barded.

but the disorders were so great, and the Fire so terrible, that the Soldiers fled with the rest; so that if the Confederates had known what pass'd, they might easily have possess'd themselves of the Place, which however they so ruin'd, that there was hardly a House left unshatter'd, and the greatest part of it entirely reduc'd to Ashes. From hence the Fleet, alarming all the Coast, sail'd to *Havre de Grace*, where on the 26th about three in the Afternoon, they began to approach the Town under the Command of Captain *Benbow*, into which between four or five they began to throw their Bombs, which they continu'd till the next Morning, when the Wind blowing hard forc'd them to give over shooting, and though this Town was not so entirely ruin'd as *Diep*, yet a great part of it was burnt, and so much damage done to the whole as was not soon repaired.

Huy be-
sieged and
surrender'd.

And if the *French* were thus put to it on the Coast, their Army was not a little frighten'd by that of the Confederates in the *Netherlands*. Besides which, Prince *Serclas de Tilly* pass'd the *Meuse* at *Thilen*, with all the Horse and Dragoons of the Diocess of *Liege*, being follow'd by a Party of *Brandenburg* Horse, and some Battalions of Foot, and the same day Invested *Huy*, where the next day arriv'd sixteen Regiments of Foot with the Duke of *Holstein Ploen*, who was appointed to command the Siege. The place was no sooner invested on both sides the *Meuse*, but the Town surrender'd to the Confederates, and on the 27th the Governour of the Castle beat a Parley and surrender'd it upon Articles; by which the *French* were totally expell'd out of the Bishoprick of *Liege*, *Dinant* at that time being accounted a part of *France*. Thus ended the Campaign in *Flanders*, not very pleasing to *France*, tho' perhaps all Circumstances consider'd, with less disadvantage than themselves expected. However, they made amends for it to the purpose in *Spain*, by besieging and taking *Palamos*, *Palamos*, a Town by the Sea side, about twenty two Leagues from *Barcelona*, which they plunder'd and put all they met to the Sword, and all that were saved were made Prisoners of War. *Noialles* also laid Siege to the well fortify'd City of *Gironne*, which was ignominiously surrender'd in ten days, for the Garrison was to march out without Cannon, and the Cavalry, except ten in a Troop, to march away on Foot with the Infantry, without their Horses, and all the Ammunition and Provision to be left behind them in the City.

Palamos,
Gironne
and Ostal-
rick sur-
render'd.

Next

Next in order, and almost without Opposition, the *French* took *Ostalrick* a little City upon the Road to *Barcelona*, and *Castle-Flote*, a Town to the Westward of *Gironne*.

A. D.

1694.

By this time the Confederate Fleet, and such a one as those Seas never saw before, was arrived in the *Streights*, under the Command of Admiral *Russel*, to the great reviving of the *Spaniards*, who seem'd to have given up all for lost in *Catalonia*, and the Mortification of the *French*, who expected no such Guests; and now saw their Error in sending their Grand Fleet into those Seas, where they must be coop'd up in the Harbour of *Thoulon*, and be forc'd to leave all their Coasts, both on the Ocean as well as on the *Mediterranean* side unguarded, and subject to every insult of their Enemies; for tho' Monsieur *Tourville* once adventur'd out to Sea, with a design to slip by the *English* Admiral; yet he quickly found the other had so sharp an Eye on him, that he was forc'd to return to his Port again. This year was fatal to the Elector of *Saxony*, a young Prince in the Vigour of his Age, who died of the Small Pox at *Dresden*, on the 7th of *May*, when he was thought to be out of danger, and had that very Morning found himself so well, that he walked about his Chamber.

Russel and his Fleet in the Streights.

November the 22d, 1694. dy'd at his Palace in *Lambeth*, Dr *John Tillotson*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, in the sixty fifth year of his Age; and as his Learning, Piety, and other Eminent Virtues, gain'd him a great Esteem, so they made his Death very much lamented.

But I am about to relate a more *Melancholy* and almost *Heart-breaking* Story; for after his Majesty, upon his return from *Flanders*, had told his Parliament on the 20th of *November*, that their Affairs were in a much better Posture both by Sea and Land, than when they parted last, yet a Cloud immediately arose, that obscur'd all *England's* Glory, and left us in a Disconsolation next to Despair, viz. The Death of the best of Queens, the best of Wives, and the best of Women, Our Gracious Sovereign Queen *Mary*; who departed this Life on the 28th of *December*, 1694. a loss unspeakable as well as irreparable. Her Natural and Acquir'd Accomplishments render'd her the Darling of the Age, as well as the Glory of her Sex. Nor were the Endowments of her Mind inferiour to those of her great Birth, and other Personal Advantages; her Apprehension was more quick and lively, her Judgment more Penetrating and Solid,

The Death of Queen Mary.

A. D. 1694. her *Elocution* more Ready, Fluent and Graceful, and every way more Perswading than is usually found in her Sex; and to these Qualifications were added, the Ornament of a Meek, but Great Spirit, wherein she Excell'd: But above all, Piety was the first and main Principle of all her Actions. Hence sprung that Awful Regard and Reverence to the Divine Majesty, which was so visible in her whole Deportment, and upon this Foundation she rear'd that Noble Structure of *Devotion*, *Uprightness* and *Sincerity*, *Purity*, and *Charity*, and all other Duties of *Christianity* that shin'd so illustriously through the whole course of her Life. She had a great esteem for the *Church of England*, and no Pulpit Discourses pleas'd her better than such as were levell'd against *Atheism* and *Prophaneness*. Her Word as Sacred as any Oath. She was of that *Sweetness* of Temper, of that *Kindness*, *Affability*, (and considering her Great Quality) of that *Condescension* and *Courtesie* in all her De-meanor, as render'd her very Dear, and her Conversation very Grateful and Desirable to all that had the Honour to be near her. She was a compleat Pattern of *Charity*, and if she out-did her self in any one thing, it was in this, which she extended both to the Persons and Necessities of *All*.

If we consider her as a *Queen Consort*, 'tis easie to find, that never was a Woman more a Crown and Ornament to a Man. She liv'd in a great sence of the Covenant of God, that was betwixt them upon her Heart, and that render'd her all Love and Obedience: A great part of her Care was to observe every thing that was most pleasing to him, and was in all respects what she ought to be, *A Help Meet*; which the inexpressible sorrow his Majesty was under for her loss, was a too sufficient Manifestation of.

Now if we consider her as a *Queen Regent*, we shall see, when the aspiring Designs and Attempts of a Potent Enemy, forc'd his Majesty from her and us, and necessarily requir'd his Presence elsewhere, She administr'd the *Government*, and manag'd the Affairs of State with such *Dexterity*, such *Exactness*, and such admirable *Wisdom*, that she never gave the least occasion of any Complaint, but rendred all more than *Silent*, *Satisfy'd*; and not only satisfy'd, but *Applauding* and *Admiring* her Prudent and Wise Conduct. Her Retirement for Private Contemplations and Devotions were certain and frequent, and she seldom suffered any

Affairs to prevent them. But in reference to the whole, I must not forget to remark the Answer, that his Majesty, who knew her best, was pleas'd to make to the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, when he went to comfort him upon his great Loss, viz. *That he could not but grieve, seeing she had been seventeen Years his Wife, and yet he never knew her guilty of an Indiscretion.* Now such a Regular, such a Pious, such a Righteous Life, cannot be suspected to be unprepared for the most sudden Death, and therefore after God had presented her with the Blessings of Goodness, and set a Crown of pure Gold upon her Head: After he had given her the Universal Esteem, Love and Admiration of all that knew her: In a word, after he had taken out the Sting of Death, and made it an easie passage to Everlasting Life, he then took her from her Corruptible and Earthly, to an Incorruptible and Heavenly Crown. Her Majesty of Blessed Memory was born on the 30th of *May* 1662, and her Funeral was solemniz'd on the 5th of *March* 1694, in the Abbey Church of *Westminster*, with great Magnificence, and She lies bury'd in *Henry the VIIth's* Chappel.

Besides this insupportable Affliction, the Nation at this time labour'd under another great Trouble, and that was the *Badness of our Silver Coin*, which having been a long growing Evil upon us, now began to be so intolerable, that in receiving Five Pounds, if it was Silver, it was so clipt that it was scarce worth *Forty Shillings*, according to the Standard; other while in receiving the like Summ there would scarce be one Shilling that was not *Brass* or *Copper* wash'd over, which so rais'd the the price of *Gold*, that a *Guinea* went currently for *Thirty Shillings*: but through the indefatigable Diligence and great Care of the *Parliament*, they broke through this Impediment, with as little loss to the Nation as was possible, and in a short time after brought the Coin again to its true Value. This being done, and all the Acts of this Session signed, his Majesty was pleas'd to Appoint and Commission his Grace the Lord Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord Keeper, the Earl of *Pembroke*, his Grace the Duke of *Devonshire*, the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, the Earl of *Dorset*, and the Lord *Godolphin* to be Lords Justices of *England*, for the Administration of the Government during his Majesty's absence beyond Sea.

A. D.

1694.

The badness of the Coin.

1695.

Lords Justices appointed.

A. D.

1695.

Namur
besieged by
K. W.

The Fortifica-
tions of
Namur.

Here the King found an alteration in Affairs, the Confederate Army out-number'd the *French* Twenty Thousand Men, and the Duke of *Luxemburg* dying in the beginning of this Year, the *French* Forces were commanded by the Duke *de Villeroy*. On the 27th of *May* the King went from *Breda* to *Ghent*, where the Inhabitants receiv'd him with Demonstrations of Joy suitable to what they ow'd to so great a King, and the Protector of their Country. After several Things in order to his great Design, the King finding that *Villeroy* would not stir out of his fastnesses, he fully concluded upon the Siege of *Namur*, and in order to it the Army on the 19th marched to *Roselaer*, where the King left them under the Command of Prince *de Vandemont*. The King moving towards the *Meuse*, sent orders to the Earl of *Athlone*, and to the *Brandenburg* and *Liege* Forces to invest *Namur*, which his Lordship immediately performing, took all the Posts from the *Sambre* to the *Meuse*, on the Town side, about *la Falaize*; but all the other side of the *Meuse* lay open, for want of Troops to do it all at once; which gave the *Mareschal de Boufflers* an opportunity with eight Regiments of the best Dragoons in the *French* Army, to throw himself into *Namur*, sending back most of the Dragoons Horses; but while this was doing, the *Electors* of *Bavaria's* Army, which was nearest, march'd with wonderful celerity to carry on this famous Siege. so that all the Posts about *Namur* were taken by the 23d of *June*, the King being come to it the day before. Here it is necessary to observe, that the place was made much stronger since it fell into the *French* hands, who spared no charge to put their Frontier Garrisons into the best defence they could; for the Town at their taking it was but weak, being absolutely commanded by a steep Hill, that hangs just over it from the *Port de Fer*, to that of *St Nicholas* near the *Meuse*; so that they had the liberty to bring down their Batteries at first to the descent of that Hill, and to open their Trenches at the foot of it near the *Meuse*, so that it did not hold out above five or six days. But now, to add a considerable strength to this weak part of the Town, the *French* had made a Detach'd *Bastion* upon the Ascent of the Hill before *St Nicholas* Gate all of Stone-work, with a *Casemate* of this Work on the Hill, so that the Confederates were necessitated to batter it in *Reverse* from the other side of the *Meuse*, from the *Brandenburg* Batteries, which require

quired time to bring them to the Water-side. But this was not all, for upon the Right, towards *Port de Fer*, the *French* had two or three Detach'd Bastions just upon the Brow of the Hill, and at the Foot of the same before *Port de Fer*, and between the Hill and the Brook *Werderin* they built a fourth, which hindered the Avenues between the Hill to this Gate. The Plain upon these Hills was Fortified with a double cover'd way *Pallisadoed* to defend these Bastions towards the Village of *Bouge*: And when the Confederates were Attacking the place, the *French* were working at a third, nearer to the brow of the Hill, just before these Works, so that the Town, which before was but *Weak*, was now by these additional Works made so strong, that it held out longer than the Castle. Many other considerable Fortifications were made, too long to be recited here, to which if you add the strength of the Garrison, being computed at near 14000 Men, most of them the best Troops the *French* had, Headed by a *Mareschal of France*, and assisted by Major General *de Megrigny*, one of the ablest Engineers in *Europe*, it would look little less than a Miracle, that the Confederates should be able to carry it. However, the Siege was managed with so much Bravery and Excellent Conduct from day to day, still gaining upon the Besieged, that on the 2d of *August* the Confederates being ready to make a General Assault, Count *Guiscard* the Governour came himself upon the Breach of the *Demi-Bastion*, where he ordered a white Flag to be set up, in order to capitulate. Hereupon all the Batteries were commanded to be silent, and Lieutenant Coll. *Mackarty*, who waited upon Major General *Ramsay* in the Trenches, was sent to the Breach to know what the Count desired, who ask'd to speak with the Major General himself; he coming to him, after mutual Civilities, the Count told him, *That tho the condition of their affairs did not necessitate him to capitulate, yet for the preservation of the Town, they were willing to give it up on Honourable Terms*; upon which followed a Treaty, and the Capitulation being sign'd on the 4th of *August*, the Town was delivered into the Possession of the Confederates.

The Town
surrendered.

While the King was thus employing himself at *Namur*, the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets insulted the *French* in their own Ports; and by throwing nine hundred Bombs into *St Maloes*, set the Town on fire in several places, and reduced a great part of it into Ashes. Not long

A. D.
1695.Villeroy's
Letter.The Prince
of Berg-
ham's An-
swer.

long after, *Granville*, another Town not far from it, underwent the same Fate. To revenge which Losses, Orders were sent to *Mareschal Villeroy* to bombard *Brussels*: But to shew his own Civility, and his Master's Goodness, he first sent this Letter to the Governour, the *Prince of Berghen*. 'The King being full of Goodness towards his Subjects, and Care to contribute to their Defence, seeing the *Prince of Orange* sends his Fleet upon the Coast of *France*, to Bombard and Ruin his Towns, without getting any other Advantage by it; to put a stop to these Disorders, by way of Reprizal, has sent me to bombard *Brussels*, and at the same time to declare, that 'tis not without reluctancy that the King has put himself upon it; and that as soon as he shall be assured that the Sea-Ports of *France* shall be no more bombarded, the King likewise will not bombard any Places belonging to the Princes against whom he is at War, reserving nevertheless the liberty on both sides, to do it in such places as shall be besieged. His Majesty has resolved upon the bombarding of *Brussels* with so much the more trouble, because the Electress of *Bavaria* is there: if you will let me know in what part of the Town she is, the King has commanded me to forbid firing there. I shall stay for your Answer till five of the Clock in the Evening; after that I shall obey the Orders the King has given me, without delay. To which the *Prince of Berghen* returned this Answer. 'The Declaration you have sent me, of the Orders you have received from the King your Master, to bombard the Town of *Brussels*, and the Reasons his Majesty alledges for doing it being not to be answer'd by his Electoral Highness, till he has sent to the King of *Great Britain* about it, who is before the Castle of *Namur*; his Electoral Highness, who is just now arrived, will acquaint him with it, and return you his Answer in 24 hours if you agree to it. As for the Consideration that his Most Christian Majesty has for the Electress, she is at the King's Palace.

I need not tell World of the Fate of this poor City, the *French* Bombs having had but too much Success in reducing a great part of it to Ashes. But with this they were not satisfied; for now nothing will serve their turns, but the relieving *Namur*, which the *Mareschal* made some shew of doing; but when he saw the King had left the Siege on purpose to fight him, he silently march'd

march'd away by night, whereupon the Besieged, on the 24th, beat a Parley, which ended in the Delivery of the Fort and Castle, after the Mareschal de Boufflers had signed the Capitulation : and perhaps this was the first that ever was signed by a *Mareschal of France*, which was the greater Glory to the Confederates, who took this almost impregnable Place, from a compleat Army within it, headed by so great an Officer, and in sight of a hundred thousand Men without, that came to relieve it, but could only have the Honor of being Spectators of their bravery. On the 26th of *August* the French quitted *Namur*, and as they marched by the King, the *Mareschal* and *Count* saluted him with their Swords, when presently Monsieur *Dickvelt*, who had been acquainted with the *Mareschal* in his Embassies in *France*, accosted him, and rid with him to the Top of the Hill, where Monsieur *L'Etang*, with about twelve of the Life Guard, arrested him in his Majesty's Name, for satisfaction for the Garrisons of *Dixmude* and *Deynse* ; at which the *Mareschal* at first was much incens'd, saying, *His Master would resent and revenge this Treatment to the utmost ; and that for his part he had defended the Place like a Man of Honour, and had not deserv'd it.* Monsieur *Dickvelt* replied, *That the French King his Master, by detaining the Garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse, contrary to the Capitulation, had forc'd them to that way of demanding Satisfaction for the Infractions of the Cartel : That tho he was Arrested, it was not out of any Disrespect to his Person or Character, but on the contrary ; for when it was propos'd to his Majesty of Great Britain to detain the whole Garrison by way of Reprizal, the King exprest so much value for his Person, that he look'd upon him as a sufficient Caution to answer for 6000 men, the number of the two Garrisons of Dixmude and Deynse : And at the same time offer'd him his Liberty, by his Majesty's Order, if he would pass his word for sending back the said Garrisons, or return himself a Prisoner within a Fortnight, &c.* To which the *Mareschal* answer'd, *That he could not pass his word of Honour in a matter which he could not execute himself, but that it was in vain to resist.* Whereupon he put up his Sword, and went back again with his Domesticks to *Namur*, where the Earl of *Portland* gave him a Visit, and told him as from himself, *That he made no doubt of his Releasement upon his Parole of Honour.* To which the *Mareschal* answered, *That in regard he knew not the Reasons why his Master detained those Gar-*

A. D.
1695.Namur
Castle sur-
render'd.*Mareschal*
Bouffler's
Arrested.

A. D.
1695.

He is Re-
leased.

risons, he could not engage for any thing. From Namur he was removed to *Maestricht*, and treated in both Places with all the Civility and Respect due to his Quality. But his Confinement was of no long Continuance; for upon the Return of his Gentleman of the Horse, whom he had sent to give his Master an account of what had happen'd, he was immediately releas'd, as our Men were in a little time after: Which concluded the Campaign in *Flanders*.

A new Par-
liament:

His Majesty, after concluding so glorious a Campaign, hasten'd into *England*, and to the great Joy of all his honest Subjects, landed there on the 11th of *October*. The same Night he called a Council at *Kensington*, and caused Writs to be issued out for the Dissolving of the present, and calling a new Parliament, to meet upon the 22d of *November* following: After which his Majesty went a short Progress. The Day of the sitting of the Parliament being come, his Majesty in a Gracious Speech was pleas'd to tell them, ' That as he engaged in this War by the Advice of his first Parliament, so the Success he had had last year, he hoped would give good grounds to expect Success for the future. Upon this occasion, he took notice of the Courage and Bravery of the *English* Troops, without whose Concurrency it was impossible to put a stop to the Ambition and Greatness of *France*. He thought it his Misfortune to be always asking Money, and yet could not doubt but that they saw a Necessity for as great Supplies this Year, as what they gave the last Session, because the Enemy was augmenting his Troops: There was a necessity of encreasing our Shipping: The Funds were deficient: The Civil List behind, and therefore earnestly recommended to them, to provide a Supply suitable to these several Occasions; of which he made no doubt, having had such a continued Experience of their good Affections; and therefore promised himself a happy Conclusion of this Session, unless they suffered themselves to be misled into Heats and Divisions: which being the only Hope their Enemies had now left, his Majesty made no doubt but they would entirely disappoint them by their Prudence and Love to their Country.

Admiral *Russel* was now come home with the great Ships, and Sir *George Rook* was appointed to go into the *Streights*: with which I conclude the Year 1695, and begin the next by telling you, that the Badness of our Coin

Coin having put a general stop to Trade, that unexpressible Grievance was now redress'd by Act of Parliament; which could have been done by none but the Parliament that did it, who deserv'd to have their Memories eterniz'd. This Act put a new Face on things, and made the Nation easie: But as a Universal Happiness is seldom of long Continuance, so a melancholy Scene soon appear'd, that threaten'd the whole Kingdom with Ruin, viz. an attempt to Assassinate the King.

A. D.

1696.

The Coin settled.

This wicked Plot consisted of two Branches: the Murder of the King, and the Invasion of the Kingdom by French Forces, in order to the Restoration of the late King James. This Contrivance was first laid beyond Sea, and then transferred into England: And because there were some Jacobites that had not yet so far extinguished all Sense of Honour and Conscience, but that they utterly refus'd to be concern'd in such a black and detestable Enterprize as the Assassination was, a Commission must be had from the late King James for the doing it, under the specious Name of Attacking King William in his Winter Quarters: And that this Year might not be lost without executing it, Mr Waugh was sent into England from the Court of St Germans, to give the English Jacobites Assurance, that those who would engage in the Assassination, should have such a Commission sent them as was desir'd; and those that were for the Invasion, should have their Spirits kept up with the hopes of a powerful Assistance from France, as soon as the Blow was given. These two things they thought would effectually employ both the Factions without Clashing or Interfering with one another, and would make both the Plots succeed according to their Wishes. While the Parties were thus deliberating, Major Crosby comes from France, with assurance, That he saw the Commission Sign'd, and under Seal in France, that it was sent away before him, and if not already come, he was certain it was upon the Road, and would be here in a few days. This was privately communicated to the Jacobites, in order to cut off King William before he went to Holland; but that God that design'd him for a further Blessing to England, prevented their treacherous Conspiracy, and convey'd him safe to his Army in Flanders.

A Plot to Murder the King and Invade the Kingdom.

Now all hopes being lost of Executing their barbarous Design till his Majesty's return, they resolve to employ the Summer, that Winter might find them ready to perform what they had so long and unsuccessfully re-

Where and by whom the Plot was laid.

A. D.

1696.

Proposals
made by
the Party.

solv'd on : And that the *Invasion* might still accompany the *Assassination*, several Meetings were appointed by the Heads of the Party, particularly one in *May*, 1695. at the *Old King's Head* in *Leaden-hall-street*, *London*; where met the *Earl of Ailsbury*, and the *Lord Montgomery*, *Sir John Friend*, *Sir William Perkins*, *Sir John Fenwick*, *Mr Charnock*, *Captain Porter*, *Mr Cook* and *Mr Goodman*, who came in after *Dinner*. There they consulted the best way to restore the late King ; and all agreed, that the most proper method was, to send a special Messenger to the late King, and desire him to procure of the *French King* 10000 Men, viz. 1000 Horse, 8000 Foot, and 1000 Dragoons. *Mr Charnock* was the Person appointed to manage this Affair, who said, *He would not go on a foolish Errand, and therefore would know what the Company would do, if Foreign Forces could be procur'd*: Whereupon they all unanimously promised, *If the late King would come over with such a number of Men as was desired, they would meet him at the Head of 2000 Horse, wheresoever he would appoint them*. At the latter end of *June*, 1695. they had another Meeting, where after many discourses upon that subject, *Mr Charnock* receiv'd a farther Confirmation of their former Resolutions, and took his Journey into *France* accordingly.

Charnock
returns out
of France.

The *Invasion* being thus promoted, that the *Assassination* might not lag behind it, some of the *Assassins* calling to mind that nothing in that kind would be attempted without a Commission from the late King to do it; which *Crosby* said was coming, *Captain Porter* and *Mr Goodman* communicated the Project to *Sir George Barclay*, who was then in *England*, and upon his departure for *France*, telling him what difficulties they labour'd under for want of it, and that a longer delay of that Commission would extreamly embarrass the Affair. *Sir George* not only approves but commends the design ; and that such a hopeful project might not miscarry, promised to use all his Interest at *St Germans*, that it might be no longer wanting. The beginning of *August* 1695. brings *Mr Charnock* again to *London*, with the unwelcome News, *That the French King was not in a condition to spare the late King such a number of Men* ; which being communicated to the Party, the whole was laid aside till Winter.

But notwithstanding this positive Answer, our Foreign Enemies, at the same time, were taking such mea-

asures

tures as might suit with the *Jacobites* Request, tho they durst not trust them with the Secret, nay nor the late King himself, till the Squadron of Men of War, and four hundred Transport Ships were fitted, and the *French* Army consisting of 30 Battallions, were ready to embark, and Money and Orders sent him to go on Board, and take possession of *England*.

A. D.
1696.

In *November*, 1695. Sir *George Barclay*, with several Officers and Soldiers and eight hundred Pounds in Money, *Barclay* came into *England*, and brought with him a Commission from the late King (all written with his own hand) to seize King *William*; which Sir *William Perkins* confess'd to a Committee of Parliament that he saw; but neither Sir *George Barclay* nor the Commission being yet taken, and the *Jacobites* being asham'd to set up the late King and themselves under the inglorious Title of *Murtherers*, they minc'd the matter into more relishable terms, and said the import of the Commission was, only To Levy War upon the Prince of Orange and all his Adherents; others said it was to attack the Prince of Orange in his Winter Quarters: which were all meer Tricks and Evasions, invented by the Party to disguise the Horror of the Action, who knew well enough the meaning of it, as appears by Mr *La Rue's* Oath, who depos'd at Mr *Charnock's* Tryal, that when the *Musquetoon* was lent by Captain *Porter* to Mr *Pendergrafs*, that would carry six or eight Bullets, Mr *King* desired him, when he shot at his Majesty in the Coach, he would not be affraid of breaking the Glasses.

When Sir *George Barclay* came to *London*, he lodged in *Covent Garden*, and kept very private till he had spoke with Sir *William Parkins*, Captain *Waugh* and Mr *Charnock*; and that the 22 Men that were sent by the late King out of *France*, and appointed to Obey his Orders, were come to *London* also; who being arrived, they endeavour to strengthen their Party by the addition of more Friends, and accordingly Mr *La Rue*, Mr *Pendergrafs*, Mr *Rookwood*, Major *Lowick*, Mr *Knightly*, Mr *Bertram*, *Chambers*, *Durant*, *Cranburn*, *Kendrick*, *Grimes*, *Waugh* and *Goodman*, some of which were engag'd in the Assassination the year before, were now confirm'd in it. Those that came from *France*, knew not the particulars of what they were sent about, but were kept in a blind Obedience to *Barclay's* Orders. Those in *England* were privy to the whole design; and tho' some of them startled at its first being propos'd to them, yet

A. D.
1696.

Several
Places and
Methods
proposed.

The Place
at last re-
solved on.

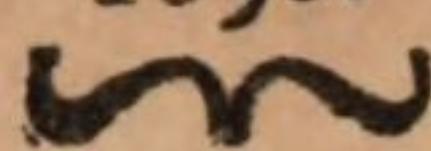
yet the Authority of the late King *James's* Commission, and their fanciful prospects of Wealth and Honour at his Return, so lull'd them into security, that they all consented to *forfeit* their Honours and *hazard* their Lives in it. To effect what they aim'd at, some propos'd seizing his Majesty, and carrying him alive into *France*, and to that purpose a Feint was made, that a Castle on the Sea side was secur'd to detain the King in, till a Ship was ready to transport him thither; but the more wicked among them, that understood what was meant by *seizing the King's Person*, laugh'd at this as a meer Chimera. Others propos'd to kill his Majesty at *Kensington*, by attacking his Guards, and forcing his Palace in the dead of the night: but this, upon debating, was found wholly unpracticable. Some were for Murdering the King as he came on *Sunday* to *St James's Chappel*; for which purpose 40 Men well armed were to assault his Majesty's Guards, which commonly did not exceed above 25, while six Men on Foot should shut *Hide Park Gate*, and the rest Assassinate his Majesty. It was agreed also to kill the Coach Horses as they were entring into the Park, that the passage being stopt, the Guards might not be able to come up till they had done their Work. Another Proposal was to murder the King as he return'd from *Hunting*, in a narrow Lane by a Wood side, leading to the *Thames*, on the other side of the Water, about 150 Paces long, in which there is a Gate, that when it is shut it hinders Coaches and Horses from passing that way. One of the *Assassins* was sent to view this Ground, and another to view the Lane before mention'd; but *Sir George Barclay*, who was to command this infamous Party, did not approve that place; and the difficulties that arose in the Debate, caused that Project to be wholly laid aside. At last they all fixed upon a Place between *Brentford* and *Turnham-Green*. In a bottom, where the Ground being *Moorish* there is a Bridge where divers Roads meet and cross one another. On the North-side there is a Road which goes round *Brentford*, and on the South a Lane that leads to the River, so that Passengers may come thither by four several ways. After you have pass'd the Bridge the Road grows narrow, having on one side a Foot-path, and on the other side a high thick Hedge; and this place was pitch'd upon for the Execution of their barbarous and bloody Enterprize: And truly if Heaven had not discover'd their Treasons

(all

(all Circumstances consider'd) a more fatal place could hardly have been found; for his Majesty often return'd late from Hunting, and usually Cross'd the Water at *Queens Ferry*, with no greater Attendance than five or six of his Guards. It was also his Majesty's Custom to enter the Ferry-boat in his Coach, and as soon as he landed on this side the Water, the Coach drove on without expecting the rest of his Guards, who could not cross the *Thames*, till the Boat returned to the *Surry* side to bring them over; and so the King must inevitably have fallen into the hands of his *Murderers* before the rest of his Guards could have come to his Assistance. For this purpose the Assassins were divided into three Parties, and were to make their Approaches three several ways; one of which was to attack the Guards in the Front, the other in the Rear, whilst ten or twelve of the boldest among them were to Assassinate his Majesty in his Coach. *The manner of doing it.*

The 15th of *February* 1696. was the Day appointed to murder the King; and the Assassins having long kept a man at *Kensington* to watch the King's going to Hunt, which was commonly every *Saturday*, their Orderly man (as they call'd him) brought them word that the King did not go abroad that day. This disappointment, and fears of a Discovery made *Plowden*, *Kendrick* and *Sherburn* decline the Action, and withdraw themselves; but Sir *George Barclay*, Sir *William Perkins*, Captain *Porter* and Mr *Goodman*, concluding the design was not discovered, because they were not taken up by the Government, they had another meeting, and there resolved to execute their bloody Project on *Saturday* the 21st of *February*. That Forenoon was spent in a tedious expectation that the King was gone abroad; but instead of that account, *Keyes*, their Orderly Man at *Kensington*, brings them word that the Guards were all come back in a Foam, that there was a muttering among the People, *That a damnable Plot was discovered*; this unexpected News dispers'd all the Conspirators, and drove them to shift for themselves by a speedy flight. Nor were their Apprehensions of a discovery groundless; for the Plot and every step that was made in it from time to time, had been discover'd by *Richard Fisher*, and something of it by Mr *Grimes* to the Earl of *Portland*. *Fisher* had his Knowledge of it from *Harrison* the Priest, who took him to be one of their Party; and *Grimes* had some dark hints from another: but for what reason I know not, there

A. D. there was little Credit given to their informations, till 1696. it was confirm'd by other Testimonies.

 Mr *Pendergrafs*, who was wholly ignorant of the Design till he was sent for to *London*, being struck with Horror at the first Proposal of it, even then took up a Resolution to discover it, and save his Majesty's Life. Accordingly on *February* the 14th at night, he went to the Earl of *Portland*, and being admitted to Privacy with his Lordship, tho' wholly a Stranger to him, without farther Address, accosts his Lordship with this surprising Request; *Pray, my Lord, perswade the King to stay at home to morrow, for if he goes abroad to hunt, he will be Murder'd.* The same night, tho' late, he was introduced into the Presence, and discover'd the whole Plot. The next day after Mr *La Rue* made the same Discovery; which he had done before, but that his Friend Brigadier *Lewson*, whom he design'd to introduce him to the King, was out of Town. Both these Gentlemen agreed in the Discovery, tho' both refus'd to name the Conspirators. This might have been of fatal Consequence, if the Earl of *Portland* had not found out the happy Expedient to prevent it, by perswading his Majesty to give himself the Trouble of examining them in his Closet; which his Majesty did, and gave them such unanswerable Reasons, why, as Men of Honour, and Lovers of their Country, they should discover the Names of the Conspirators, as quite subdu'd their former unwillingness, and prevail'd with them to tell the Names of the Assassins, under the Promise of not being made use of as Evidences.

A 1000 l. The King having now a perfect Knowledge of the Conspiracy, and the Names of the Conspirators, he issues out his Royal Proclamation for the apprehending the Plotters; promising 1000 l. Reward for every one of the Principal Offenders that should be taken and brought to Justice; and 500 l. a piece for others. Every day now producing the King fresh Evidences of the Conspiracy, his Majesty was pleas'd to communicate it to both Houses of Parliament in the following Speech.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

His Majesty's Speech

'I am come hither this day upon an extraordinary occasion, which might have been of fatal Consequence, if it had not been disappointed by the singular mercy and goodness of God; and may now, by the continuance of the same Providence, and our own prudent Endeavours, be so improved, as to become a sufficient

War n

‘ Warning to us to provide for our Security against the
 ‘ pernicious Practices and Attempts of our Enemies. I
 ‘ have receiv’d several concurring Informations of a
 ‘ Design to Assassinate me, and that our Enemies at the
 ‘ same time are very forward in their preparations for a
 ‘ sudden Invasion of this Kingdom: And therefore I
 ‘ have thought it necessary to lose no time in acquaint-
 ‘ ing my Parliament with these things, in which the
 ‘ Safety of the Kingdom and the Publick Welfare are so
 ‘ nearly concern’d, that I assure my self, nothing will
 ‘ be omitted on your part which may be thought proper
 ‘ for our present or future Security.

‘ I have not been wanting to give the necessary Or-
 ‘ ders for the Fleet; and I hope we have such a strength
 ‘ of Ships, and in such a readiness, as will be sufficient
 ‘ to disappoint the Intentions of our Enemies. I have
 ‘ also dispatch’d Orders for bringing home such a num-
 ‘ ber of our Troops, as may secure us from any Attempt.
 ‘ Some of the Conspirators against my Person are already
 ‘ in Custody, and care is taken to apprehend so many of
 ‘ the rest as are discovered; and such other Orders are
 ‘ given as the present Exigency of Affairs do absolutely
 ‘ require at this time for the Publick Safety.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

‘ Having now acquainted you with the Danger that
 ‘ hath attended us, I cannot doubt of your readiness and
 ‘ zeal to do every thing which you shall think proper for
 ‘ our Common Safety. And I perswade my self, we
 ‘ must be all sensible how necessary it is in our present
 ‘ Circumstances, that all possible Dispatch should be
 ‘ given to the Business before you.

His Majesty’s Speech was seconded by Sir William
 Trumball, Principal Secretary of State, who open’d the
 Matter more at large in a Speech to the House of Com-
 mons; for he knowing that the disaffected Party always
 endeavour’d to ridicule Plots, and render the Discovery
 of them fictitious; he took the Advantage of acquaint-
 ing that Assembly with the Credibility of the Witnesses,
 and the Improbability of their Conspiring together to
 abuse the Credulity of the Nation with what was either
 false or feign’d. And the Lords and Commons, under
 a deep Sense of his Majesty’s Danger and Deliverance,
 were pleas’d to express their Duty and Affection to him in
 the following Address, which for the greater Solemnity
 was presented by them in a Body in these Words: ‘ We
 ‘ your Majesty’s most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the

The Lords

and Com-

mons Ad-

dress.

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‘ Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this
 ‘ present Parliament assembled, having taken into our
 ‘ serious Consideration what your Majesty has been
 ‘ pleased to communicate to us this day, think it our
 ‘ Duty, in the first place, to give your Majesty most
 ‘ humble thanks for having acquainted your Parliament
 ‘ with the great Danger your Sacred Person has been
 ‘ so nearly expos’d to, and the Design of an Invasion
 ‘ from our Enemies abroad; we heartily congratulate
 ‘ your Majesty’s happy Preservation, and thankfully
 ‘ acknowledge the signal Providence of God in it, and
 ‘ at the same time declare our Detestation and Abhor-
 ‘ rence of so Villanous and Barbarous a Design. And
 ‘ since the Safety and Welfare of your Majesty’s Domi-
 ‘ nions do so entirely depend upon your Life, we most
 ‘ humbly beseech your Majesty to take more than ordi-
 ‘ nary care of your Royal Person. And we take this
 ‘ Occasion to assure your Majesty of our utmost Assist-
 ‘ ance, to Defend your Person and Support your Go-
 ‘ vernment, against the late King *James*, and all other
 ‘ your Enemies both at Home and Abroad: hereby de-
 ‘ claring to all the World, that in case your Majesty
 ‘ shall come to any violent Death, (which God forbid)
 ‘ we will revenge the same upon all your Enemies, and
 ‘ their Adherents; and as an instance of our Zeal for
 ‘ your Majesty’s Service, we will give all possible Dis-
 ‘ patch to the Publick Business. And we make it our
 ‘ Desire to your Majesty, to Seize and Secure all Persons,
 ‘ with their Horses and Arms, that your Majesty may
 ‘ think fit to apprehend upon this occasion. To which
 his Majesty, in a very obliging manner, return’d this
 Answer.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

*The King’s
Reply.*

‘ I thank you heartily for this kind Address: On
 ‘ my part you may be assured that I will do all that is
 ‘ within my Power for the Preservation of this King-
 ‘ dom, to which I have so many Obligations: I will
 ‘ readily venture my Life for Preserving it, and Recom-
 ‘ mend my self to the continuance of your Loyalty
 ‘ and good Affection.

*The Associ-
ation.*

February the 25th, 1695. both Houses enter into an
 Association to Defend his Majesty’s Life, and Revenge
 his Death; Declaring, that his Majesty King William
 is Rightful and Lawful King of these Realms; mutually
 Promising and Engaging to stand by and assist each other
 in the Support and Defence of his Majesty’s most Sacred
 Person

Person and Government, against the late King James and all his Adherents, and in supporting and defending the Succession of the Crown, according to an Act made in the first Year of King William and Queen Mary, intituled, An Act, declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and settling the Succession of the Crown. His Majesty receiv'd this Address very graciously, and express'd his Sense of their extraordinary Zeal and Fidelity in these words. Gentlemen, *I take this as a most convincing and most acceptable Evidence of your Affection: And as you have freely associated your selves for our common safety, I do heartily enter into the same Association; and will be always ready with you and the rest of my good Subjects, to venture my Life against all, who shall endeavour to subvert the Religion, Laws and Liberties of England.*

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1696.

The House of Commons also proceeded to put this Association into a Law, and further Enacted, that such as should refuse to take the Oath of Fidelity to his Majesty, should be liable to all the Forfeitures and Penalties of *Popish Recusants Convict*, and that no Person should be capable of any Office of Profit or Trust, Civil or Military, that should not sign the *Association*: And that whensoever it should please God to afflict these Nations by the Death of his present Majesty, that the Parliament then in being should not be dissolv'd thereby; but should continue till the next Heir to the Crown in Succession should dissolve them.

While the Parliament were thus providing Laws for the Preservation of his Majesty's Person, and the Peace and Safety of the Kingdom, three of the Assassines, viz. *Robert Charnock, Edward King and Thomas Keys*, being found Guilty of High Treason, were all Executed at Tyburn upon the eighteenth of March, 1696. Before they were executed, the Malefactors severally delivered each their Paper to the Sheriffs, in which they confess'd themselves Guilty of the Crimes they were accus'd of, and then about to suffer for, Mr Charnock in these words: *As concerning an Invasion intended by King James upon England, and that there was certain Intelligence of it from abroad, I presume every body was satisfied; and to the facilitating of which, I own that my self and some others did agree upon the undertaking to Attack the Prince of Orange and his Guards, for which I am now to suffer.* Mr King in these words, *I am now within a few moments of Eternity,*

*The Traitors
Execution.*

A: D.
1696.

brought to this place by the just hand of God, in punishment of all my Crimes, but particularly of that which I have been lately Arraign'd, and for which I stand here condemn'd. Mr Keys in these words, God is just in all his Judgments, and I accept of this Death, as the punishment of my Iniquities. Sir John Friend also own'd himself Guilty of the Treason he dy'd for, in endeavouring to justify it in these words; To assist King James in the Recovery of his Rights, is Justifiable, and our Duty. Sir William Perkins confes'd at his Execution, That he was privy to the Design upon the Prince, (meaning King William) That he was entirely in the Interest of King James, and look'd upon it as his duty to assist him in the Recovery of his Throne.

To omit others, Sir John Fenwick was the last that suffer'd in this Plot. The Earl of Ailesbury, the Lord Montgomery and Sir John Fenwick's Agents, knowing there were but two Witnesses against them, contriv'd to send one of them away, and by that means procur'd their Acquittal. The Proposal was first made to Captain Porter by Clancy, but the Captain discovering it to the Government, Clancy was set in the Pillory for attempting it. Then the Party so powerfully attack'd Mr Cardel Goodman, by the Mediation of Major Ingram, and the Promise of great Rewards, that they prevail'd with him after he had Sworn against them, to abandon his Native Country and go privately into France, and now there being but one Witness against the Lords, they were acquitted. But Sir John Fenwick being Attainted by Parliament, was beheaded on Tower-Hill the 28th of January, 1696. In this Plot I cannot but observe two things, first, what a strange Fate attends some Families, for the Ancestors of Charnock, Rookwood and Keyes, were all executed in the Gun-powder-Treason Plot; and as a warning to others; the second is, that Mr Goodman, who was tempted to desert the Government, and fly into France, was no sooner there than he met with very unkind usage, being confin'd first to Calais, but afterwards was remov'd from thence; but how they have dispos'd of him since, is a secret unknown to all his Friends, Relations and Acquaintance in England.

The French
Magazine
burnt.

As soon as the News came into Flanders that the King was safe, and England freed from the intended Invasion, the Generals bethought themselves of making an extraordinary Bonfire for Joy, by burning the French Magazine at Givet, which they accomplish'd on the 6th of March, burning all that vast Magazine of Stores and

and Provisions which the *French* had gather'd there, and that with the loss of about nine or ten Men only; but notwithstanding this Advantage to the Confederates, the Conspiracy in *England*, and other Affairs in Parliament, spun out so much time, that the King could not be so early in the Camp this Year as he designed. However, about the time that the King arriv'd at the *Hague*, there fell out something that look'd like putting an end to the Toils of War, for *Monsieur Cail- liere* was come thither from *France*, with proposals towards concluding a General Peace, by settling such Preliminaries as might be a sufficient Basis to ground a Treaty on. Some are of opinion, that before 1695 there was no real Disposition in the *French* Court to a General Peace; but the loss of *Namur*, *Casal*, and other Disadvantages, without all doubt operated powerfully towards it; and nothing could have delayed it so long, but the plausible Imagination of the Invasion of *Eng- land*, and that in such a hazardous Juncture, as the badness of the Coin rendred it; but the former failing, and a visible Prospect of weathering the point in re- lation to our Money, there was no room for a longer delay.

His Illustrious Highness the Duke of *Gloucester* ha- ving been Elected into the most Noble Order of the *Gar- ter*, at a Chapter of the Order held at *Kensington*, Jan. 6. 1695. (7 *William* 3.) by the Sovereign and Eleven Knights Companions of the said Order; and having been first Knighted by the Sovereign with the Sword of State, and afterwards Invested with the *Garter* and *George*, (the two Principal Ensigns of the Order) with the usual Ceremonies, was this day, being *Friday* the 24th of *July* 1696. (his Birth-day) Install'd at *Windsor*, by the Dukes of *Norfolk*, *Devonshire* and *Shrewsbury*, Commissionated by his Majesty for that purpose; his Royal Highness Prince *George* of *Denmark*, with the Dukes of *Southampton* and *Northumberland*, the Earls of *Rocheſter* and *Dorset*, Knights Companions of the said Order, being present at the Solemnity.

The Confederate Army did little this Campaign by Land, for the reasons before-mention'd; but the *English* made Amends in their Attempt upon the Isle of *Rhee*, under the Command of the Lord *Berkley*, where they burnt the greatest part of the Town of *St. Martins*; but they could not succeed so well upon *Olonne*, by mi- staking the situation of the place, tho the Damage was

A. D. not inconsiderable, which was done there also. After
 1696. this the Lord *Berkley* Landed a party in the Isle of *Groa*,
 near *Port Louis*, and in two others near *Bell Isle*, where
 the Souldiers destroyed about twenty Villages, burnt
 1300 Houses, and brought off a Booty of 1600 head of
 Cattel. Besides this, the Fleet took 20 Barks, and a
 Vessel from *Newfoundland*; and re-took one of our
West-India Ships, together with a small Frigot, which
 the Privateers of *St. Maloes* had taken; and so ended
 the Summers expedition.

The Duke
 of Savoy
 makes his
 Peace.

A Peace
 betwixt
 France
 and Savoy.

The main Business of this Summer was on the side of
Italy; not so much in the Prosecution of the War, as in
 making up a separate Peace between *Savoy* and *France*;
 the Duke, it seems, being resolved as he came last into
 the War, to be the first that would get out of it, with-
 out any regard to the Stipulations between him and the
 Confederates. I take it for granted, that the *French*
 Army on that side were more formidable now than
 usual, but I also am of opinion, that there was some
 Understanding between the Duke of *Savoy* and the
 Court of *France* before this time, by *Catinat's* not mak-
 ing use of the Advantages he had against him: tho' all
 the Artifices imaginable were made use of, to cover the
 matter for a time. However, on the 12th of *July*,
 1696. a Truce was concluded for a Month, and at
 length a final conclusion of a Peace; which if it had
 been gain'd on the Duke's part, without any violation of
 his Honour, was very advantageous to him, and the
 rest of *Italy*; for the *French* made a Restitution to him
 of all the new Conquests they had made, as also of *Pig-*
nerol demolished; gave him four Millions of Livres to-
 wards the Reparation of the Damages he had sustained
 during the War, engaged to assist him with 8000 Foot
 and 4000 Horse; and which was more than all, his
 Daughter was to be married to the Duke of *Burgundy*
 without any Portion. The *French* King made a formal
 Renunciation of all his pretence to *Savoy* and the Duke's
 Territories; and his Royal Highness on the 15th of
September put himself at the head of the *French* and
 his own Troops, to drive his Friends the Allies out of
Italy, or to accept of a Neutrality for it. A strange
 Metamorphosis, and such as cannot be parrallell'd in any
 ancient or modern History, that one and the same
 Prince, should successively in one and the same Cam-
 paign command the two Armies of the two Enemies!
 However, the Duke laid Siege to *Valentia*, a City in
 the

the Dutchy of *Milan* belonging to the *Spaniards*, and A. D. carried it on with great vigour. 1697.

While there was a Treaty of Peace on foot by both Parties managed by the Prince of *Fundi* for the Emperor, the Marquis of *Leganez* for the *Spaniard*, the Earl of *Galloway* for the King of *England*, and the Marquis of *St. Thomas* for the Duke of *Savoy*, and many Conferences were held before they could be brought to a conclusion; but tho the *French* and *Savoyards* were very hot in taking *Valentia*, yet they found it a harder matter than was expected; for having lost about three thousand Men before it, and the Approach of bad Weather, made the matter dubious; at last, things on all hands were reduced to this Crisis, whether the *French* should run the Hazard and Dishonour that would accrue in raising the Siege, or whether the Confederates should venture the losing it, and with that protract the War in *Italy*: But all Parties having considered the Advantages and Disadvantages, the *Neutrality* was agreed to and signed upon the 7th of *October*. *A Treaty of a general Peace.*

The Parliament met about the middle of *October*, to whom his Majesty said, 'That he thought it our happiness, considering our disappointments in the Funds, and other difficulties we labour'd under, that things had pass'd without any disadvantage abroad. That this was a convincing proof of the good disposition of his Army, and steady affections of his People, that his Enemies hopes had been hitherto frustrated in respect to the difficult Conjuncture we were in; and that their unanimous Proceedings was the way to have the same continued. That the business before them was very great, and the Occasion pressing. That he could not let slip the Occasion to tell them, that some Overtures had been made towards setting up a Negotiation of a General Peace, but that the best way to Treat was with our Swords in our hands, and by shewing our selves prepared to make a vigorous and effectual War. Wherefore he earnestly recommended it to the House of Commons, to raise the necessary Supplies with all convenient speed. *A Session of Parliament*

In the beginning of the Year 1697, the Preliminaries were agreed on in order to a General Peace, and it went forward under the Mediation of the young King of *Sweden*, (whose Father *Charles* the Eleventh dyed on the 17th of *April* this Spring) by the Intervention *Preliminaries agreed to.*

A. D.

1697.

The Elector
of Saxony
chosen King
of Poland.

Barcelona
taken.

A Peace
concluded
at Ref-
wick.

vention of the Baron *de Lilienroot*, his Ambassador. While time was spent by the several Ambassadors in presenting their Grievances to the Mediator, News came from *Poland*, that the *French*, who were confident in gaining their Point, to make the Prince of *Conti* to be elected King of *Poland*, were under a great Disappointment; for certain it was, that the Elector of *Saxony*, who had been lately reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, was elected King of *Poland* on the 26th of *June*, by a great Majority of Voices above the Prince of *Conti*, who was also proclaimed King, tho the Expedition afterwards made into that Country by that brave Prince, prov'd little to his or the *French* King's Satisfaction, the Elector having in a manner adjusted all his Affairs, before the Prince of *Conti*'s arrival.

August the 26th, an extraordinary Congress was held at *Reswick* by the Plenipotentiaries of the several Princes and States concern'd, and on the day following came news that the *French* had taken *Barcelona*, after one of the most vigorous Sieges that had happened almost in any Age; this made the *Spaniards* very uneasy and willing to abate many of the Punctilio's, they had insisted on to gratify the Emperor, but the interviews between the *Earl of Portland* and the *Mareschal de Boufflers* at the request of the latter, occasioned various Speculations, and gave a deadly blow to the *English Jacobites*, who against all common Sense and Reason, had industriously spread a report, that King *William* was to be left out in the Peace, and if this and the succeeding Interviews between those two great Favourites of their Masters, was so surprizing to most Men in general, the *Earl of Portland*, who went from thence to the *Hague*, and in his Masters name declared to the Congress, 'That for what concerned his Majesty and his Kingdoms, he was well satisfied that all matters were so far adjusted with *France*, that his concerns would occasion no delay in the general Peace; and therefore he earnestly pressed the other Allies, and particularly the *Emperor*, to contribute all that in them lay towards concluding so good a Work, was no less surprizing. At last, on the 20th of *September*, when either an happy *Peace* or a long and bloody *War* was like to determine the Fate of *Europe*, when the *English* and *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries after a long Conference with those of *France*, having adjusted all Matters that were in difference between any of them, they mutually sign'd the

the *Articles of Peace* a little after Midnight, and then complimented each other upon the finishing such an important Negotiation.

A. D.

1697.

His Majesty King *William* staid in *Holland* till all was over, and after having very honourably paid off all Foreign Troops, who by this time were marching to their respective Homes, he returned to *England*, at the Request of the Citizens; and upon the 16th of *November* made his Publick Entry thro' *London*, being attended in great State by all the Persons of Quality, with the Lord Mayor, Aldermen and the rest of the City Officers in great Magnificence from *Southwark* to his Royal Palace at *White-Hall*. All the Streets, Balconies and Windows through the Cities of *London* and *Westminster*, being crowded with such a vast number of Spectators, who ecchoed their joyful Acclamations for his safe return with Peace after the Toils of a tedious and bloody War, that no Age ever produc'd the like upon so solemn an occasion.

In the beginning of the year 1698. *Peter Alexowitz*, Czar of *Muscovy*, arrived incognito in *England*, and during his stay (at *Deptford*) was entertained at his Majesty's charge, having before (in *Autumn* last) had an interview with his Majesty at *Utrecht* in *Holland*. For the Czar having prepar'd a splendid Embassy, travell'd in their Company incognito, and taking his way thro' *Lithuania*, had an interview with *Augustus* King of *Poland*, at *Leopold*; thence he pursued his Journey into *Prussia*, and by the way of *Koningsberg*, pass'd through the Elector of *Brandenburgh's* Country into *Holland*, and so into *England*; where having spent part of the Winter, he return'd for *Holland*, and thence took his way for *Vienna*, with an intention to go thence for *Venice* and some other parts of *Italy*; but having received the unwelcome News, that there was a dangerous Conspiracy hatching against his Person in *Muscovy*, he took the nearest way to return to his own Country, where he soon quell'd the Plot by his Presence. As he Lodged at *Amsterdam* near the Great *Arsenal*, where they build their Ships, and during his stay in *England* at *Deptford*, was frequently Conversant with Ship-wrights, and delighted in the company of Understanding Seamen, so the main intention of his Journey seem'd to be his eagerness after the Knowledge of every thing that belonged to Navigation; in which he has made such improvements in

The Czar
of Mus-
covy's
Journey.

Mus-

A. D. 1698. *Muscovy*, as has raised the Jealousy of the *Turks*. The *English* Parliament in the mean while, continued with great Application to settle the Affairs of the Kingdom; making an Act for the calling in of all Hammered Money then in being, discharged the Arrears of several Annuities, and gave a vast sum for the disbanding of the Army and payment of Seamen, raised two Millions of Money by settling the *East India Trade*; and granted a Subsidy of Tonnage and Poundage, for the raising of 700000 pound *per Annum*, for the service of his Majesty's Household; these several Acts being Sign'd by his Majesty, and the Parliament Prorogued the 5th of *July*, and afterwards Dissolved, the King set out for *Holland*, *July* the 21st; from whence, not long after, he went to the Court of *Zell*, to pay a visit to the Duke of that Name, whom the King always used to esteem as his Father, and frequently call'd him by that name; tho the pretence of his Journey was not more than a visit, yet his Majesty being met there by *Ernest Augustus*, the Elector of *Hannover*, it seems as if the same was founded upon some more solid intention, *viz.* to secure that House to his Interest, in case of the death of the K. of *Spain*; as the visit made to the King after his return into *Holland* at *Loo*, by the Elector of *Bavaria*, was questionless the effect of the first Treaty of Partition, concluded not long before, betwixt *England*, *France* and *Holland*, in reference to the *Spanish* Succession, after the death of *Charles* the II, their present King.

The Kings
Progress
into Ger-
many.

The first
Partition
Treaty.

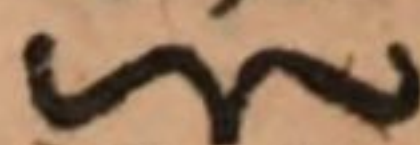
Some Overtures concerning that Succession, having been made to the *Hollanders*, by the *French* Plenipotentiaries at *Reswick*, before the conclusion of that Treaty, the same were not only repeated to my Lord *Portland*, whilst Ambassador in *France*, but also fresh instances made to his Majesty, by Count *Tallard* the *French* Ambassador at *London*. The King before his departure for *Holland*, having given some intimation of the agreement offered by *France*, in relation to the Succession of *Spain*, to the Lord Chancellor *Sommers*, after his arrival in *Holland*, ordered my Lord *Portland* to write a Letter to Mr *Vernon*, then Secretary of State, to acquaint him that the terms proposed by *France*, for the adjusting of those matters, were very near these: That the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* should have the whole Kingdom of *Spain* and the *Indies*, as also the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, and other dependencies of the *Spanish* Dominions, except *Naples* and *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, the Province

vince of *Guipuscoa*, on this side the *Pirenees*, *Fontarabia* and *S. Sebastian*, *Final* and other places in *Tuscany*, then in possession of the *Spaniards*; in consideration of which, *France* was absolutely to renounce its right to the Succession of *Spain*, and *Milan* to be bestow'd upon Arch-Duke *Charles*, the Emperors second Son. Mr *Vernon* was commanded at the same time, to communicate the matter to my Lord *Sommers*, and that his Lordship should consult such other Lords as he thought fit to be instructed with a thing of this nature, that required the utmost secrecy; much about the same time, the Lord Chancellor received a Letter sign'd by the King himself, intimating the Proposition made by Count *Tallard*, concerning the settlement of the *Spanish* Succession; about which the Earl of *Portland* was to write to Mr *Vernon*, to the end his Majesty might have some further opinion upon that affair, which being to be carried on with the greatest secrecy, and all imaginable dispatch, the King Commanded the Lord Chancellor to send unto him full Powers under the Great Seal of *England*, with blanks for the Names of the Commissioners to treat with Count *Tallard*; Mr *Vernon* having communicated the Lord *Portland's* Letter to my Lord Chancellor, he return'd the same immediately, desiring Mr *Vernon* to confer about the contents of it with the Earl of *Oxford*, Mr *Charles Montague* (since created Lord *Hallifax*) one of the then Lord Justices of *England* for the Administration of the Government, during his Majesty's absence; and with such other Persons, as he thought fit to be intrusted in this matter. Accordingly Mr *Vernon*, having communicated this Letter to the before-mentioned Lords, as also to the Duke of *Shrewsbury*, Mr *Montague* and Mr *Vernon*, met the Lord *Sommers* at *Tunbridge*, to consult about the Partition Proposal (my Lord *Orford* having declared against it, and the Duke of *Shrewsbury* being backward in giving his final sentiment) the result thereof, and the Heads of their Considerations, were by the Lord Chancellor in his Letter dated the 29th of *August*, humbly represented to his Majesty, which came not to his Majesty's hands, till some weeks after the Conclusion of the Partition Treaty, which was sign'd the 10th of *August*, upon the following Conditions.

‘ That the Peace of *Reswick* shall be confirm'd in Con-
 sideration of the ill state of the King of *Spain's* Health, of it.
 and for the preserving the Peace of *Europe*, in case the
 said

A. D.

1698.



‘said King should dye without Issue; it was agreed, That
 ‘the Kingdom of *Naples* and *Sicily*, with the places
 ‘then in possession of the *Spaniards* on the Coast of
 ‘*Tuscany*, and the adjacent Isles of *St Stephano*, *Porto*,
 ‘*Hercule*, *Orbitollo*, *Telamone*, *Porto Longo*, *Piombino*,
 ‘the Marquisate of *Final*, the Province of *Guipuscoa*,
 ‘particularly the Towns of *Fonterabia*, and *S. Sebastian*,
 ‘and especially the *Porto Passage*, and likewise all places
 ‘on the *French* side of the *Pyrenees*, or the other Moun-
 ‘tains of *Navarre*, *Alvoa* or *Biscay*, on the side of the
 ‘Province of *Guipuscoa*, with all the Ships and Gal-
 ‘leons, should be given to the *Dauphin*, in consideration
 ‘of his right.

‘The Crown of *Spain* and all other Kingdoms and
 ‘places, both within and without *Europe*, to descend
 ‘to the Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* his Father, the E-
 ‘lector to be his Tutor, and Administrator, till he came
 ‘of age. The Dutchy of *Milan* to be allotted to the
 ‘Arch-Duke *Charles*, Second Son to the Emperor. It
 was further Stipulated, that the King of *Great Britain*
 and the *States General*, should communicate this Treaty
 to the Emperor and the Elector of *Bavaria*, and if they
 did not accept of it, his Proportion, so not agreeing,
 should remain in Sequestration for a time, till matters
 could be brought to an accommodation; the Dutchy of
Milan (in case of refusal of the Arch-Duke) to be Go-
 vern’d by the Prince of *Vaudemont*; and after him by
 his Son, Prince *Charles* of *Vaudemont*. But in case the
 Electoral Prince of *Bavaria* should Inherit his share, and
 afterwards happen to dye without Issue, before his Fa-
 ther, the Elector was to succeed him, and his Heirs af-
 ter him. But as this Treaty was not well relish’d at
 the Court of *Vienna*, so the *Spaniards* exclaim’d loudly
 against it, as soon as it was discovered that Foreign
 Powers had not only disposed of their Succession, but
 also dismembred their Monarchy without their consent.

As King *William* had great Reason to believe that the
 late Partition Treaty was built but upon a Sandy Foun-
 dation, unless supported by a force which might ap-
 pear formidable enough to induce the Court of *France*
 to a due observance thereof upon all occasions, he had
 recommended among other weighty matters, to the
 New Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, the keep-
 ing up of a sufficient Force, both by Sea and Land, as
 might enable *England* to preserve the influence it had
 at that time on the Council and Affairs abroad; the Par-

Parliament, the more the first proposition concerning our Sea affairs was very well relished by them, so the less inclination they show'd to encourage any considerable standing Land Forces in *England*; and notwithstanding the King and his Friends did make use of all their Interest, and Arguments, to convince the opposite Party, how precarious the late Peace would be, unless supported by a suitable Force (the Treaty of Partition being as yet kept secret) they could not prevail: But a Bill was carried on with a great application, for granting an aid to the King, for disbanding the Army, seven thousand Men being allow'd only for Guards and Garrisons in *England*, and twelve thousand more for *Ireland* (to be maintained at the charge of that Kingdom) with exclusion of all Strangers to serve in those Troops. As the Blue Regiment of *Dutch* Guards, who had done such Signal Services upon all occasions, were included in the number of the Troops to be disbanded, the King was not a little nettled at this peremptory Resolution of both Houses; nevertheless to remove all occasions of Jealousy, he gave his Royal Assent to the said Bill, the 11th of *January*; but at the same time told the Parliament, that tho he did think himself unkindly used in seeing those Guards disbanded, who had so constantly and faithfully attended him in all the Actions he had been engaged, yet to remove all occasions of mistrust betwixt him and his people, he had thought fit for that reason only, to pass the Bill. But that after this he thought himself obliged to tell them his Judgment, that in the present circumstances, the Nation was left too much exposed by the breaking such a number of Troops. But this Speech producing no other effect, than two Loyal Addresses from both Houses, without the least alteration in their former Resolution, the King thought fit to send a Message to the House of Commons, by my Lord *Ranelagh*, *March* the eighth, to let the House know, that the necessary Preparations for Transporting the Guards he brought along with him, being made, they should be sent away immediately, unless out of a Consideration to him, the House were disposed to find a way for continuing them longer in his service, which his Majesty would take very kindly; but without any success. The Commons in their Address, having represented to the King, the general satisfaction the Act of disbanding the Army had given to the generality of the Nation, and putting him in mind of his promise, in his Declaration of sending back

Act for Dis-
banding the
Army to
7000 Men.

A. D. all the Foreign Troops that came over with him, the
 1699. King return'd them a favourable answer ; the said
 ~~~~~ *Guards* were sent away, and the number of *English*  
*Native Forces* reduced to seven thousand, whereof one  
 half were Horse, the King being willing to keep him-  
 self as much as could be, in a good readines to raise an  
 Army (upon occasion) by reducing Regiments to small  
 Companies, and consequently returning as many Offi-  
 cers as he could, and being constantly provided with a  
 good Body of Old Horse; the new raised Troops not  
 being so soon rendred useful as the Foot, upon any  
 Emergency. Several other matters of moment being  
 transacted in this Session, and among the rest, an Ad-  
 dress presented to his Majesty, concerning the mis-  
 management of the Navy, my Lord *Orford*, who was  
 then both Treasurer of the Navy, and of the Lords  
 Commissioners of the Admiralty, looking upon the  
 same as more particularly relating to him, did some  
 time after resign all his Employments; and his Majesty  
 having pass'd the remaining *Bills*, *May* the 4th, the  
 Parliament was Prorogued to the 1st of *June*.

General Fast  
 appointed  
 in favour  
 of the Pro-  
 testants a-  
 broad.

On the 12th of *March*, his Majesty's Proclamation  
 was publish'd, commanding a general Fast to be ob-  
 served throughout the Kingdom of *England*, to im-  
 plore God's Mercy for such as suffered abroad for the  
 Protestant Religion ; and towards the latter end of the  
 same Month, *Edward* Earl of *Warwick*, and *Charles*  
*Lord Mohun*, being severally Indicted for the Murther  
 of *Richard Cooke*, Esq; were try'd by the House of Peers,  
 in a Court prepar'd for that purpose in *Westminster-*  
*Hall*, the Lord Chancellor of *England*, being consti-  
 tuted Lord High Steward upon this occasion. The  
 Court being open'd, with the usual Ceremonies, the  
 Tryal of the Earl of *Warwick* came on first, and lasted  
 till late in the evening, when the Peers adjourned to  
 their own House, and after some debate, the Lords  
 Temporal only return'd to the Court in *Westminster-Hall*,  
 where they deliver'd their judgments *Seriatim* of their  
 Honours, and unanimously acquitted the Earl of *War-*  
*wick* of the Murther, but found him guilty of Manslaught-  
 er ; who craving the benefit of his Peerage, according  
 to the Statute in that case provided, was thereupon dis-  
 charg'd. The next day came on in like manner, the  
 Tryal of the Lord *Mohun*, who with great Composedi-  
 ness and Ingenuity, having made his Innocency appear,  
 was acquitted of the said Murther by the unanimous  
 Suffrages

The Earl of  
 Warwick  
 and Lord  
 Mohun  
 Tried Mar.  
 28, and Ac-  
 quitted.



Suffrages of the Peers then present. About a fortnight after the the King went to *Newmarket*, where the University of *Cambridge* renewed their assurances of Duty and Affection to his Majesty's Person and Government; and on the 19th of *April* his Majesty return'd to *Ken-*  
*sington*.

On the 14th of *May*, the Earl of *Jersey*, lately returned from his Embassy at the Court of *France*, was constituted one of his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, in the room of the Duke of *Shrewsbury*. At the same time the Earl of *Manchester* was appointed to succeed the Earl of *Jersey*; the Earl of *Pembroke* and *Montgomery*, a Person of no Party, and yet equally esteem'd and belov'd by all, was declared Lord President of the Council; and his Majesty having receiv'd the Privy Seal from his Lordship, deliver'd the same into the custody of the Viscount *Lonsdale*. On the last day of *May* his Majesty appointed the Lord Chancellor, the Lord President of the Council; the Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Steward of his Majesty's Household; the Earl of *Bridge-*  
*water*, the Earl of *Marlborough*, the Earl of *Jersey* and *Charles Mountague*, Esq; to be Lords Justices of *Eng-*  
*land*; for the Administration of the Government during his Majesty's Absence. On the 1st of *June* the King embarked for *Holland*, and on the 3d safely landed at *Oranie Polder* from whence he went to the *Hague*.

Nothing deserves more our attention this Summer, than the contest between the Prince of *Conti* and the Dutches of *Nemours*, about the Succession of *Neufchastel*, a Protestant Independant City and Principality, bordering upon and allied with the *Switzers*, whose Sovereign was the Duke of *Longueville*. Now the Parliament of *Paris* having made a Decree in favour of the Prince of *Conti*, whose Interest was supported by the King of *France* himself, to whom the Dutches refused to refer the decision of her Cause. His Highness, to maintain his pretensions, and to obviate the designs of his Competitor, went in Person to *Neufchastel*; where he did all that lay in his Power, by Letters, Memorials, Caresses and large Promises, to draw the States of that Principality, and their Confederates the *Swiss Cantons*, to own him for the next and immediate Successor to the Dutches. Thereupon King *William*, who set up the universal Heir to the House of *Longueville*, order'd Mr *Hervart*, his Envoy in *Switzerland*, immediately to repair to *Neuf-*  
*chastel*,



A. D. 1699. *chastel*, and to represent to the Prince of *Conti*, 'That he was not ignorant, that his Majesty laid Claim to the County of *Neufchastel*, and its Dependencies; his Ministers at the Treaty of *Reswick* having acquainted his Most Christian Majesty's Plenipotentiaries with it. That nevertheless, his Majesty, whose Pleasure it was, that those Countries should be expressly comprehended in the Treaty of Peace, had been farther pleas'd, for the better securing the Tranquility of that Principality, to defer the making out his Right, till the Death of the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, who had been invested with that Sovereignty for these five years last past. But understanding the present Movements there, occasion'd by his Highness's Pretensions, his Majesty had thought it to be his it his Interest to declare more expressly by his Ministers at the Court of *France*, his Right to that Sovereignty; hoping that the Most Christian King would observe an exact Impartiality in that affair; and that he would leave it to the States, who are real Judges of it, so soon as a Convocation should be summon'd together after the Death of the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*; and that his Majesty thought it reasonable, that his Highness should propose his Pretensions as well as the rest of the Competitors concern'd. That the Assurance which his Most Christian Majesty's Ministers thereupon gave of his Impartiality were so positive, that the King of *Great Britain* thought He might remain in silence, till a more convenient time to settle the Justice of his claims. But the design form'd by his Highness, presently to summon a Tribunal during the Life of Madam *de Nemours*, obliged his *Britanick* Majesty, to represent to his Highness, that His Majesty cannot but look upon such a Convocation as prejudicial to his Right, contrary to the Laws and Customs of the Country, and a means to banish Peace and Tranquility from thence.

Mr *Hervart*, did at the same time, present another Memorial to the Dutcheſs of *Nemours*, wherein in his Majesty's Name, he Communicated to her what he had represented to the Prince of *Conti*; assuring her of His Majesty's Favour and Protection. The Dutcheſs and the States of *Neufchastel*, exprest great acknowledgments of His Majesty's interposing in this affair. And as for the Prince, he made a very respectful Answer, and by direction



on from the *French* Court, immediately returned to *A. D.*  
*Paris*. His Most Christian Majesty, like a subtle Politician, not thinking it proper to enter into any Dispute *1699.*  
 with the King of *England*, but rather to shew him all  
 manner of Deference, the better to engage him in a *Prince*  
 new Treaty of Partition, which was become necessary *Conti de-*  
 since the Death of the Electorate Prince of *Bavaria*, *sists from his*  
 which happen'd this year on the 6th of *February*, N. S. *Pretensions.*

The Duke of *Cell* having staid about a month with  
 King *William*, went from *Loo* on the 3d of *October*,  
 (N. S.) on his return home; and a few days after his  
 Majesty came to the *Hague*, where he assisted at the  
 Assembly of the States General, when the State of the  
 Forces for the ensuing year was present to them; and  
 order'd to be sent to the several Provinces. On the *The King*  
 26th of the same month his Majesty embarked in the *lands in*  
*Maese*, and the next day landed at *Margate*, lay that *England*  
 night at *Canterbury*, and on the 18th (O. S.) arriv'd at *O. S.*  
*Kensington*.

The Parliament of *England* being met at *Westminster*, *1700.*  
*Novemb.* the 16th, the first and main thing that fell  
 under debate in the House of Commons, was the passing  
 of a Bill, for the sale of all the Forfeited Estates in *Ire-*  
*land*. This was carried on very vigorously (tho not  
 without considerable opposition) in that House; but be-  
 ing sensible, that as the King had bestow'd a great part  
 of these Estates upon such of his Friends as had been  
 serviceable to him, either in that Kingdom or otherwise,  
 so they were likely to meet with no small opposition in  
 the House of Lords, they thought fit to tack it with  
 the Land Tax Bill, which the Lords look'd upon as a  
 hardship; it caused no small Contests betwixt both  
 Houses, which were at last adjusted by His Majesty's  
 Authority, who having signify'd his pleasure; the Lords  
 at last comply'd with the Commons, and the Bill, with *Bill for the*  
 many others, pass'd the Royal Assent; which done, the *sale of the*  
 Parliament was Prorogued to the 23d of *May*. During *Irish For-*  
 the sitting of this Parliament, there was a second Treaty *feited E-*  
 of Partition carried on, betwixt *England*, *France* and *stares.*  
*Holland*, by the Memorial delivered by the Marquis de  
*Harcourt* to the *French* Minister at *Madrid*, the beginning  
 of the last year, to that King, it being made manifest  
 to the World, that that Monarch had declared the E-  
 lectoral Prince of *Bavaria*, by his Will, his Universal  
 Heir; but the intention of this Testament, as well as



A. D.

1700.

The Second  
Partition  
Treaty.

the ends of the first Partition, being frustrated by the sudden death of that young Prince, another was set on Foot this Winter, and concluded upon very near the same conditions as the former, with this alteration only, that instead of the deceas'd Prince, *Charles Arch-Duke of Austria* should succeed to the Crown of *Spain*, with all the Dominions thereunto belonging, except such as were by the first Partition Treaty reserved for the *Dauphin*, and *France*; and the Dukedome of *Milan* to be given to the Duke of *Lorraine*, in exchange for the Dukedom of that Name, which was to be incorporated with *France*; and the Country of *Birsh* to be given to the Prince of *Vaudemont*. But this Treaty proved of worse consequence than the first; the *Spaniards* loudly exclaiming against it; the Emperor not approving of it, as done without his consent; and the Parliament of *England* shewing their dissatisfaction at it, as soon as it came to their knowledge; besides, that the Elector of *Bavaria*, seeing himself not as much as mentioned in this last Treaty, inclined from that time to the Interest of *France*, who made use of this opportunity to procure a Faction in the *Spanish* Court, which, rather than see their Monarchy dismembred, pitched upon that Expedient of getting the Duke *Anjou* declared the sole Successor to the *Spanish* Monarchy, by the late King's Will.

The War  
between  
Denmark  
and Hol-  
stein.

The late King of *Denmark* leaving his Son and Successor embroil'd with the Duke of *Holstein Gottorp*, this was likely to have kindled a heavy War in the Northern parts of *Germany*, the King of *Poland* and *Czar of Muscovy* siding with the *Danes* and the *Swedes*; as House of *Lunenburgh*, did with the Duke of *Holstein*, as it was absolutely for the Interest of *England* and *Holland* to suppress this Flame before it should spread too far, and that they were lately engaged in an Alliance with *Sweden*, they sent a Squadron of Ships into the *Baltick*, and 3000 Men into *Holstein*, which turning the Balance visibly on the side of the Duke of *Holstein*, and the *Swedes* having by this means found an opportunity of making a descent into *Zealand*, not many leagues from *Copenhaguen* (in the absence of the King of *Denmark*, who headed his Army in *Holstein*) the last of these two Kings saw himself under an absolute necessity of complying with the propositions made to him by *England* and *Holland*, with the exclusion of the *Czar of Muscovy*, and the King of *Poland* his Allies; the last ha-  
ving



ving in the mean while invaded *Livonia*, beaten the *Swedes* near *Riga*, and made himself Master of the strong Fortrefs of *Kohenhousen*, seated at the mouth of the River *Puina*, whilst the King was in *Holland*, expecting the issue of the Northern War, which was ended by the Treaty of *Travendaht*, concluded the 18th of *August*: The King receiv'd about the beginning of the same month, the deplorable news of the death of the Duke of *Glocester*, the only Son of *George* Prince of *Denmark* and her Royal Highness the Princess *Anne*, who died at *Windsor*, just as he was entering into the twelfth year of his Age. His death was the more lamented, in that he was a Prince who promised much, and was the growing hopes of *England*. As the King shew'd an uncommon concern at this fatal accident, so he diverted his Melancholy by the frequent Conversation of several Princes that came into *Holland* to pay their Visits to him; and as the Electress Dowager of *Hannover* was among the number of those Illustrious Persons, it was generally believed, that the Business of the succession, settled the next Session of Parliament upon the Family of *Hannover*, was concerted betwixt them; the King at that time finding such infallible Signs of his weakness, that he himself perceived his life would be of no long continuance.

The death of His Highness the Duke of *Gloucester*, which was followed by that of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*, who departed this life the 1st of *November* 1700, and by his will had constituted *Philip* Duke of *Anjou*, the second Son of the *Dauphin* of *France*, sole Successor in all the Dominions belonging to the *Spanish* Monarchy, having introduced a most remarkable change of affairs in *Europe*, but especially in Relation to *England*, the King thought fit to dissolve the Parliament about the middle of *December*, and to call a new one against the 6th of *February* following, which being met accordingly, at *Westminster*, the King recommended to them, to make a further provision for the Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, after His and the Princess of *Denmark's* decease; and in the next place, since the death of the late King of *Spain*, with the Declaration of his Successors to that Monarchy, had made so great an alteration in the Affairs abroad, they would consider their present state and safety, as well as that of the Protestant Religion in general, and the Peace of



A. D.

1701.

The Earl of  
Melford's  
Letter to the  
Earl of  
Perth.

*Europe.* Some days after, his Majesty ordered Mr Secretary *Vernon* to lay before the House the Copy of a Letter (fallen accidentally into his Hands) sent by the Earl of *Melford*, to his Brother the Earl of *Perth*; wherein he pretends to represent the feasibility of restoring King *James II.* to the Throne of *England* at that conjuncture, when the *French* were ready to put a great Fleet to Sea; whereas the *English*, by their long debates, could not be in a condition to be in a readiness so soon, if they were willing (which he seems to question) and the *Dutch* would not dare to venture out at Sea, without being sure of the assistance of the *English*: He proposes several other means how to encompass this design, and prepare all the Friends of King *James*, tho of different opinions in certain respects, to join unanimously in this work; representing at the same time, who were the fittest persons to be employ'd for the different purposes that were to be compassed, especially in relation to the Nonjuring Clergy and their followers; with a great many other reflections of this nature: But both Houses being then taken up with much weightier matter, and looking upon the whole as a rough Scheme, and the product of the Earl's own Brain, no great notice was taken of the matter, except that the House of Lords desired his Majesty to seize all such persons, as were mentioned as the Instruments of Rebellion in this Letter, and to give his orders for the hastning of the equipment of the Fleet; desiring also (as the Commons had done in their Address before) that he would be pleas'd to order his Ministers abroad to enter in such Alliances, in conjunction with the States General and other Potentates, as he thought necessary for the keeping up of the Ballance of *Europe*; and in order to give their mutual Advice, with the more certainty and assurance, they begg'd His Majesty would be pleas'd to order all the Treaties he had made since the late Wars, to be laid before them. The House of Commons sitting the 3d of *March*, came to a Resolution, That it was absolutely necessary that a further Declaration should be made, of the Limitation and Succession of the Crown in the Protestant Line, after His Majesty and the Princess, and the Heirs of their respective Bodies; this produced a Protestation delivered By the Count of *Maffey*, the Minister of *Savoy*, then residing in *London*, in the name of the Dutchess of *Savoy*, Daughter to the late Dutchess of *Orleans*, and

Grand



Grand Daughter to King *Charles* the First of Great Britain; but the Commons, without taking any notice of this matter, proceeded in the Bill of Succession with all imaginable vigour; and the same being brought to its full perfection, had the Royal Assent given it by the 12th of *June*; containing in substance.

That the most Excellent Princess *Sophia*, Electress and Dutches Dowager of *Hannover*, Daughter to the Princess *Elizabeth*, late Queen of *Bohemia*, Daughter to *James* the First, King of *England*, should be declared next in the Succession of the Protestant Line, to the Crown of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, after His Majesty and the Princess *Ann* of *Denmark*; and that for default of Issue of the said Princess *Ann*, and of His Majesty respectively, that the said Crown and Government, should remain to the said Princess *Sophia* and the Heirs of Her Body, being Protestants; provided that all Persons, who might inherit the said Crown, by virtue of his Limitation, and were or should be reconciled to the Church of *Rome*, or profess the *Popish* Religion, or Marry'd a *Papist*, should be subject to the incapacities of the Act, Anno 1 W. and M. Intituled, *An Act for declaring the Rights and Liberties of the Subject, and Forfeiting the Succession of the Crown*; and that every King and Queen of the Realm, who should come to the Crown by virtue of that Act, should take the Coronation Oath, made 1. W. & M. and make, subscribe and repeat the Declaration in the before-mentioned Act. And for the further security of the Realm and Protestant Religion, it was Enacted, That who hereafter should come to the Crown, should join in Communion with the Church of *England*, as by Law Establish'd. That in case the Crown should hereafter come to any Person not a Native of *England*, the Nation should not engage in any War, for defence of any Dominions not belonging to the Crown of *England*, without the consent of Parliament; that no Persons who should hereafter come to the Crown, should go out of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, without consent of Parliament. That after the Limitation of this Act should take effect, all things relating to the Government, properly cognizable in the Privy Council, should be transacted therein; and the Resolution sign'd by such of the Privy Council as should advise the same; That no Persons, Born out of *England*, *Scotland* or *Ireland*, or the Dominions thereunto belonging, (although Naturaliz'd

The Succession settled in the Protestant Line.



A. D. 1701. and made Denizons) except such as were Born of *English* Parents, should be as Privy Councillours, or Members of the House of Parliament, or enjoy any Office or Place of Trust, Civil or Military, or have any Grant of Land, &c. That no Person, who had an Office or Place of Profit under the King, or Pension from the Crown, should be a Member of the House of Commons; That Judges Commissions, *quam diu se bene gesserint*, and their Salleries Establised, but upon the Address of both Houses, might be removed; That no Pardon under the Great Seal should be pleadable to any Impeachments of the Commons; and that all the Laws and Statutes, and the Rights and Liberties of the People, should be ratified and confirm'd.

Whilst these several things relating to this Act were under Debate, the King having not been neglectful in carrying on his Negotiations abroad, pursuant to the Addresses made upon that by both Houses; and notice thereof being given the 16th of *March*, by Mr Secretary *Hedges* to the House of Commons, and the demands as well of his Majesty as the *States General*, made to Monsieur *Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, communicated to them, they return'd their Thanks to his Majesty; but at the same time, both Houses began to enter into very serious debates about the Partition Treaty, which the Lords in their Address of the 20th of *March*, represented to the King of very ill consequence to all *Europe*, by having given occasion perhaps to the late King of *Spain*, to grant his Will in favour of the Duke of *Anjou*; but even if it had taken effect, by the surrendring of *Sicily*, *Naples*, and other considerable Provinces to *France*. That the instructions relating to this fatal Treaty, were never considered in any of his Majesty's Councils, nor a Draught of it laid before them; wherefore they thought themselves bound in duty, to beseech His Majesty to admit for the future the Advice of his Natural-born Subjects, of known Probities. The Commons Address tended much to the same purpose. The Preliminary Demands, in order to the settling of the Tranquility of *Europe*, delivered by Mr *Stanhope*, His Majesty's Envoy at the *Hague*, to the Count d'*Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador there contained in substance, The Emperor to be invited to enter into the intended Negotiation; and reasonable satisfaction to be given him, and to be included in the Treaty

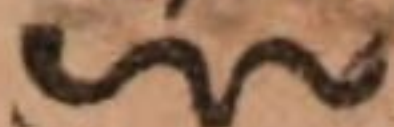
Both Houses  
Address the  
King in re-  
lation to the  
Treaty of  
Partition.



Treaty to be made betwixt *England* and *Holland*, and the Crowns of *France* and *Spain*. The *French* King to withdraw his Troops out of the *Spanish Netherlands* within limited time; and the *English* and *Hollanders* to have liberty to send their Forces for the defence of the *Netherlands*, where required. For the security of *England*, *Ostend* and *Newport*, with their Forts, to be Garrison'd by *English* Troops, with full liberty to augment the Fortifications, and send thither all things requisite for their defence. No Places or Provinces belonging to *Spain* to be alienated or given over unto *France*; That the Subjects of the King of *England* should enjoy the same priviledges in all the *Spanish* Dominions, as before the late King of *Spain*'s death, except it were otherwise provided by the Treaty; all the Treaties of Peace and Trade to be renew'd betwixt *England* and *Spain*; the *English* to enjoy the same benefit of Traffick as the *French*, in all the *Spanish* Dominions. The demands of the *Dutch* were much of the same nature, except that they required, for their security, the Cities and Fortresses of *Venlo*, *Ruremond*, *Steverward*, *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, *Charleroy*, *Mons*, *Dendermond*, *Damme*, and the Fort of *S. Denis*, to be Garrison'd by their Troops; unto which the Count d'*Avaux* return'd no other Answer, than that he had only Authority to treat with the *States General*; but that if His Majesty had any thing to demand, it might be done either by his Ambassador at *Paris*, or the *French* Minister residing at *London*. But as the *States* were resolved not to enter into any Treaty with *France*, but in conjunction with *England*, there was a necessity of acknowledging the Duke of *Anjou* for King of *Spain*, which was done accordingly by his Majesty's Letter dated *April* the 7th, and directed to that Prince, as the *Dutch* had been obliged before, in order to obtain a safe return of their Forces out of the *Spanish Netherlands*, where they had been put in Garrison for the securities of these Cities, by a mutual agreement betwixt the late King of *Spain* and the *States General*. But though this obstacle was removed, and the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague* declared his Masters inclinations to enter into any Treaty with the *States*, he would not own to have received any Instructions to treat with the *English* Envoy. But finding the *Hollanders* positive in their Resolutions, of not entering into any Treaty, but in concert with *England*, he waved the matter, under

Preliminary demands of the English and Dutch.





pretence of sending for new instructions from *France*, the *Hollanders* in the mean while being well enough pleas'd with these delays, which gave them sufficient leisure to expect succours from their Allies, and to enter into new Alliances for their future security; as the *French* on the other hand endeavoured to gain time, for securing the Frontiers of the *Spanish Netherlands* by making new Lines and Forts, within the reach of the Cannon, of some of the *Dutch* Frontier Forts.

The 28th of *June* the Duke of *Somerset* being sworn of His Majesty's Privy Council, and the Earl of *Marlborough* (who had some time before been declar'd General of the Forces, and Commander in Chief of the *English* Forces in *Holland*, being appointed also His Majesty's Extraordinary Ambassador and Plenipotentiary to the *States General*, the King Embark'd at the conclusion of this month for *Holland*, where being safely arriv'd, he declared, among other matters, to the *States*, how well he was convinced of the readiness of their Allies, but especially of the *English* Nation in general, strongly to assist them in the keeping up the Ballance of *Europe*, either by an Advantageous Treaty or a Vigorous War, in case the first proved unsuccessful.

Whilst the King took a Progress among the *Dutch* Frontier places, *Bergenopzoom*, *Sluice*, &c. to view their present Condition, the Count *D'Avaux*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, deliver'd a Letter, accompany'd with a Memorial, to the *States*, notifying his being recall'd by his Master, and the Reasons that induced the King to lay aside all thoughts of a further Treaty upon those terms insisted upon by the *States* (in concert with his *Britanick* Majesty) which Memorial containing divers Reflective Expressions, was smartly answered by the *States*; and all the Evils that was like to ensue from a long and Bloody War, charged upon the *French* King; which done, to let the World know that they were now in a condition to make good their Party with any Aggressor whatever, they did not only in conjunction with the *English* set out a formidable Fleet, which put the *Spanish*, as well as the *Portuguese* Coasts, (the last being lately engaged in a League with *France* and *Spain*) under no small Apprehension; but also, by their Ambassador at *Madrid*, demanded the use of the *Spanish* Ports for them, which was refused by the *Spanish* Court.

How-



However, a strong Squadron of this Fleet being detach'd for the *West Indies*, the rest return'd without attempting any thing; the whole being design'd chiefly to amuse the *Spaniards*, and to shew them that they were in a readiness to obviate their designs. The same precautions were taken by the *States* for the strengthening of their Frontiers, especially the Frontier Town of *Nemighen*, now likely to be their chief Frontier Garrison of the side of the *Guelders*; and Recruits and Auxiliaries arriving daily from *England* and other parts, a Camp was mark'd out at the *Mocker Hide* (near *Nimeguen*) where the King took a Review of them, and sent the Earl of *Gallway* to the Elector of *Cologne*, to endeavour the bringing over of that Prince, into the interest of the Confederacy. That ungrateful Prince, who ow'd all his greatness to his Imperial Majesty and the King of *Great Britain's* Interest and Support, having after, his Brother the Elector of *Bavaria* had admitted the *French* Troops into the *Spanish Netherlands*, engaged with *France*, and (by putting his Strong-holds into their Hands) being likely to cut off in some measure, all Communication betwixt *Germany* and *Holland*, neither the Remonstrances of the Earl of *Gallway*, nor the oppositions made by the Chapters of *Cologne* and *Liege*, were able to divert him from that purpose, tho he endeavoured at that time to palliate the matter to the said Minister, by declaring, that he having not received any Subsidies from *France*, he should remain Neuter, since the Empire did not concern themselves with the Succession. In the mean while, King *William* continued indefatigable, in making the necessary preparations for a vigorous defence on that side. The Grand Alliance was brought to a conclusion in *September*, betwixt the Emperor, *England* and *Holland*; the Articles of which being concerted by way of Proposals or certain Conditions, upon which *France* might come in, the same were communicated to the *Spanish* Ambassador residing at the *Hague*; but in case the same should take no effect, it was stipulated, That satisfaction should be given to the House of *Austria*, in relation to the *Spanish* Succession; the *Spanish Netherlands* not to be left in the Hands of the *French*; and the *English* as well as the *Dutch*, to keep what they should Conquer in the *West Indies* during the War.

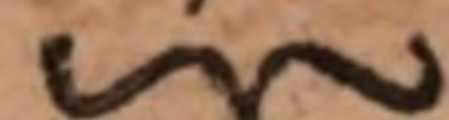
Preparations in Holland for War.

Alliance betwixt the Emperor, England and Holland.



A. D.

1701.



The York-  
shire Ad-  
dress.

Whilst these things were transacting in the *Netherlands*, there happen'd something in *England*, which, for its singularity, ought not to be pass'd by in silence: This was an Address from *Yorkshire*, wherein, after having in the most passionate terms express'd their sense of the preservation of their Religion, Laws and Liberty, by his Majesty's Care, Courage and Conduct, and of the present dangerous prospect of affairs from abroad, and the Exorbitant Power of *France* threatening all *Europe* with Popery, Tyranny and Slavery, they declared, and begg'd leave to assure His Majesty, that nothing should be wanting in them which the best of Kings might expect from his most dutiful Subjects; their Hearts, Persons and Hands being ready to support him against all those who were disaffected either to his Person or Government. They further added, That when ever the dissolution of that or other Parliament should happen, they would, for time to come, make it their constant endeavours to choose such Persons as should be in the true Interest of his Majesty and these Kingdoms. This Address, as it made no small noise in the World, every one judged of the same according to the different Sentiments they had of the present Conjunction of Affairs in this Kingdom; which appeared to be such, that the whole Nation seem'd to be divided in their Opinions, either for or against the Law, Transactions and Differences betwixt the House of Lords and Commons; when a sudden Accident seem'd to have reconciled these various agitations of Mind, and to center the main aim of the Nation in their unanimous Addresses (of a different nature) to his Majesty: This was the death of King *James II.* who dyed at *St Germain's in Lay*, the 17th of September, N. S. after a twelve years Exile in *France*, since the late Revolution in *England*. Immediately after his death, his Son being proclaim'd King of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, by his Domesticks at *St Germain's*, and own'd as such by the *French* King; this gave quite a different turn to the Affairs of *England*; the whole Nation striving to outvie each other in offering their Addresses, to shew their Resentment of this Indignity put upon the King and Kingdom by *France*. It was a most surprizing thing, and much censur'd by the most refin'd Politicians of *Europe*, that *France*, at so nice a Conjunction as this, should be so forward in irritating so great a King, and so potent a Nation as *England*, by giving an

The death  
of King  
*James II.*

The Prince  
of Wales  
own'd King  
of *England*  
by the King  
of *France*.



an empty Title to the Son, when he had not many years before abandon'd the Father in his pretensions to those Kingdoms; especially since upon a Debate in his Council, the majority were against it, but were oversway'd by the King's Authority; who, in consideration of perpetuating the divisions in *England*, by encouraging the *Jacobite* and *Roman Catholick* Factions, had determin'd (as was suppos'd) before the Father's death, to set up the Title of the Son; besides, that the differences then risen to a high pitch betwixt both Houses of Parliament, seem'd to furnish him with no small hopes, that during these animosities, they would scarce come to an unanimous Resolution, for entering into a War against *France*; but it was not long before the vanity of these suppositions were sufficiently discover'd to the World.

For no sooner did the news of this Transaction reach *England*, but the City of *London* presented their Address to the then Lords Justices of *England* (during the King's absence in *Holland*) wherein they express'd their high resentment of this Affront put upon the Nation, especially after the late Settlement of the Crown in the Protestant Line. Their Example was followed by the Addresses of all the other Cities, Corporations and Shires of the Kingdom, with such speedy and unanimous Resolutions, and such sincere Expressions of Zeal, as gave not the least room to doubt of the most affectionate Inclinations of the generality of the People to his Majesty; or that they had been managed and procured (as had been too frequently practis'd in former times) by the prevailing Interest of a Party. Neither did their Zeal stop here: For the King, after his return out of *Holland*, having thought fit to Dissolve the Parliament, and to call another to sit at *Westminster* the thirtieth of *December*, and the several Members of the House of Commons being chosen accordingly, the City of *London* charged their Representatives strictly to pursue the Intentions of their Address, as well as of those offered to His Majesty from all parts of the Kingdom; and without loss of Time, to enable His Majesty to maintain His Title to the Crown, [and His and the Nations Honour; To provide for the Security of His Kingdoms, and to make good his Alliances; To reduce the *French* King, so as to disenable him from giving for the future any disturbance to rest of *Europe*, &c. And that, for attaining of this end, they should labour to preserve

Addresses  
offered upon  
the Account

Instructions  
given to  
the Mem-  
bers of Par-  
liament.



A. D.

1701.

*Affectionate Addresses of both Houses of Parliament.*

*The Prince of Wales Attainted of High Treason.*

an entire good correspondence betwixt the two Houses of Parliament. The like Instructions being given to other Members also, the same proved the fote-runner of the unanimous and vigorous Resolutions taken in that Parliament; which being met at *Westminster-Hall*, the King on the last day of the year, represented to them, 'The Resentment they ought to have for the indignity offer'd to Him and the whole Nation, which requir'd their most serious consideration, to find out such further effectual means as might secure the Succession in the Protestant Line, and extinguish the hopes of Pretenders and their Adherents. That the King of *France*, by placing his Grandson on the Throne of *Spain*, being come, in effect, real Master of that Monarchy, and by that means having surrounded his Neighbours on all sides, the same must needs affect *England*, in respect to its Safety and Peace, and the preservation of the Liberty of *Europe*. That in order to obviate the general calamity, he had concluded several Alliances; and some other Treaties were still depending; but that since the Eyes of all *Europe* were now upon this Parliament, all matters would be at a stand till their Resolutions were known, &c. He told them, that if in good earnest they desired to see *England* hold the Ballance of *Europe*, it would appear by their improving the present Opportunity. This Speech had so powerful an influence upon the Parliament, that the House of Lords presented an Address the 1st of *January*, and the Commons on the 5th, wherein they express'd their highest resentment of the proceeding of the *French* King, offering their utmost assistance to defend his Person and Government, and (after his death) to maintain the Title and Right of Succession to the Crown of these Realms, pursuant to the two Acts of Parliament for the Succession and the Limitation of the Crown; and that, for the better affecting of the same, they would to the utmost of their Power, enable his Majesty to make good all those Alliances he had made, or should make, &c. It must be confels'd, that the proceedings of both Houses (notwithstanding their late animosities) were in all respects answerable to these assurances given to his Majesty, by bringing in, and accomplishing an Attainder of the pretended Prince of *Wales* of High Treason, and the other for the farther security of his Majesty's Person and Government, and the Succession of the Crown in the

Pro-



Protestant Line, and extinguishing the hopes of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret Abettors. The first of which passed the Royal Assent the second of *March*, by a Commission granted under the Great Seal; and the second, with a Bill of Supplies, on the 7th of *March* following, by another Petition granted for that purpose; the King being at that time, by reason of his Illness, not in a condition to appear in the House in Person; which was also the reason, that on the 23d of *February* before, he recommended to the House of Commons (by Mr Secretary *Vernon*) the Union betwixt the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, as the only means to Establish the future Peace and Happiness of both these Kingdoms.

His Majesty, notwithstanding his ill disposition of *The King's* Body, continuing his diversions of Hunting, had the fall from a misfortune to break his Collar-Bone, *February* the 21st, *Horje.* by a fall from his Horse, not far from *Hampton-Court*; which being set twice, the King appear'd in a fair way of recovery, except that the 1st of *March*, a defluxion did fall upon his Knee, so that he could not walk without help. The 4th of *March*, taking several turns in the Gallery at *Kensington*, and finding himself somewhat tir'd, he sat down and fell asleep, which (in the opinion of the Physicians) proved the occasion of that Feverish Paroxysm, which seiz'd him, in conjunction with a Looseness, soon after, yet prov'd not very violent till *Friday* the 6th of *March*, and increased the next following night, so that the King refused to take the least sustenance till *Saturday* morning at two of the Clock, when he took a little Broth, which staying with him, and an Opiate having procured him some Rest for three or four hours, he took a little more Broth afterwards, and found himself tolerably easie till towards night, when being seized with several Fits, the fore-runners of his approaching Dissolution, he received the next morning early (being the 8th of *March*) the Sacrament from the Hands of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and finding himself grow worse and worse, enquired for the Earl of *Portland*, who coming to him immediately, clapp'd his Ear as near to the King's Mouth as he could; but tho his Lips were seen to move, yet he did not utter any thing of an audible sound; and about eight of the Clock

His Illness



A. D.

1701.

*His Death.*

Clock in the morning his final dissolution approaching, his Majesty sitting upon his Bed in his Night-Gown, resigned his last Breath into the hands of his Creator with that constancy and composure of Mind, as had been the constant attendants of all the most memorable Actions of his Life, in the fifty third year of his Age, and the fourteenth year of his Reign, leaving no Issue behind him. Upon view of his dead Body, the same was found extreamly emaciated; the Legs up to, or rather above the Knees, and the Right Hand and Arm, as far as the Elbow, very much swell'd. On the Left Thigh near the Hip, appeared a Bladder full of Water, of the bigness of a small Hens Egg. Upon opening the Body, the Guts appeared livid, and the Blood in the Vessels very black; the Guts *Ileon*, shewing some signs of an Inflammation; but the *Stomach*, *Pancreas*, *Mesentery*, *Liver*, *Gall*, *Bladder*, *Spleen* and *Kidneys*, without any defect. The Right as well as the Left side of the Lungs, adhered to the *Plevra*; from which, upon separation, issued forth a quantity of Purulent and Frothy Scum; the *Upper Lobe*, on the Left side of the *Lungs*, and that part of the *Plevra* next to it, being inflamed and very near a Mortification, supposed to have been the immediate cause of his death, out of the Ventricles of the Heart, and the beginning of the greater Blood Vessels, were taken several large Flesh-like substances, not unlike a *Polypus*; the Heart of itself being but small, but very sound; the Right Collar Bone was found to have been broken near the Shoulder, but well set, with some extravasated Blood lodged above and below the Fracture. The Brain was sound; but there was a small quantity of Blood, the Lungs containing more of it than all the other parts put together.

King *William*, as to his Person, was of a middle Stature, but ill shaped, and somewhat round Shoulder'd; his Face of a light brown Complexion, and hard Featur'd; his Nose *Roman*, his Eyes exceeding good and piercing, his Hands very fine and white, and his Constitution weak and infirm from his very Youth: He sat well on Horseback, and that posture became him best, as if he had been principally form'd for the Field. What Nature had denied him, as to the advantages of the Body, she had abundantly made up by the perfections of his Mind: He had a quick, ready and penetrating



ting Wit; a sound Judgment, an admirable Forecast, and a firm, compos'd Soul, amidst the greatest and most imminent dangers. His Health had not permitted him to apply himself much to Study when young; yet, besides *Dutch*, which was natural to him, he spoke *French* to a great perfection, and *English* and *German* tolerably well. He understood something of the *Mathematicks* and *Fortification*; but his principal Science consisted in the *Military Art*, and a perfect Knowledge of the different Interests of the Princes of *Christendom*, which last supply'd him with fresh Projects and Resources in those Intricacies, where all other States-men were at a stand: For it was as easy to him to frame a new Scheme of Politicks, as 'tis to an able Mathematician to apply his Theorems to a Question propounded. *Reservedness* was ever his distinguishing Quality; and if he was Free and Communicative upon some Occasions, 'twas rather to discover other People's Secrets than to disclose his own. He was easy of Access, and gave a favourable Hearing to every Body; but the multiplicity of publick Affairs made him sometimes forget what he had promis'd to private Persons. He was parsimonious to a Fault, and knew least of any Man how to *Reward*; being often a Niggard where he should be Liberal, and Profuse where he should be Thrifty: Which unequal dispensation of his Favours, as it rais'd him many Enemies, and created him no small trouble when living, so it will remain a Blemish on his Memory. 'Tis true, he was both lov'd and respected by the Army; but this was more owing to his Courage, than to the recompences he bestow'd on those that distinguish'd themselves. Neither knew he much better how to *Punish*, being sometimes too debonair, and sometimes too severe. His Temper as to outward appearance, was wonderfully even and steady, both in good and adverse Fortune, being never elevated by the one, depress'd by the other, or disturb'd by either; if any thing made him uneasy, 'twas the different Factions that divided his Subjects, which he had vainly attempted to reconcile; and which, he thought, would, sooner or later, be the ruin of this Nation. He always pursu'd his ends, tho he knew how to comply with particular Exigencies, and understood and practis'd admirably well the Art of starting and improving favourable opportunities; an Art absolutely necessary to all Sovereigns, but particularly to an *English* Monarch.



170<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. A. D. His unhealthy Constitution made him subject to Passion and Peevishness; but the effects of these were seldom known, except to his inferior Attendants; and when those short passionate Fits were over, he was the best natur'd Master in the World. As to his Religion, he was bred up a Protestant, after the *Calvinian* way, but upon his marrying the Princess *Mary* he had a Chappel in his Palace, where Divine Service was perform'd after the Rites of the Church of *England*; so that whilst Prince of *Orange*, he went either to the *Dutch*, *French* or *English* Church indifferently; and whilst King of *England*, tho he publickly profess'd the Establish'd Religion, yet he still retain'd a great Tenderness for the Dissenters, and was ever averse to persecute People upon account of their Belief. His Piety and Devotion were sincere, but unaffected. The only thing that look'd like Superstition in him was, the avoiding to begin a Journey or any great Enterprize on a Monday. Next to the Pleasures he found in a Camp, Hunting and Shooting were his greatest Diversions; and if ever he play'd at any Games of Fortune, 'twas out of meer complaisance. He lov'd the Company of witty Men, and had a particular Affection for Mr *St Euremond*, whose Conversation he often enjoy'd, at a House of the Marquis *de Miremont's* at *Brompton*, where his Majesty went to refresh himself after the fatigue of Business, leaving his Grandeur at *Kensington*. His Ear was tun'd to no other Numbers than the Clangor of the Trumpet, or the Rattle of the Drum. As for fine Musick, and good Poetry, he scarce had any relish for them. He admir'd excellent Pictures, but never encourag'd Painters, or indeed any other Artists. He was a very ambitious Prince, but his Ambition was govern'd by Prudence, and founded upon just and commendable Motives; never aiming to make himself Great, but to make others Happy, at the same time. His Wisdom and Penetration had gain'd him a wonderful Ascendant over most Princes and States of *Europe*; insomuch, that he was the Arbiter of Peace and War. He was indefatigable in his Application to Publick Business, seldom trusting his Secretaries with any important Dispatches, but writing all with his own hand. His entring into the Treaty of Partition has been generally accounted a false step; and yet it would puzzle the best Politicians to determine how this present Warmight have been prevented, or to penetrate who

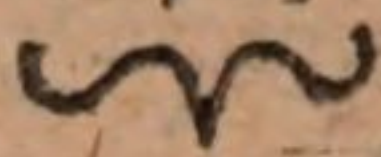


how it will conclude, without dividing the *Spanish* A. D. Monarchy. To sum up all, tho King *William* was not altogether free from faults, yet he may be rank'd among the greatest Men, and vie with the most celebrated Heroes of Antiquity. To do him justice, he was a Prince experienc'd in all the Arts of War, Policy and Civil Government. Fearless in Dangers, constant in his Resolutions, moderate in Prosperity, unshaken in Adversity, wise in his Councils, bold at the Head of his Armies, faithful to his Allies, dreadful to his Enemies, Master of the Affections of his People by his forbearing Temper and Clemency. He always asserted the Freedom of *Europe*, and declar'd himself an Enemy to Tyranny, Oppression and Arbitrary Sway; he preserv'd his own Country, and rescu'd these three Nations, when their Religion, Laws and Liberties were in most imminent danger, and no other humane help left to save them. He perfectly united *England* and *Holland* two inveterate Rivals in Trade; and by teaching them to promote their mutual Interests, has left an effectual Barrier to check the formidable and overgrown Power of *France*. He reviv'd the ancient Martial Spirit of the *English*, and retriev'd the Honour of the Nation, not only in the Field, but in the Cabinet. He maintain'd the Church of *England* without oppressing the Dissenters; and was so tender of the Rights and Privileges of his Subjects, that he sometimes yielded from the just Prerogatives of the Crown. Now if his Enemies should ask, to what purpose the Nation has spent near Sixty Millions Sterling to maintain him on the Throne? The answer is ready, to purchase an *English Protestant* Queen, and a Settlement of the Succession on the Protestant Line; A Purchase which no true *English* Man will ever account too dear: Over and above his leaving behind him the Shipping of this Kingdom, double what it was at his Accession to the Crown; several experienc'd Generals, near Two Thousand good and brave Officers, and about twenty Thousand well-train'd, stout and hardy (*English, Scotch or Irish*) Soldiers. King *William* besides his Royal Consort is known to have had two Mistresses, but yet he never had any Legitimate or Illegitimate Children, at least that he publickly own'd. King *William* was Interr'd with all the Magnificence a private Burial could admit of, on Sunday night the Twelfth of April; and towards the beginning of May, a Will he had



A. D.

1701.



made in the year 1695, and deposited into the hands of Monsieur *Schuylemberg*, was open'd at the *Hague*, whereby it appear'd, that his Majesty had appointed his Cousin the Prince *Frison* of *Nassau*, eldest Son of Prince *Casimir* of *Nassau*, Stadtholder of *Friesland*, his sole and universal Heir, and the States General his Executors, without mentioning either the King of *Prussia*, the Prince of *Nassau Siegen*, or the Princes of *Anhalt*, who all claim a Right to his Majesty's Succession by Titles, which it were improper to deduce in this place. And therefore I shall conclude with taking notice, that by a Codicil annex'd to King *William's* Will, the Lordship of *Brevort*, and Two Hundred Thousand Guilders were given, as a Legacy, to the Earl of *Albemarle*.

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## The Beginning

O F

# Queen ANN's

# R E I G N.

**K**ing *William* III. having expir'd on *Sunday* the 8th of *March*, about eight a Clock in the Morning, and both Houses of Parliament being assembl'd on that day, by reason of this extraordinary Exigency, a Message was sent to the Commons to acquaint them with his late Majesty's Death: Whereupon they made an unanimous Vote, That an humble Address be presented to the Queen to Condole with her Majesty upon this sad Occasion, and to Congratulate the happy Accession of her Majesty to the Throne, &c. At the same time, the Lords sent to desire a Conference with the Commons, which being agreed to, the

Lords



Lords acquainted them, *That whereas it had pleased Almighty God to take to himself the late King William III. of Glorious Memory, the Princess Anne being the only Rightful and Lawful Queen of these Realms, the Lords had thought fit to acquaint the Commons, that Orders were given in the usual form, for Proclaiming her Majesty at Three of the Clock that afternoon.* Not many hours before, the Members of the Privy Council being assembled at the Royal Palace of St James's, her Majesty spoke to them in these words.

*My Lords,*

“ I am extreamly sensible of the general Misfortune  
 “ to these Kingdoms, in the unspeakable Loss of the  
 “ King, and of the great Weight and Burthen it brings  
 “ in particuar upon my Self, which nothing could  
 “ encourage me to undergo, but the great Concern I  
 “ have for the Preservation of our Religion, and the  
 “ Laws and Liberties of my Country. All these being  
 “ as dear to Me, as they can be to any Person whatso-  
 “ ever; you may depend upon it, that no Pains nor  
 “ Diligence shall ever be wanting on my part to pre-  
 “ serve and support them, to maintain the Succession  
 “ in the Protestant Line, and the Government in  
 “ Church and State, as it is by Law establish'd.

“ I think it proper upon this occasion of my first  
 “ speaking to you, to declare my own opinion of the  
 “ importance of carrying on all the Preparations we are  
 “ making to oppose the great Power of *France*: And I  
 “ shall lose no time in giving our Allies all Assurances,  
 “ That nothing shall be wanting on my part to pursue  
 “ the true Interest of *England* together with theirs,  
 “ for the support of the Common Cause.

“ In order to these ends, I shall always be ready to ask  
 “ the advice of my Council, and of both Houses in Par-  
 “ liament, and desirous to countenance and employ all  
 “ those who shall heartily concur and join with Me in  
 “ supporting and maintaining the present Establishment  
 “ and Constitution, against all Enemies and Opposers  
 “ whatsoever. After this gracious Declaration, the  
 Queen caused all the Lords and others, of the late  
 King's Privy Council, to take the Oaths to Her Ma-  
 jesty in the same quality.

The surprizing and afflicting News of King William's death, cast the *Dutch* into great and just Alarms. But her Majesty having declar'd the Earl of *Marlborough* Captain General of all her Forces in *England*, and the

*The Queen's Letter to the States General.*



A. D. 170<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. Troops to be employ'd in conjunction with her Allies, and sent a Letter dated the 10th of *March* to the States General, wherein after having condol'd their loss, She assur'd them of her constant Amity, and of her intentions to maintain an indissoluble Union, and the Alliances made with their State; this made so lively an impression upon the minds of the *Hollanders*, that, within a few days after, the States of *Holland* and *West Friesland* went in a Body to the Assembly of the States General, where having condol'd their irreparable loss, they represented, that in this dangerous conjuncture nothing could prove more effectual for their preservation than a perfect Unity, mutual Confidence, and a vigorous Resolution, for the defence of their Country, and by adhering firmly to those measures already enter'd into, and such as should be judg'd farther expedient for the Good of the Common Cause; Declaring, that they were ready to perform their part, and rather to sacrifice all their Blood and Treasure than to see their Liberty destroy'd. This their reasonable resolution being highly approv'd of by the States General, and the Concurrence of the other Provinces obtain'd without the least difficulty, the Earl of *Marlborough* arriv'd much about the same time in *Holland*, in order to enter

*The Earl of Marlborough* into a more strict Alliance with the States. The *French Resident de Barre*, in order to break these Negotiations, deliver'd a Memorial to the States General for that purpose; but the same containing divers Reflections, as well upon the late King, as the former Conduct of the States, and not a few threatening Expressions; this produc'd a quite contrary effect, for the States having given him a very smart reply, concluded their Negotiations, and the Siege of *Keyserwerth* was resolv'd upon before the departure of the Earl of *Marlborough*, who arriv'd in *England* April the 5th, and the said place was invested the 6th of that Month. In the mean while the Parliament proceeding with great Unanimity in providing the necessary Supplies, it was debated in Council May the 2d, whether War should be declar'd against *France* and *Spain*, or whether the *English* should act only as Auxiliaries to the *Dutch*. Several of the Members of the Council were inclin'd to the last: But it being urg'd, that it was both for the Honour and Safety of the Nation, to enter into this War as Principals, a Declaration of War was order'd to be drawn up by her Majesty, and the Convention betwixt



betwixt Her, the Emperor and the States General, A. D. about declaring War against *France* and *Spain*, to be 1702. communicated to the House of Commons, whereupon the Commons having assur'd her Majesty, that they would, to the utmost, assist Her in carrying on the said War, the Declaration of War was solemnly proclaim'd against *France* and *Spain* May the 4th.

The Confederates were now to begin a War with infinite disadvantage; for whereas, formerly, not only all *Spain*, but the united Force of the whole Empire; and, for a considerable time, the Duke of *Savoy* acted in concert with *England* and *Holland* against the Common Enemy; a Prince of the House of *Bourbon* did now sit on the *Spanish* Throne; a *French* Army had over-run the State of *Milan*, and to this Army the Duke of *Savoy* (engag'd with *France* by the double Match of his two Daughters) had join'd his Forces. Of the Nine principal Members of the Empire, Two, the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, had declar'd for *France*; and the latter had admitted *French* Forces into all his fortify'd Towns, under the specious name of *Troops of the Circle of Burgundy*. A third, the Elector of *Saxony*, King of *Poland*, was contending with *Sweden* and the discontented *Poles*, for his unsettl'd Crown, and was thereby hinder'd from sending his full Proportion of Troops against *France*; the Emperor had sent his Veteran Forces, under the Command of his best General, Prince *Eugene*, to keep the *French* at a Bay in *Italy*; and all the *Spanish* Towns Frontiering upon *Holland*, were garrison'd with *French* Soldiers. Yet, notwithstanding all these Disadvantages, from the wise and steady Councils of *England*, the right Management of her Majesty's Treasury, the just measures concerted by the Duke of *Marlborough* with Foreign Powers, the Valour and Resolution of the *English* Troops, and the Vigour and good Conduct with which they were led on, good Politicians foresaw, that the Confederates would, at last, be an Over-match for *France*.

Our nearest and surest Allies, the *Dutch*, were the first that felt the Effects of her Majesty's good choice of a General. For the Duke of *Marlborough* had no sooner put himself at the head of the Confederate Army, than Mareschal *Boufflers*, who with the Forces under his Command, had driven the Army of the States to the very Gates of *Nimeguen*, and alarm'd not only that Town, but all the United Provinces, was oblig'd to fly



A. D. 1702. in his turn ; so that the Duke of *Burgundy*, who was sent to that Army to learn how to fight, learn'd nothing from *Mareschal Boufflers*, but how to avoid an Engagement. The Duke of *Marlborough* finding it impossible to bring the *French* to a Battle, resolv'd to dispossess them of the places they held in the *Spanish Gelderland*, whereby the free Navigation of the *Maese* was interrupted, and the most important Town of *Maestricht* in a manner blockt up ; and, according to this Resolution, having reduc'd *Venlo*, *Ruremonde* and *Stevensmaert*, he ended that Campaign by the Conquest of the City and Citadel of *Liege*.

The Queen having declar'd in Council, her Royal Consort, Prince *George* of *Denmark*, Lord High Admiral of *England* and *Ireland*, his Royal Highness went, the 2d of *June*, to *Portsmouth*, to view the Forces then encamp'd in the Isle of *Wight*, and design'd to be put on board the Fleet, which, in Conjunction with a *Dutch* Squadron of Men of War, and a proportionable number of Land-men of the same Nation, set Sail the 1st of *July*, under the Command of Sir *George Rook*, steering their Course for *Cadiz*. On the 12th of *August* they anchor'd in the Bay of *Bulls*, about 2 leagues from the City ; and Sir *Thomas Smith* having view'd and founded the Shoar on the backside of the Isle of *Leon* in which *Cadiz* stands, and reported that there were two very convenient Bays to make a Descent, the Duke of *Ormond*, Commander in Chief of the Land Forces, insisted vehemently, in a Council of War, upon the landing in the Isle of *Leon*, in order to a sudden and vigorous Attack of the City of *Cadiz*, where the Disorder and Consternation was so great, that in all probability his Grace's Enterprise would have been attended with Success. But many, especially the Sea Officers, opposing the Duke's Motion, it was resolv'd, that the Army should first take the Fort of *St Catherine*, and Port *St Mary*, whereby they might facilitate their nearer approach to *Cadiz*. Accordingly the Land Forces were set on shoar in the Bay of *Bulls*, and made themselves Masters of *Rota*, Fort *St Catherine*, and Port *St Marys*, which rich Town being abandon'd by the Inhabitants, was ransack'd and plunder'd both by the licentious Souldiers and some greedy Officers. By this time the Garrison of *Cadiz* recover'd their surprize, and were considerably reinforc'd ; and the Confederates having in vain attempted the Fort *Matagorda*,  
Provisions

An At-  
tempt up-  
on *Cadiz*  
unsuccess-  
ful.



Provisions growing scarce with them, and the Sea-Officers representing the danger of staying any longer in those Seas, the Duke of *Ormond*, tho not without great Reluctancy, was forc'd to consent to the re-imbarking of the Land Forces, which was done on the 14th, 15th, and 16th of September.

By this time the news of the arrival of the *French* Squadron under Monsieur *Chateau-Renault*, with the *Spanish* Galleons, in the Harbour of *Vigo*, being brought to England, orders were dispatcht immediately to Sir *George Rook* to attempt the taking or destroying of them; and Sir *Cloudesty Shovel* was order'd with another Squadron of Men of War upon the same Attempt. But before these Orders could reach the Grand Fleet, Sir *George Rook* in his return towards England, having sent September the 2d, the *Eagle* and *Sterling Castle*, and *Pembroke*, to water in *Lagos* Bay, Mr *Beauvoir*, the Chaplain of the last of these Ships, went ashore in the Town of *Lagos*, and meeting with a Gentleman in the Streets, whom by several circumstances he judg'd to be no *Portuguese*, he accosted him in *French*, which the other (who prov'd to be the *French* Consul) returning in a very obliging manner, invited him to stay at his House. The Chaplain extreamly willing to embrace this Offer, continued there for two Nights, during which, the Consul in their several Conversations, could not forbear to boast of his Master's strength at Sea, and at last gave some hints of the arrival of the Gallions on that Coast. The 24th, Mr *Beauvoir* being ready to re-imbark, and understanding that a Gentleman was arriv'd in that Town, bound for the Fleet, with Letters to the Prince of *Hesse*, and Mr. *Methwin* (who were gone from the Fleet to *Lisbonne* some time before) he invited him to go on board the *Pembroke*, without taking the least notice of their departure before. The Gentleman having gladly accepted this Invitation, and told him, just as they were leaving the Shore, that Monsieur *Chateau-Renault* was arriv'd at *Vigo* with 30 Men of War and 22 Gallions, and that he was sent by the Imperial Minister to the Grand Fleet; they went together aboard the *Pembroke*, where Captain *Hardy* who commanded her, being inform'd, as well by Mr *Beauvoir*, of what he understood from the *French* Consul, as by the other Gentleman, concerning what he knew of the matter, he set sail the next Morning in quest of the Grand Fleet, which at last



A. D. 1702. last (not without great difficulty) he having met with the Sixth of *October*, he imparted the News to the *English* Admiral, who having communicated the same to the *Dutch* Admiral, it was resolv'd to attempt the destroying of the *French* and *Spanish* Ships at *Vigo*. Accordingly the Fleet steering their Course towards *Vigo*, came to an Anchor the Eleventh against that place, almost unperceived by the Enemy, by reason of the hazy Weather, and finding that the *French* and *Spanish* Ships were carry'd up beyond a narrow Streight, defended by a Castle on the other side, and certain Platforms well provided with Cannon, besides a strong Boom about it, made with Masts, Cables, Chains, &c. it was resolv'd in a Council of War, that since the whole Fleet could not safely go up to the place where the Enemies Ships lay, a Detachment of Fifteen *English*, and Ten *Dutch* Men of War, with all the Fireships, Frigats, and Bomb Vessels, should go upon that Service, with all the Flag Officers aboard them, whilst part of the Land Forces were to make a Descent and to attack the Fort on the South side of *Rodondella*.

The Duke of Ormond lands his Men near *Vigo*. Pursuant to this Resolution, the Duke of *Ormond*, having Landed Two Thousand Five Hundred Men, the Twelfth of *October*, Two Leagues from *Vigo*, on the South side of the River, without the least Opposition, sent the Grenadiers before to advance to the Fort at the Entrance of the Harbour, which they did with such chearfulness, that having made themselves Masters of a Platform of 38 Pieces of Cannon, they pursued the *French* to the very Gates of the Castle, or Stone Tower, and attack'd them so vigorously that Monsieur *Sorel*, their Commander, despairing of holding the place, attempted to fight his way through the *English* with Sword in Hand. But no sooner had they opened the Gate, when the Grenadiers rushing in made themselves Masters of the Castle, and took 300 *French* Seamen and 50 *Spaniards* Prisoners. Whilst these things were transacting a shore, the Squadron design'd for this Expedition, advanc'd briskly towards the Boom, and after being stopt by a little Calm, Vice Admiral *Hopson* in the *Torbay*, broke, amidst the Enemy's Fire, through the Boom, where he was received with divers Broadfides from the *Bourbon* and *Hope*, two *French* Men of War, placed within the Boom, the rest of Vice Admiral *Hopson's* division, and that of the *Dutch*, Vice Admiral *Vander Goes*, bearing at the same time upon the Boom, were

The Fleet force their way into the Harbour of *Vigo*.



were becalm'd, and consequently stuck, so that they A. D. 1702.  
 were forced to cut their way through it, except their Admiral, who hit the same passage through which *Hopson* had entred before; who being the mean while boarded by a Fireship, was in great danger of being burnt, had not the Fireship been blown up too soon, notwithstanding which he received considerable Damage in his Rigging, and many of his Men, during the first Consternation, threw themselves overboard, in hopes to save themselves, but were most all drown'd, whilst the rest behaved themselves so well as to preserve the Ship. The *French* Admiral seeing the Boom Destroyed cut in pieces, the Platform and Castle in the Enemies Hands, the *Bourbon* taken, and the whole Confederate Squadron ready to fall among them, order'd his own Ship to be set on Fire, and his Example being follow'd by all the rest afforded a most dreadful spectacle to the *Spaniards*, as well as to the *French*, who whilst they were busy'd in the Destruction of their own Fleet, the *English* were as careful in preserving it, not without tolerable good success, several as well of the Men of War, as of the Galleons being taken by them, viz. 10 *French*, and 3 *Spanish* Men of War, among whom 7 were so disabled, as to be bulged or sunk, and of 13 Gallions, 9 were taken 4 by the *English*, and 5 by the *Dutch*; the rest being burnt with 9 *French* Men of War, and 3 scout Ships. What made this Advantage the more considerable was, that the same was purchased with inconsiderable Loss, there being not above 40 Men kill'd and 10 Wounded of the Land Men in this Action, and very few of the Sea Men except those that were drown'd of Vice Admiral *Hopson's* Ship. As to the Cargo aboard this Fleet, which was computed at 20000000 of Pieces of Eight, in Silver only, besides Merchandizes, about 14000000 of it were taken out before by the Enemy, the rest being either taken, sunk or burnt, and the Goods being valued no less than the Plate, they had not secured above one fourth part of them, near two being destroy'd, and the rest taken by the Confederates; besides a great quantity of Plate, and other Rich Commodities concealed for the use of private Persons in the Galleons, and a great deal of other Plate, belonging to the *French* Officers, found at *Rodondella*, of which the Duke of *Ormond* took possession the next morning. The 14th, it was proposed by the Duke, to attack *Vigo* with an intent to winter there, in



A. D. in case the Admiral could leave sufficient Provisions  
 1702. and a certain Number of Ships as should be thought requisite; but the Admiral declaring, that he could not leave above 5 or 6 weeks Provisions, and about 6 Frigats, that Design was laid aside, The 6th Sir *Cloudestly Shovel* having joyn'd the Confederate Fleet with Twenty Nine Sail, the Land Forces re-imbark'd the next day, and the 19th Sir *George Rook* and Vice Admiral *Hopson*, with 10 *English* Men of War more, set sail for *England*, leaving Sir *Cloudestly Shovel* with the rest near *Vigo*, to destroy the Enemies Ships run ashore; which being effected, he also Steered his Course for *England*, where the Fleet arriv'd (after having been separated by a Storm at the Entrance of the Channel) the 17th of *November* about 10 Days after the Arrival of Sir *George Rook* with his Squadron in the Downs.

The Duke  
 of Marl-  
 boroughs  
 Campaign  
 in 1703.

In the Year 1703. the Duke of *Malborough* open'd the Campaign with the Siege of the important Town of *Bonne*; which tho' extreamly well fortified, and defended by a Numerous *French* Garrison, yet by his Grace's admirable Conduct, was reduced in fewer days, than are spent by other Generals in Investing a Place; and in Opening the Trenches. By the taking of *Bonne*, the Archbishoprick of *Cologne* was wholly freed from their troublesome Guests, the *French*; who being forced to keep within the Lines in *Brabant*, gave his Grace the Opportunity to make himself master of the Town and Castle of *Huy*. While this Siege was depending, a great Council of War was held at the Confederate Camp; and the question being put what Undertaking should be gone upon after the reduction of *Huy*? The Duke of *Marlborough*, with the Generals of the *English*, *Danes*, *Lunenburghers* and *Hessians*, insisted upon the Attacking the *French* in their Lines, as an Enterprize that would contribute much more to the Glory and Advantage of the High Allies, than the Siege of *Limburgh*, which was propos'd by the Deputies of the States, and the *Dutch* Generals; but the latter would not consent to hazard their Troops in an Action, the success whereof they said, was uncertain at best; and which, if prosperous, would yield no farther Advantage, than to find the Enemy retir'd into their fortify'd Towns; whereas, on the contrary, should the *French* get the Victory, the United Provinces would remain expos'd to their Incurfions.

There-



Thereupon the Project of attacking the Lines was laid A. D. aside, and the Resolution taken to besiege *Limburgh*; 1703. which Conquest put an end to the Duke of *Marlborough's* second Campaign in the *Netherlands*.

The *French*, it seems, were contented to stand upon the Defensive in *Flanders* where indeed they were inferior, while their superiority in *Italy*, on the *Rhine*, and in the very heart of the Empire, gave them signal Advantages. For, by this time, Prince *Eugene* had been forc'd to leave *Italy*, to come and solicit Reinforcements at the Court of *Vienna*. The Duke of *Savoy*, who having discover'd the *French* King's Ambitious designs, had thereupon lately enter'd into the Grand Alliance, lay expos'd to the Resentment of that Monarch, whose numerous Armies invaded his Territories in several places. Count *Tallard* had made himself master of the Town of *Brisac*, and retaken the strong Fortrefs of *Landau* after he had defeated the *Germans* near *Spire*. The Elector of *Bavaria*, deluded by the fair Promises of the *French* King, and intoxicated with his own Ambitious Thoughts, had declared War against the House of *Austria*, Seized the Imperial Cities of *Ulm*, *Ratisbonne*, *Ausburg*, and *Passau*; and being strongly supported by great Supplies of Men and Money from *France*, threatned no less than to march directly to *Vienna*. Nor did the Conjunction of the *French* and *Bavarians* alone distress the Emperour's Affairs, for the Court of *France* had, at this Juncture, so effecttually fomented the Discontents, and encourag'd the Insurrection, both of the Oppress'd and Persecuted *Hungarians*, that having form'd several formidable Bodies, under their Leaders Prince *Ragotzi*, Count *Caroli* and Count *Berezeni*, gain'd several Advantages over the Imperial Troops; and made themselves Masters of many important places, they now offer'd powerfully to assist the Elector of *Bavaria*, in his intended Invasion of the Emperour's Hereditary Countries.

Things being in this Condition, the Queen took the Generous Resolution to clear the Empire of its Foreign and Intestine Foes, and the Duke of *Marlborough* having perswaded the States General to concur in that noble Enterprize, the same was carried on by his Grace, with all the Secrecy, Diligence, Good Conduct, and Success imaginable. The Duke with the *English* and *Dutch* Troops under his Command, having made a

The distressed condition of Italy, and of the Empire at this juncture.

See the Annals of Queen Anne. Vol. 3. p. 44. &c.

feint



A. D. 1704. Feint to march towards the *Moselle* in order to amuse the *French*, did on a sudden, bend his rapid Motion toward

*Mayence*, and having passed the *Main* and the *Necker*, and had an Interveiw with the Renowned Prince *Eugene*

June the 22d. N. S.

of *Savoy*, and Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, his Grace joyn'd the Imperial Army commanded by the latter, it being agreed that Prince *Lewis* and the Duke of *Marlborough* should have each his day of Command alternatively. Ten days after their conjunction, the Confederate Army attackt a considerable Body of the *French* and *Bavarians* strongly entrencht on the Height of *Schellemburg*, and having totally defeated them, tho' not without considerable Loss, the next day, made themselves Masters of *Donawert*, on the River *Danube*, which open'd them a free Entrance into the Country of *Bavaria*. Soon after this Success, Prince *Eugene*, who with about 18000 Men had been left on the Upper *Rhine* to observe the *French*, came from thence to joyn the grand Confederate Army. The 3 Generals having consulted together how they might improve the late Advantage, it was resolv'd, that Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* with part of the Imperial Army should lay Siege to *Ingoldstadt*; and that the Duke of *Marlborough* with his Auxiliaries, and Prince *Eugene* with the rest of the Imperial Forces, should observe the Elector of *Bavaria* and the Mareschal *de Marcin*, who having been lately reinforced by a Body of 22000 *French*, under the Command of the Mareschal *de Tallard*, had left their strong Camp under the Cannon of *Augsburg*, and having pass'd the *Danube* at *Lauingen*, advanc'd beyond *Hochstet*, and posted themselves between the Villages of *Blenheim* and *Lutzingen*.

The Fight at Schellemburg July 2d N. S.

The Battle of Bleenheim.

See the Annals of Q. Ann, Vol III. p. 73.

The 13th of *August*, a memorable Day, on which the Fate of the Empire, or rather all *Europe*, was decided, about 3 in the morning, the Confederate Army began to pass the Rivulet, called *Kessel*, on several Bridges that had been prepared the night before. About 6 the Duke of *Malborough* and Prince *Eugene*, call'd to them the Generals to give them the necessary directions, in order to attack the Enemy, and then the Army advanced into the Plain, and were drawn up in order of Battle. The Left Wing consisted in 48 Battalions and 19 Squadrons *Dutch*, 13 Battalions and 25 Squadrons of the Forces of *Lunenburgh*, seven Squadrons of the Troops of *Hesse*, and some Troops of *Wirtemberg*. About 7 of the Clock, before our Army was



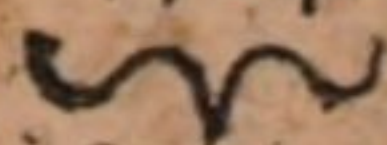


was quite drawn up in Battalia, the Enemy, at the Approach of our Vanguard, gave a Signal by firing 2 pieces of Cannon, to call in their Forragers; set the Villages of *Onderklaw*, *Wolperstete*, *Weiler*, *Berghausen* and *Sweinback* on fire, and we saw all their Camp in motion, their Generals with their *Aids de Camps*, galloping to and fro, to put all things in order. On our side two Brigades of Foot, commanded by the Lord *Cuts*, Lieutenant General, the Majors General *St. Paul* and *Wilks*, and the Brigadiers *Row* and *Ferguson*, and supported by 15 Squadrons under the Command of Major General *Wood*, were order'd on our Left, to possess themselves of the two Water Mills near *Bleinheim*; which the Enemy did immediately set on Fire. In the mean time, our Army advanced as far as the *Morass*, which being found marshy, and unpassable for the *Infantry*, we quickly made five Bridges with the Planks of our *Pontons*, and repaired the Bridge on the High Road, which the Enemy had destroy'd. At the same time Prince *Eugene* caus'd the Right Wing to march along the Wood, to fall on the Flank of the Elector, who did extend his Left proportionably, to prevent Prince *Eugene's* gaining his Flank, and in order to face him. The Enemy fearing also lest we should gain the Flank of their Right Wing, by Possessing ourselves of the Village of *Bleinheim*, sent that way several Detachments of Foot, and placed in it 28 Battalions, and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons: They posted also some *Infantry* in the Villages of *Overklaw* and *Lutzingen*, which extremely weaken'd their main Battalia, and was one of the principal Causes of their Defeat. To favour the Passage of the Left Wing, the two Brigades of Foot, commanded by the Lord *Cuts*, were order'd to go over the Rivulet first, which done, they posted themselves in a Bottom, near the Village of *Bleinheim*, and for several hours, with wonderful Resolution, stood the Fire of 6 pieces of Cannon planted upon the Height near that Village, At the same time, the Enemy fired very briskly on the Bridges that were laid for our *Infantry*; but we quickly answer'd their Batteries by two of ours, the one *English*, the other *Dutch*: Which Cannona-ding did considerable Execution on both sides. About 12 of the Clock, at Noon, all things were ready, on our Left Wing, for the attack: And because it was found, that in several Places the Horse would want Fascines to pass the *Morass*, orders were given that the Horse of



A. D.

1704.



our second Line should provide themselves, each Squadron with 20 Facines. By this time a good part of the Infantry of our Main Battalia posted themselves in and about the Village of *Onderklaw*, and the Prince of *Holstein Beek* possess'd himself of that of *Weiler* or *Shonback*, and caus'd a Counter-Battery to be erected there.

All the Preparations being made, the Duke of *Marlbrough* gave orders for a geneaal attack which was begun on the Left at three Quarters past twelve. Major General *Wilks* made the first Onset with the five *English* Battalions of *Paw*, *Ingoldsby*, *Marlbrough*, *Row*, and *North and Grey* and four Battalions of *Hessians*, supported by the Lord *Cuts*, and Major General *St. Paul*, with eleven other Battalions, and the 15 Squadrons of Horse under the Command of Major-General *Wood*. The 5 *English* Battalions led on by Brigadier *Row*, who charg'd on Foot at the Head of his own Regiment, with unparallell'd Intrepidity, assaulted, the Village of *Bleinheim*, advancing to the very Muzzles of the Enemies Musquets, and some of the Officers exchanging Thrusts of Swords, with the *French* thro' the Pallisadoes. But being expos'd to a Fire, much superior to theirs, they were soon forced to retire, leaving behind them near one third part of their Men, either kill'd or mortally wounded, and amongst the latter, Brigadier *Row* himself. In this Retreat they were pursued by 13 Squadrons of the *French* Gendarmerie and Carabiniers, who had entirely cut them in pieces, had not the *Hessian* Infantry stopt the Carrier of the Enemy, by the great Fire they made upon them. The *French* being repuls'd and forc'd to fly in their turn, were chased by 5 Squadrons of *English* Horse, who by this time had pass'd the Rivulet, but whilst they rallied themselves, some fresh Brigades of the Enemy, superior in number, charg'd our Horse with great Vigour, and oblig'd many of them to repass the Rivulet, with Precipitation. Here again the *Hessian* Foot perform'd notable Service; put the Enemy to the Rout by their continual Fire, and regaining a Colours which they had taken from *Row's* Regiment. Whilst *Row's* Brigade rallied themselves, that of *Ferguson* commanded by himself, attackt the Village of *Bleinheim* on the left, but with no better Success; and tho' both return'd 3 or 4 times to the charge with equal Vigour, yet they were both still repuls'd with like Disadvantage, so that it was found impossible to force the Enemy in that Post, without sacrificing entirely



our Infantry.

A. D.

1704.

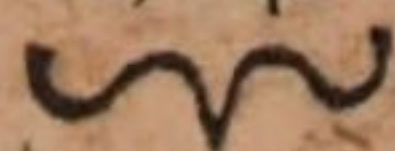
The *English* Foot having thus began the Engagement on the Left, the Horse of that same Wing pass'd the Rivulet, pell-mell, over against the Center, or Main *Battalia* of the Enemy. The Horse of our Right Wing did also pass the Rivulet, having made several Passages with divers pieces of Wood which they found at hand. In a word, all pass'd and drew up in order of Battle, as well as the Ground would permit, on the other side of the Rivulet. The Enemy gave us all the time we wanted for that purpose, keeping themselves very quiet on the Hill they were possess'd of, without descending into the Meadows toward the Rivulet, insomuch, that even the second Line of our Horse had time to form themselves.

*And to this Capital Fault of the French we ought principally to ascribe our Victory.* The Cavalry of our Left going up towards the Hill, that of the Enemy began to move at last, and charg'd our Men with a great deal of fury. The *French* Infantry, which was in the Village of *Bleinheim*, made, at the same time, from behind some Hedges of that Village, a terrible Fire on the Flank of our Cavalry, which were advanc'd too near that Village; so that the first Line of Horse of our Left from the head of the Line, to the three Regiments of the Troops of *Hannover*, to wit, the Electoral Regiment, that of *Voigt*, and that of *Noyelles*, was put into such disorder, that part of them retir'd even beyond the Rivulet. Hereupon Lieutenant General *Bulow*, Commander in Chief of the Troops of *Lunenburgh*, brought up from the second Line his own Regiment of Dragoons, and two of the Troops of *Cell*, to wit, that of Major General *Villers*, and that of Brigadier *Bothmer*, which charg'd the Enemy's Horse with so much vigour, that they broke them, and drove them beyond the second Rivulet, call'd *Meulveyer*, and from thence to the very Hedges of the Village of *Bleinheim*. This gave time to those of our Men that had given ground to repass the Rivulet, and to form a second Line behind those Regiments of Dragoons, and some others that had join'd them; so that those Dragoons remain'd in the first Line all the remaining time of the Action. The Cavalry of our Left having by this success, gain'd the advantage of forming themselves entirely in order of Battle, advanc'd leisurely to the top of the Hill, and charg'd several times the Enemy's Horse, who were always routed, but who, nevertheless, rallied every time, though at a



A. D.

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considerable distance, which gave us opportunity to gain Ground. As we were preparing for a fresh Attack, Mareschal *de Tallard* caused Ten of his Battalions to advance to fill the Intervalls of his Cavalry, in order to make a last Effort; which the Prince of *Hesse Cassell*, General of the Horse, and the Lieutenants-General *Lumley*, *Bulow*, *Hompesch* and *Ingoldsby* perceiving, they caused 3 Battalions of the Troops of *Cell* to come up to sustain our Horse. Then we return'd to the Charge; but the superiour Fire of the Enemies Infantry, put our first Line into some disorder, so that it shrunk back, and remain'd for some time, at about 60 paces distance from the Enemy, neither Party advancing against the other. At last our Men renew'd the Charge, and did it with so much Vigour and Success, that having broke and routed the Enemies Horse, the 10 Battalions, who found themselves abandon'd by them, were entirely cut in Pieces; none escaping but a very few Soldiers, who threw themselves on the Ground as dead, to save their Lives. Mareschal *de Tallard* rallied his broken Cavalry behind some Tents, that were still standing in his Camp, and seeing things in this desperate condition, he resolv'd to draw off his Dragoons and Infantry out of the Village of *Bleinheim*. Thereupon he sent one of his *Aids de Camp* to Mareschal *de Marsin*, to desire him to face the Enemy with some Troops from the Village of *Overklam*, to keep them in play, and favour the Retreat of the Infantry that was in *Bleinheim*. But *Marsin* represent'd to *Tallard's* Messenger, that he had too much Business in the Front of his Village (where he had to deal with the Duke of *Marlborough* in Person) and the rest of the Line, to spare any Troops, he not being Victorious, but only maintaining his own Ground. In the mean time, Lieutenants-General *Ingoldsby* made the Prince of *Hesse* and the Lieutenants-General *Lumley* and *Hompesch* sensible, how easily it would be entirely to defeat the *French* Cavalry by charging them on their Right Flank: Which advice being put in Execution with a great deal of Vigour, the Enemy were presently disordered, and put to flight, and their Rout was entire. Part of them endeavour'd to gain the Bridge they had on the *Danube*, between *Bleinheim* and *Hochstet*; the other part, among whom were the *Gens d'Armes*, were so closely pursu'd by the Dragoons of *Bothmer*, that those who escap'd being kill'd, threw themselves into the *Danube*, where most of

The  
French  
entirely  
routed.

them



them were drowned. Those who fled towards *Hochstet* A. D. rallied once more. making a shew to succour the rest, 1704. but the Regiment of *Bothmer* faced them, and kept them in awe for some time, and being at length joyn'd by *The Mar-* some other Regiments, the Enemy fled full gallop to- *eschal de* wards *Hochstet*. The *Mareschal de Tallard* was in- *Tallard* velop'd with the Runaways, and taken near a Mill, behind *taken.* the Village of *Sonderen*, not far from the *Danube*, by *Monfieur de Boinenbourg*, a Lieutenant Colonel of the Troops of *Hesse*, and *Aid de Camp* to the Prince of *Hesse Cassel*. The *Marquis de Montperous*, General of the Horse, *de Seppeville*, *de Silly*, and *de la Valiere*, Majors General, *Messieurs de la Messeliere*, *St. Pouange*, *de Ligondais*, and several other Officers of Note, were also made Prisoners in this Rout.

While these things pass'd at the Village of *Bleinheim*, and in the Center, the Duke of *Marlborough* caus'd the Village of *Overklaw*, *Mareschal de Marsin's* Quarters, to be attackt by the Brigade of *Berensdorf*, consisting of 10 Battalions. - The Prince of *Holstein Beck*, who Commanded them as Major-General, pass'd the Rivulet at the Head of 2 Battalions, with a great deal of Resolution; but as the Imperial Cavalry which was to have supported him, was above two Musquet Shots from him, he was hardly gone over, when seven or eight of the Enemies Battalions fell on him with great fury, before he could form his 2 Regiments; so that of *Goor* was almost entirely cut in pieces, and the Prince himself desperately wounded and taken Prisoner. Our Men being sustain'd by some *Danish* and *Hannoverian* Cavalry charg'd a second time, which had no better Success; but the Third time the Duke of *Marlborough* having himself brought up some Squadrons, which were supported by others of the Body of Reserve, made them advance with some Battalions beyond the Rivulet, whereupon the Enemy began to retire.

As soon as the Duke had perform'd this considerable service, his Grace repaired to the Center, where finding the Action decided in our favour, he caus'd part of his Victorious Cavalry to halt, to observe the Motion of that part of the Enemy, which by this time was drawn up beyond the *Morass* of *Hochstet*. During this Halt, the Elector of *Bavaria* was perceiv'd making his Retreat from the Village of *Lutzingen*; upon which orders were dispatch'd to General *Hompesh*, who with several Squadrons was pursuing the Enemy towards



A. D. 1704. *Morselingen*, and who had already overtaken 2 of their Battalions, and forced them to lay down their Arms: Orders, I say, were sent to him to face about, and march to joyn those that halted; as well to prevent the Elector's falling upon *Hompesch's* Rear, as to form a Body in order to charge that Prince who march'd in great hast, but in pretty good order, with his Squadrons on the Left, and his Battalions on the Right. Before General *Hompesch* return'd from the Chase, the Right-Wing of our Army was perceiv'd at some distance behind the Elector, and appearing to be a part of his Army, marching in such a manner as might easily have flank'd us, had the Duke of *Marlborough* immediately charged him, his Grace, with great Prudence, sent out a Party to view them. During this time the Elector continued marching off, with great Precipitation, till he reached the *Morass* of *Morselingen*. The French Horse being entirely defeated, and our Troops Masters of the Ground, which was between the Enemies Left, and the Village of *Bleinheim*, the 28 Battalions and 12 Squadrons of Dragoons which were in that Village, found themselves cut off from the rest of their Army, and despairing of being able to make their escape, after a weak Attempt to repulse our whole Infantry that surrounded the Village, they capitulated at last about 8 of the Clock; laid down their Arms, deliver'd their Colours and Standards, and surrendred themselves Prisoners of War, on condition, that the Officers should not be search'd. By this it appears how few Men escap'd of the 40 Battalions, which the Mareschal *de Tallard* had brought to the Elector of *Bavaria*, and which were all old Troops, and the very choice of the French Infantry, since 28 of them were made Prisoners, and 10 entirely cut in pieces.

The French in *Bleinheim* surrender themselves Prisoners.

Prince Eugene's share in this Battle.

It is now time to see how things pass'd on our Right, under the Command of Prince *Eugene*, who had to deal with the Elector of *Bavaria*, and the Mareschal *de Marsin*. The Infantry of that Wing consisted only in 7 Battalions *Danish*, and 11 *Prussian*, and the Cavalry in 92 Squadrons of the Troops of the Emperor, the King of *Prussia*, the Circle of *Suabia* and *Wittemberg*, and other Princes and States of the Empire. The Enemy had in their Left Wing 30 Battalions, and a great many Squadrons of Horse: And they had posted 14 Battalions in the Village of *Overklaw*, which Village my Lord Duke of *Marlborough* had taken upon him to cause to be attack'd by his Infantry. The Horse of our Right Wing were



were most of them posted over against *Overklam*, but the 18 Battalions, who were to the Right of all, had a great way to march before they could get up the Hill; and besides, the Passage of the Rivulet being very difficult, the Attack could not begin on that side, as soon as Prince *Eugene* could have wish'd: So that the Troops of our Right which posted themselves in a Bottom, not far from *Lutzingen*, were oblig'd to remain expos'd during 3 hours to the Cannonading of the Enemy, without being able to make use of their Artillery, till at length a Counter Battery was rais'd near the Wood. Tho' our Right could not charge, till half an hour after our Left had began the Attack, yet they were pretty succesfull at first: For our Infantry, though much inferior in number to that of the Enemies, maintained themselves against them with great firmness and resolution, and our Cavalry broke that of the Enemies first Line. But they were so vigorously repulsed by their second Line, that part of them were driven, in great confusion, beyond the Rivulet; and our Infantry having no more Horse to sustain them, was oblig'd, notwithstanding the great resistance they made, to retreat three or four hundred Paces towards the Wood, with considerable loss, especially the two Battalions which were in the Flank: Insomuch, that things were at that time, in a very ill condition on that side. The Infantry stood firm near the Wood, and Prince *Eugene* having rally'd the Horse brought them up again to the Charge, but they were repulsed a second time. They wererally'd once more, and for near three quarters of an hour we stood within about sixty Paces of the Enemy, neither of the two Parties making any motion. We made use of that time to post the Troops advantageously, and to put them in order, after which we charg'd them a third time. Our Cavalry had at first some advantage over that of the Enemy, but were afterwards repulsed by them, whereas our Infantry broke and overthrew that with which they had to deal; tho they could not march up to the Enemy but through a most difficult Ground, where a small number of Troops was sufficient to stop a great many. Hereupon, Prince *Eugene* left his Cavalry, seeing little likelihood of being able to rally them again, and came and put himself at the Head of the Infantry, and improving the Disorder, into which they had put that of the Enemies, pursued them over Hills, Dales, Rocks



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Rocks and Woods, and having charg'd them again did entirely rout them, and continue the Chace for above an hours march, as far as the Village of *Lutzingen*. Here Prince *Eugene* caused his Victorious foot to make a stand, to give time to his Cavalry, which had rally'd a great way behind to rejoin the Infantry. It is very remarkable, that at this last Charge when our Infantry defeated, with so much vigour, that of the Enemy, there remain'd by them but two of our Squadrons, notwithstanding which they pursu'd their advantage, and gave not the Enemy time to recover themselves. The *French* Horse, daunted by our success, retired leisurely: Ours follow'd them with the same Pace, till having joyn'd our Foot, the whole Wing continued the chace during an hour, as far as the Village of *Morselingen* and *Teissenhoven*, where the Enemy made a shew to stand their Ground, that they might have the time to pass a great *Morass*, and reach *Dillingen* and *Lawingen*. As soon as the Action was decided in our Left-Wing my Lord *Marlborough* dispos'd himself to march with part of that Wing, towards the Village of *Overklam*, to charge the Left of the Enemy on their Flank, and to succour our Right, but he was inform'd by the way, by one of Prince *Eugene's* *Aids de Camp*, that there was no more need of it; That all was recover'd on his Highness's side, and that the Enemy had abandon'd the Villages of *Overklam* and *Lutzingen*; after having set them on Fire.

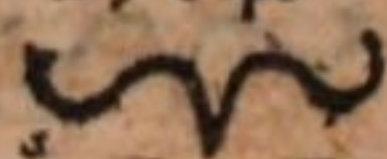
Thus this memorial Battle, which during near 5 hours, was fought with dubious Fortune, ended at last, in a most compleat Victory on the side of those, who before the Engagement had a visible Disadvantage. They whose Profession and Duty it is to ascribe all successful Events to the particular Influence of Divine Providence, may justly be allow'd to rank this Victory among Miracles; but Historians, who relating humane Actions, content themselves to trace them to humane Causes, cannot be thought profane, if they attribute it to the invincible Courage and Intrepidity of the Confederate Troops, and to the Conduct and Bravery of their Generals; since those Virtues are a peculiar Gift of Heaven. As the whole Action was, in a manner, manag'd, and directed by the Duke of *Marlborough*, so the greatest share of the Glory is certainly due to him: But then it would be injustice not to own That Prince *Eugene's* Portion in the Honour of that Day, comes but little short of the other.

It



It is acknowledg'd by all, that they both perform'd the Parts of consummate Generals: Both giving ther Commands with all the Clearness and Compos'dness imaginable, exposing their Persons, where-ever their Presence was necessary, with the greatest Unconcernment; and preserving their Temper and Presence of Mind in the most present Dangers. The Duke very narrowly escap'd bein kill'd by a Cannon-Ball, which grazed under the Belly of his Horse, and covered him with Dirt. The Prince was in the thickest of the Enemies Fire, but had also the good Fortune to come off unhurt. The other Generals of the Confederate Army, discharg'd their respective Commands with great Prudence, Activity and Valour. But among the rest, the Hereditary Prince of *Hesse Cassel*, and the Prince of *Hannover*, Generals, *Lumley*, *Hompesch* and *Bulow*, Lieutenants General; *Wood* and *Villers*, Majors Generals of Horse, the Lord *Cuts*, the Lord *Orkney* and *Ingoldsby*, Lieutenants General; the Prince of *Holstein Beck*, *Wilkins*, and *St. Paul*, Majors General; *Row*, *Ferguson* and *Berensdorf*, Brigadiers of Foot, deserve a particular mention. All the Troops in general fought with equal Bravery and Undauntedness, tho' with some different Circumstances of Courage, agreeable to the particular Temper of the several Nations, of which they consisted. The *English* Foot shew'd their natural Fire, Briskness and Intrepidity in their several Attaks of the Village of *Bleinheim*; the *Prussian* and *Danish* Infantry, their innate firmness and resolution on Prince *Eugene's* side, where they recovered all; and the *German* Horse perform'd Wonders in the Center, particularly the Regiment of Dragoons of *Bothmer*. Having recorded the deserv'd Praises of our own Generals and Soldiers, we ought in Historical Justice to give the Enemy their Due. All their Troops that engag'd fought with Vigour and Courage; and had their Generals perform'd their Parts with answerable Prudence and Fore-cast, 'tis probable the Fortune of that Day had remain'd undecided, 'Tis true, the Elector of *Bavaria* maintained his Reputation of a Brave and Experienced Commander; nor was he ill seconded by Mareschal *de Marsin*; but then the Mareschal *de Tallard*, and the Generals of the Enemies Right Wing committed inexcusable Faults, both in throwing such a vast Number of their Men into the Village of *Bleinheim*, whereby their Center was extreamly weakened, and in suffering our Troops to pass the Rivulet; without



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without any considerable Oppsition. As for the same Submission of those 28 Battallions, and 12 Squadrons that were posted in that Village, as it is justly censured by *French* Men themselves, so it will remain a stain upon that Nation, which the gaining of 10 Victories will scarce wipe off. And with this Memorable Battle, which on all Probability, will be the Epoch of the Declension of the Immense Power of *France*, we shall conclude this History.

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*F I N I S.*



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